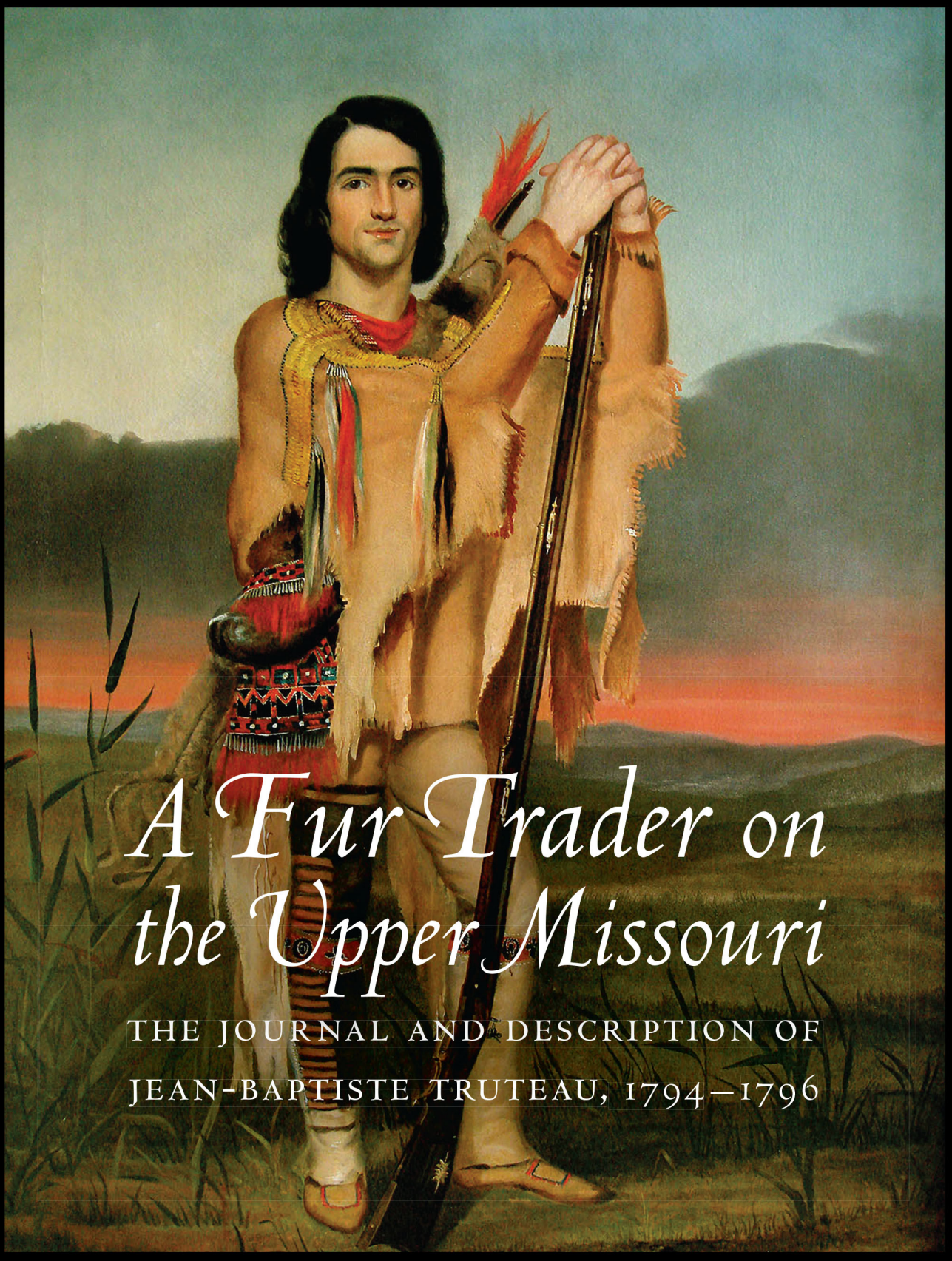


A Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri

THE JOURNAL AND DESCRIPTION OF JEAN-BAPTISTE TRUTEAU, 1794–1796

Edited by Raymond J. DeMallie,
Douglas R. Parks, and Robert Vézina

A Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri

Studies in the Anthropology of
North American Indians Series

EDITORS

Raymond J. DeMallie

Douglas R. Parks



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The Journal and Description of Jean-Baptiste Truteau, 1794–1796

JEAN-BAPTISTE TRUTEAU

Edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, Douglas R. Parks, and Robert Vézina

Translated by Mildred Mott Wedel, Raymond J. DeMallie, and Robert Vézina

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Explanation of Editorial Method

Jean-Baptiste Truteau's eighteenth-century Mississippi Valley French differs from modern French in a number of respects. Spelling and punctuation had not yet been standardized and a specialized vocabulary had developed to represent the natural and cultural features of North America. In preparing the transcription and translation, clarity has been the first concern, followed by the attempt to give a sense of Truteau's style as closely as possible without slavish adherence to his syntax.

Transcription and Editing

A literal transcription of the original handwritten manuscripts would appear chaotic in printed form. Complex sentences continue for as many as eight clauses, with erratic capitalization and punctuation that serve to obfuscate syntax rather than clarify it. The transcription published here normalizes punctuation, capitalizes the first word of each sentence, capitalizes proper names, and occasionally inserts missing letters or corrected form with *sic* in square brackets. For clarity in the translation of complex sentences, occasionally some of Truteau's commas are replaced with em dashes. No corrections are made for diacritical marks and apostrophes, which are frequently lacking; nor for two words written together, without intervening space; nor for agreement of number or gender.

Paragraphing is added when necessary for ease of reading; some portions of the manuscript lack it altogether. Similarly, pagination of the folios is indicated in the transcription but not in the translation. Each scribe used periods, dashes, hyphens, lines, and flourishes to distinctively mark the ends of paragraphs, sentences, or clauses, or to end the text at the bottom of a folio. These have been omitted except in cases when a row of periods or hyphens clearly seems to signify an ellipses; in such cases six periods separated by spaces (.) indicate the ellipses. Pagination seems to have been added to the manuscripts later, perhaps after they were archived at the Séminaire de Québec.

Section titles are Truteau's.

Interpolated material from the Seville version of the journal is taken from a photostat of the original in the Archives of the Indies. Interpolated material from the Nicollet version of the description is taken from a photocopy of the original manuscript in the Library of Congress.

All editorial comments appear within square brackets; square brackets enclosing three periods separated by spaces ([. . .]) designate redundant material omitted because it appears elsewhere in the journal or description, as indicated in a footnote.

Translation

While retaining as much of Truteau's style as possible, the translation attempts to be as clear as the original French; clarifications appear in square brackets only when essential for understanding. Ambiguous pronouns are retained, with the referent indicated in square brackets, e.g., "they [the Arikaras]." Although this may be objected to as interrupting the narrative flow, it has the benefit of signaling such ambiguities to the reader and allows for the possibility of alternate interpretations.

Numbers and abbreviations are reproduced in translation as they appear in the original French text.

American English usages, rather than British ones, are used throughout. For example, *maïs* and *boeuf* are translated respectively as "corn" and "buffalo," not "maize" and "bison." Similarly, *fusil* is translated as "gun" rather than "fusil"(which follows the generic French sense of the term, though the firearm of the times was a flintlock musket). Truteau's terms *peaux rouges, barbares,* and *sauvages* ("redskins," "barbarians," and "savages") are all translated as "Indians." He used them interchangeably, sometimes employing *barbare* and *sauvage* to comment ironically on so-called civilization. Lacking the social evolutionary context of the times, literal translation of these terms would create misunderstanding. When speaking disparagingly of individual Indians who opposed his enterprise or otherwise caused him trouble, Truteau used the word *coquin.* Probably the best eighteenth-century translation is "knave," but since that term is now archaic in English, "rogue" is substituted, though the latter probably carries a slightly stronger negative connotation.

Translations appropriate to American Indian cultures are used whenever possible. For example, *souliers* is translated as "moccasins" when the referent clearly refers to Indians; when the referent is ambiguous, it is translated as "footwear." Metaphors derived from American Indian languages are translated literally; for example, "stealing the road" (passing by without permission), "bad hearts" (anger), "thrown to" (offered as a gift), "Thunder" (Thunderbird, the personification of the power of the west, represented by thunder and lightning), and "Master of Life" (equivalent to "Great Spirit").

Names of American Indian social groups are translated using their modern equivalents when the referent is clear. When the identity of a group is in question, Truteau's term is retained, in italics. (See table 3 for Truteau's list of tribal names). Truteau used *peuple(s)* "people(s)" and *nation(s)* "nation(s)" interchangeably to indicate the highest-level social grouping, and usually designated "tribe" in English. He used *tribu(s)* "tribe(s)" and *bande(s)* "band(s)" to indicate lower-level groups that might be bands or clans. The word *village(s)* "village(s)" designated the permanent earthlodge villages of the Arikaras and other semi-sedentary tribes as well as the tipi villages of the Sioux and other nomadic tribes. *Cabane(s)* and *lodge(s)* are used interchangeably for earthlodges or tipis, and both are translated as "lodge(s)." *Habitation(s)* "dwelling(s)" and *demeure(s)* "dwelling place(s)" designate permanent earthlodges or earthlodge villages.

Truteau's *étrangers,* referring to Indians of other tribes, is usually translated as "other nations" or "those of other nations"; in cases when the term specifically refers to Europeans, it is translated "foreigners."

Truteau used a vocabulary for statuses that accurately reflected the social and political organization of the upper Missouri River tribes. *Grand chief* "head chief," *un homme chef* "a man who is a chief," and *chef* "chief," designated positions of political leadership. *Considérés* "leading men" were the respected men who were councilors and who, together with the chiefs, made the decisions necessary for the common good. The "old men" or *vieux* "elders" were respected advisors by reason of age and experience. Leaders of war parties Truteau designated alternatively as *chefs de guerre* "war chiefs" or *partisants* "partisans." Those he called *braves* "braves" were younger men who were successful in warfare; as Truteau used the term it probably implied membership in the men's societies that were important components of Plains Indian social life. The "soldiers" were the police appointed to protect the camp and supervise hunts. He used *guerriers* as a generic term for "warriors."

Names of rivers and other geographical features have been translated using their modern equivalents, with Truteau's forms indicated either in the text or in notes.

Names of animals and birds present some challenges to translation, since French words designating species found in the Old World were applied differently in North America. Mississippi Valley French, like American Indian languages, designated large mammals by pairs of terms. For example, *vache* (and *vache sauvage*) designated "buffalo cow" and was also used generically for buffalo herds; *boeuf* (and *boeuf sauvage*) designated "buffalo bull" but seems also to have been used indiscriminately for "buffalo," particularly in reference

to products coming from the buffalo, including meat, rawhides, and tanned robes. Both words are translated "buffalo," except when the context makes clear that "buffalo cow" or "buffalo bull" is intended. Two words for elk, *biche* ("elk cow") and *cerf* ("bull elk"), are used in exactly the same manner as the words for buffalo.

Robert Vézina's "Le Lexique des voyageurs francophones et les contacts interlinguistiques dans le milieu de la traite des pelleteries" (2010) is the best guide for translating specialized terms and usages of Mississippi Valley French. Many of those terms, as used by Truteau, appear in Vézina's "A Glossary of Voyageur French," included here.

Acknowledgments

"The Journal and Description of the Upper Missouri" by Jean-Baptiste Truteau is one of the treasures of the Séminaire de Québec, located in Québec City. In 1973, when Douglas R. Parks was a postdoctoral fellow in the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institute, his advisor, John C. Ewers, told him about the Truteau manuscripts and their significance for the historical ethnography of the Northern Plains. John Francis McDermott, the eminent historian of the Mississippi Valley, had in 1960 arranged to have the rights to an English language edition purchased by the American Philosophical Society so that he could prepare it for publication. McDermott had a preliminary translation made and, when Parks contacted him in the later 1970s, he was still intending to publish it. However, McDermott died in 1981 without completing the project. That summer Parks and Raymond J. DeMallie were visiting Waldo and Mildred Wedel, also Smithsonian anthropologists, at their cabin in Allenspark, Colorado. In the course of a discussion about the importance of Truteau's writings for the ethnohistorical understanding of the Arikaras, Mildred suggested that she translate Truteau's journal and description and publish them in collaboration with Parks, who would write a historical introduction and do the editorial work relating to plains ethnography. They obtained a microfilm copy of the originals from the American Philosophical Society, and Mildred contacted Fernand Grenier, who graciously furnished a photocopy of his original transcription from the 1950s.

Mildred preferred to work from a photocopy of the original manuscript, made from the microfilm. She and Waldo spent many days with Parks and DeMallie reviewing the translation and drafting footnotes. Mildred's draft translation was serviceable for editorial purposes but followed the French very literally, and in some cases the translation of problematic passages remained questionable. Given the complexity of the text, we collectively decided that the translation should be published together with a transcription of the original French. Grenier's transcription was rekeyed as a manuscript, then checked against the photocopy of the manuscript by DeMallie. With the French and English side-by-side it was obvious that a freer English translation was called for. Meanwhile, after the Wedels had retired in 1989, Mildred's health declined and she passed away in 1995; Waldo died the following year.

After a long period of the project being on hold, it was picked up again in 2000–2001, when Ted Seaman, a graduate student in French at Indiana University, worked with DeMallie to improve the translation and to interpolate

material from the Seville and Nicollet versions of the journal. During 2001–2002 DeMallie spent a year at the Centre d'Études Nord-Américaines at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, where he read the English version apart from the French and found it still unsatisfactory, with some translations remaining questionable. When colleagues in Paris were unable to resolve the thorniest translation problems, we realized that we needed to turn to a specialist in North American French. Finally, we came into contact with Robert Vézina, then a graduate student at Laval University, who was studying the French of the voyageurs. In 2004 he agreed to join the project and over the next two years he reviewed the journal and description sentence by sentence, correcting errors and omissions. He reviewed the transcriptions against the originals and corrected misreadings of the manuscripts. He also discovered that Truteau had borrowed passages from the writings of Lahontan and documented them meticulously. In 2006–2007 he wrote both a substantive essay, "The Language of Truteau," which DeMallie translated into English, and "A Glossary of Voyageur French." The introduction and footnotes were revised and updated in 2013–2014.

We are grateful to Mildred Wedel for her initial translation of the manuscript, and to her and Waldo Wedel for their discussions of translation and editorial matters that took place throughout the 1980s. We have dedicated this book to their memory.

Special thanks is owed to the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, for permission to publish the manuscript. The staff of the Archives of the Séminaire de Québec has been very helpful in providing access to the original Truteau manuscripts in their possession and in making scans for publication. The staff of the North Dakota State Historical Society archives made scans available of the photostat of the version of Truteau's version in the Archives of the Indies, Seville. The staffs of many other archives and libraries have been equally helpful over the many years of this project, including the U.S. National Archives; the Library of Congress; the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; the University of Illinois–Edwardsville; the Historic New Orleans Collection; and the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Many individuals have shared their expertise with us. The late Melburn Thurman kindly undertook study in the Missouri Historical Society to locate material on Truteau and commented extensively on a draft of the introduction. Other individuals who read and commented on the manuscript include John C. Ewers, Janet Lecompte, and Helen H. Tanner, all of whom are now deceased. For linguistic transcriptions of Indian words we would like to thank Randolph Gracyzk (Crow), A. Wesley Jones (Hidatsa), John Koontz (Omaha), and Robert L.

Rankin (Osage and Kansa). David J. Costa, Ives Goddard, Michael McCafferty, and Richard Rhodes answered Vézina's questions on Algonquian forms. Francis Flavin discovered Truteau's borrowings from Hennepin.

To all these and many others not named, we appreciate your help and your patience over the many years that this project has taken to complete.

A Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri

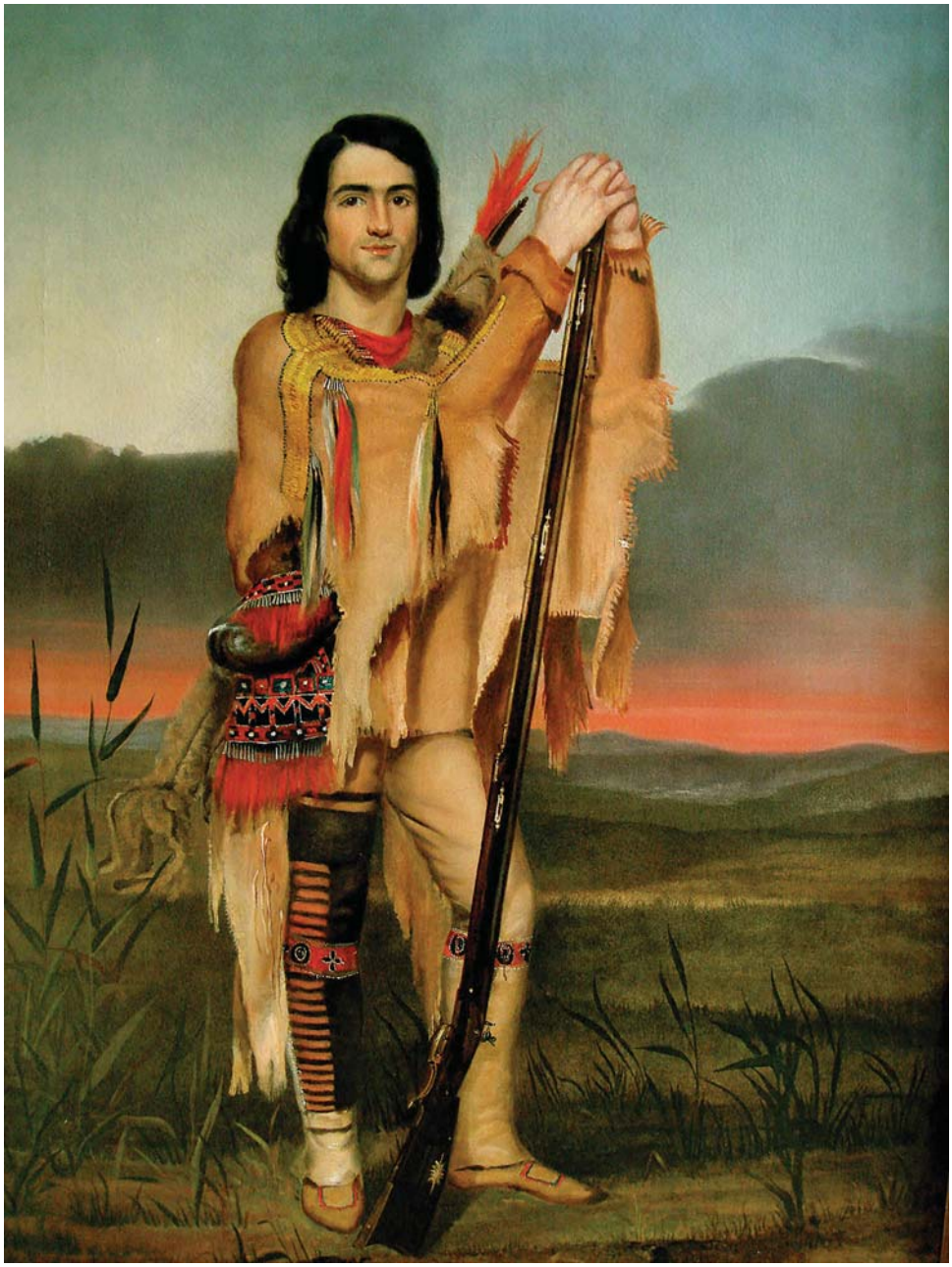


FIG. 1. *James de Berty Trudeau, wearing clothing given to him by the Osages upon his departure.* Painting by John Woodhouse Audubon, the younger son of naturalist John James Audubon. 1841. Personal Collection of Garry Trudeau.



FIG. 2. *Bull Boating*. Alfred Jacob Miller, 1858–1860. Watercolor on paper, 10.2 cm. x 19.7 cm. Courtesy the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Acc. no. 37.1940.180. Bullboats were called *boucats de peaux de boeuf* by Truteau.

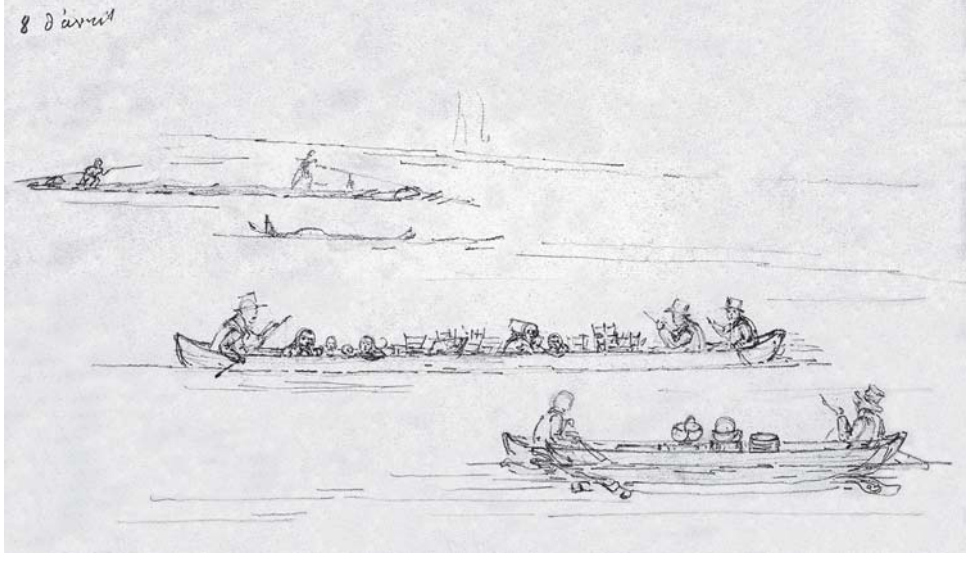


FIG. 3. *Dugout canoes on the Mississippi River*. Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, April 8, 1826. Pencil drawing on paper, 15 cm. x 23 cm. Courtesy Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Le Havre, France. Cat. no. 42,068. Enchanced by Noel P. Elliott. Truteau called them *pirogues*.



FIG. 4. Spanish medal created around a peso set in the middle and bearing the profile of King Carlos IV of Spain, dated 1797. The hand-engraved medallion was excavated from a Pawnee grave at the Hill site, Nebraska, in 1925. It was repatriated to the Pawnee Tribe in 1995. Diameter 109 cm. Permission granted by the Pawnee Nation. Image courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society, Archaeology Division, Lincoln. Cat. no 25WT1–496.

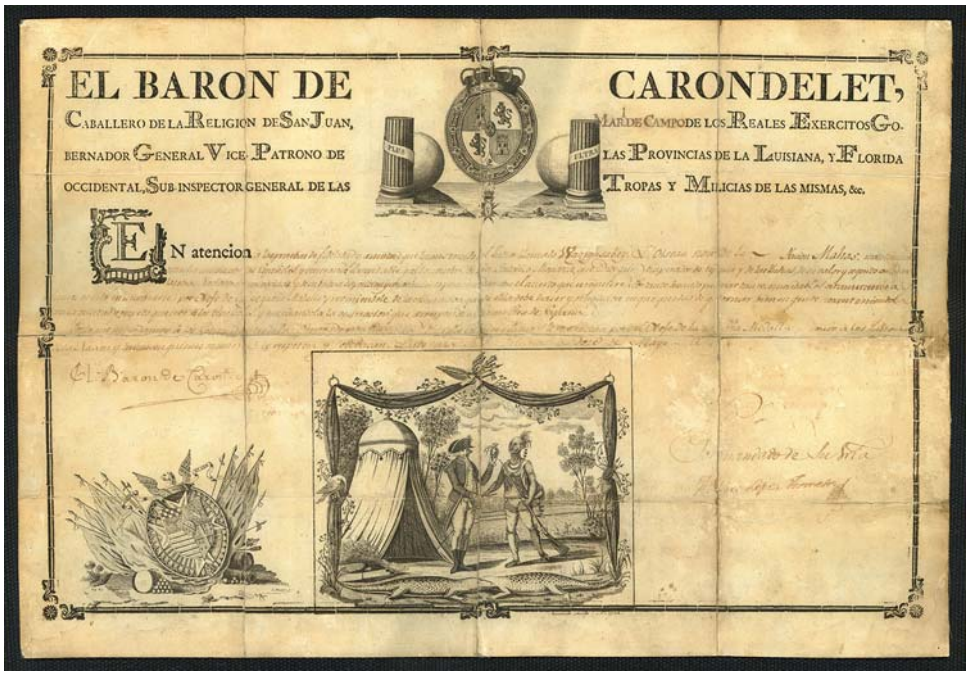
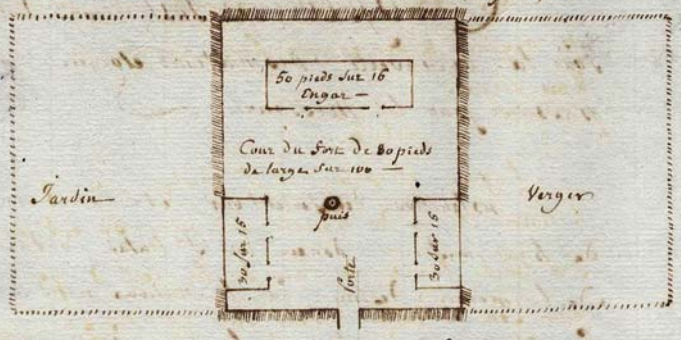


FIG. 5. Certificate given to Omaha Chief Blackbird (L'Oiseau Noir) on May 12, 1796, by Baron Francisco de Carondelet, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, to accompany a medal given to him. Length 46.7 cm. Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society, Museum of Nebraska History, Lincoln. Cat no. 1568. A translation of the handwritten part of the certificate reads: "In consideration of the proofs of fidelity and friendship which we have had from the Indian called Wagigasabey (L'Oiseau Noir) of the Mahas Nation, maintaining close relationship with the Spaniards, and venerating the respectable and high name of our Catholic Monarch (whom God preserve), Emperor of Spain and the Indies, for his bravery and influence among all the neighboring nations, and for his knowledge and excellent ability to command with the skill that it required, therefore desiring to reward such commendable circumstance we have decided to name him as Chief of the Small Medal, advising him of the estimation in which he should hold it, and the obligation he is under to govern his people well, maintaining them in the peace and respect which they owe to the Spaniards and teaching the veneration which is due to the Great King of Spain. Therefore we order the commanders of the ports of these provinces, officials, soldiers, and citizens to recognize him as Chief of the Small Medal. As to the Indians of his nation and others whoever they may be, they shall all respect and obey him. Given in New Orleans on the 12th of May 1796. By order of his excellency, Andres Lopez Armesto. The Baron of Carondelet."

FIG. 6. (*opposite*) Instructions given to Truteau by the Company of the Upper Missouri on June 30, 1794. Courtesy España Ministerio de Educatión, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias. #AGI_CUBA_2363_Fol_208_V.

Forme de l'établissemen de la Compagnie, chez la nation mendan



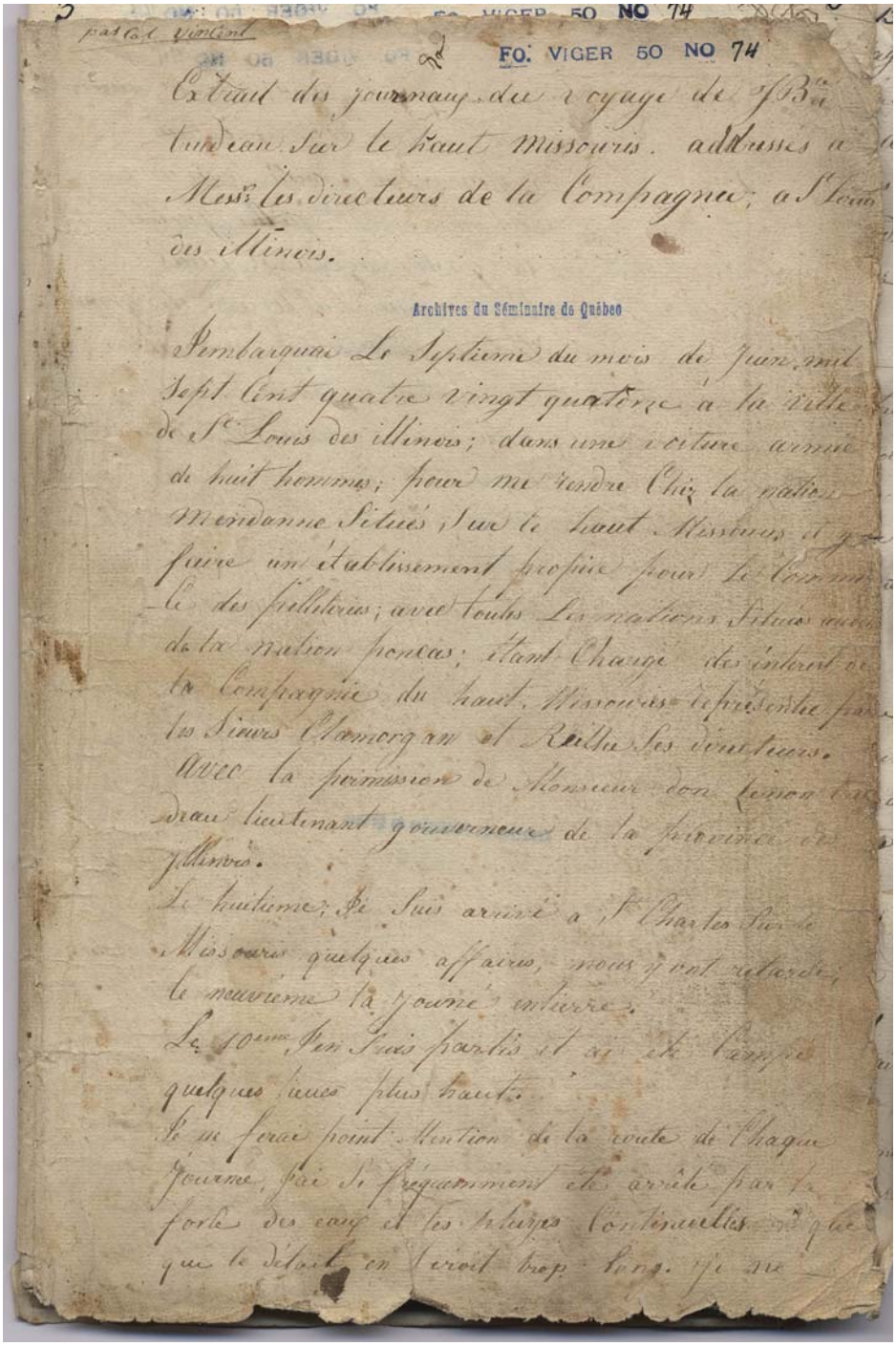
Art 3.

Il en Sera fait une deuxieme pour les engagés de la même maniere; l'une en face de l'autre éloignés De 50 pieds de distance; porte & fenetre de chaque Cabane opposée l'une a l'autre Sur un Seul coté; point d'ouverture autre part

Art 4

Il Sera fait un fort de 100 pieds Sur 80 dans lequel Seront ~~designés~~ renfermés les deux maisons Cy dessus designés Conformemen au plan; dans le lieu le plus élevé du village & le plus a la porté du missouri possible pour la Commodité de l'eau; & cella pour preterte de proteger les femes & les enfans dans une attaque: il n'y aura qu'une porte pour entrer dans le fort qui Sera En face de la Cour des deux maisons. Les pieux du fort Seront au moins de Sept pieds hors de terre avec des lices chevillés dans le haut; Ceux du Jardin Seront de 5 pieds.

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Leg., Cuba, 2363
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FO. VIGER 50 NO 74

Extrait des journaux du voyage de Mr Truteau sur le haut Missouris. addressés a Messrs les directeurs de la Compagnie, a St Louis des Illinois.

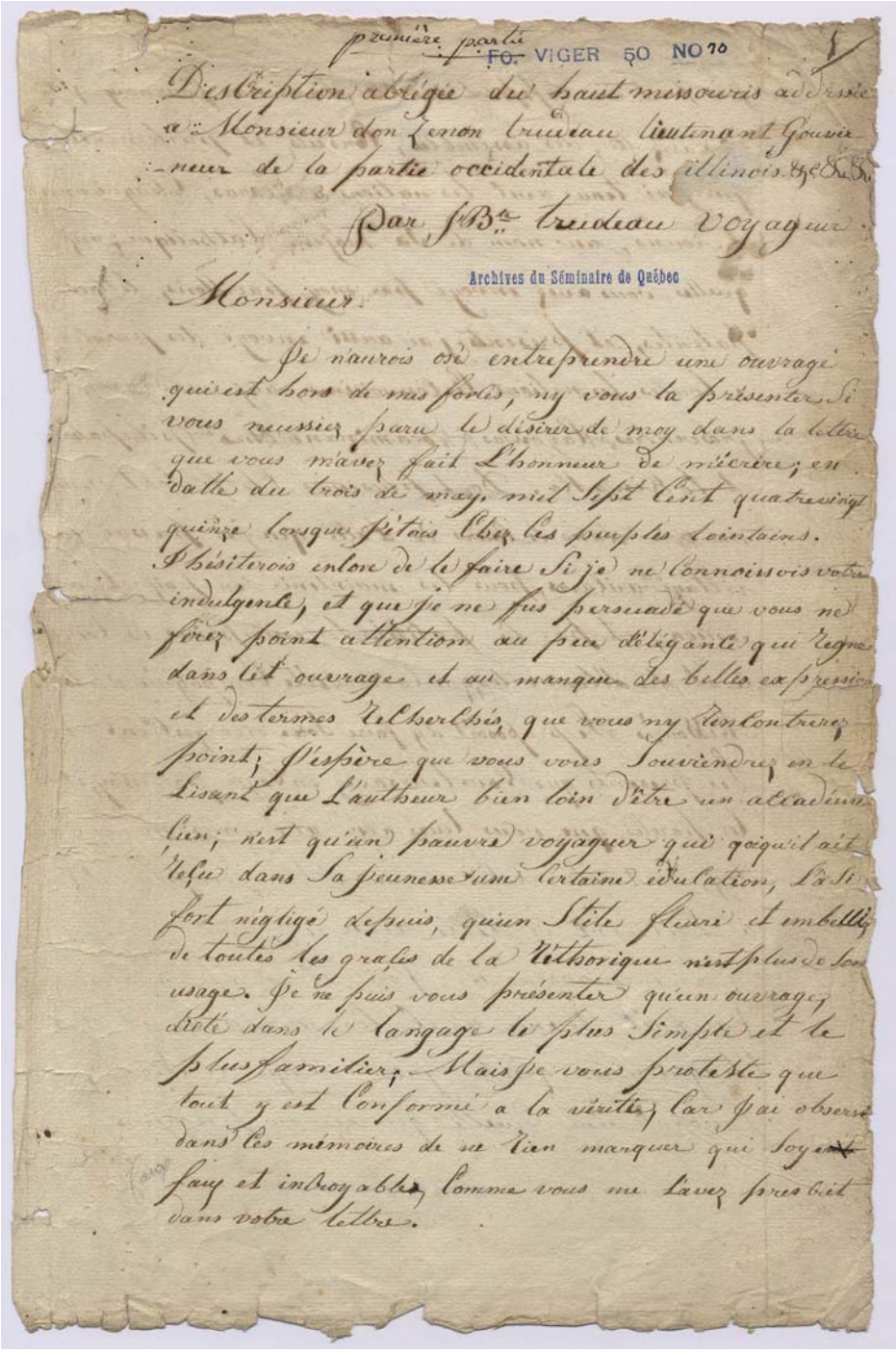
Archives du Séminaire de Québec

Jembarquai Le Septieme du mois de juin mil Sept Cent quatre vingt quatorze a la ville de St Louis des illinois; dans une voiture armé de huit hommes; pour me rendre Chez la nation Mendanne Situés Sur le haut Missouris et y faire un établissement propre pour le Commerce des pelleteries; avec toutes Les nations Situés autour de la nation ponteas; étant Chargé des interets de la Compagnie du haut Missouris Représenté par les Sieurs Clamorgan et Reilhe Les directeurs. Avec la permission de Monsieur don Zenon Trudeau Lieutenant gouverneur de la province des Illinois.

Le huitieme Je Suis arrivé a St Charles Sur le Missouris quelques affaires, nous y ont retardé; le neuvieme la journé entierre.

Le 10me Jen Suis partis et Je Suis Campé quelques lieues plus haut.

Je ne ferai point Mention de la route de Chaque journe, Jai Si fréquamment été arrêté par la force des eaux et les bruines Continuelles que le détail en seroit trop long. Je me


FC VIGER 50 NO 70
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première partie

Description abrégée du haut missouris adressée a Monsieur don Zenon Trudeau Lieutenant Gouverneur de la partie occidentale des illinois &c &c &c

Par J.B.te Trudeau Voyageur.

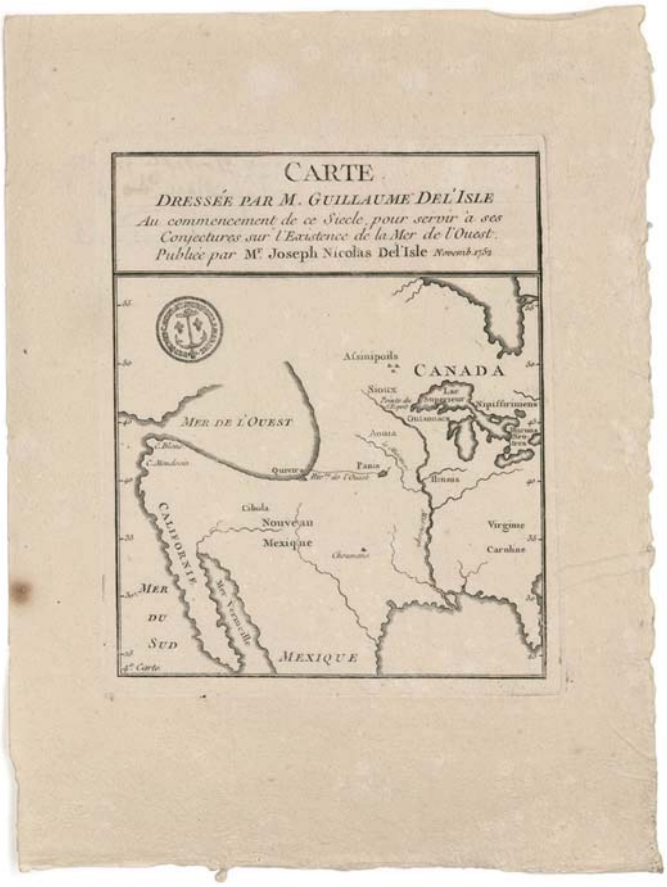
Monsieur.

Je naurois osé entreprendre un ouvrage qui est hors de mes forces, ny vous la présenter Si vous neussiez paru le désirer de moy dans la lettre que vous mavez fait Lhonneur de mécrire; en datte du trois de may, mil Sept Cent quatrevingt quinze lorsque jétois Chez les peuples lointains. Jhésiterois encore de le faire Si je ne connaissois votre indulgence, et que je ne fus persuadé que vous ne ferez point attention au peu délégance qui regne dans cet ouvrage et au manque des belles expressions et des termes Retherchés que vous ny rencontrerez point; Jespère que vous vous souviendrez en le Lisant que Lauteur bien loin detre un académicien; nest quun pauvre voyageur qui quoiquil ait Vecu dans Sa jeunesse dune certaine édukation, La Si fort négligé depuis, quun Stile fleuri et embellis de toutes les grafis de la Retborique nest plus de son usage. Je ne puis vous présenter quun ouvrage dicté dans le langage le plus Simple et le plus familier. Mais je vous proteste que tout y est Conformé a la vérité; Car jai observé dans les mémoires de ne rien manquer qui soyt faux et indigne de foy, Comme vous me Lavez prescrit dans votre Lettre.

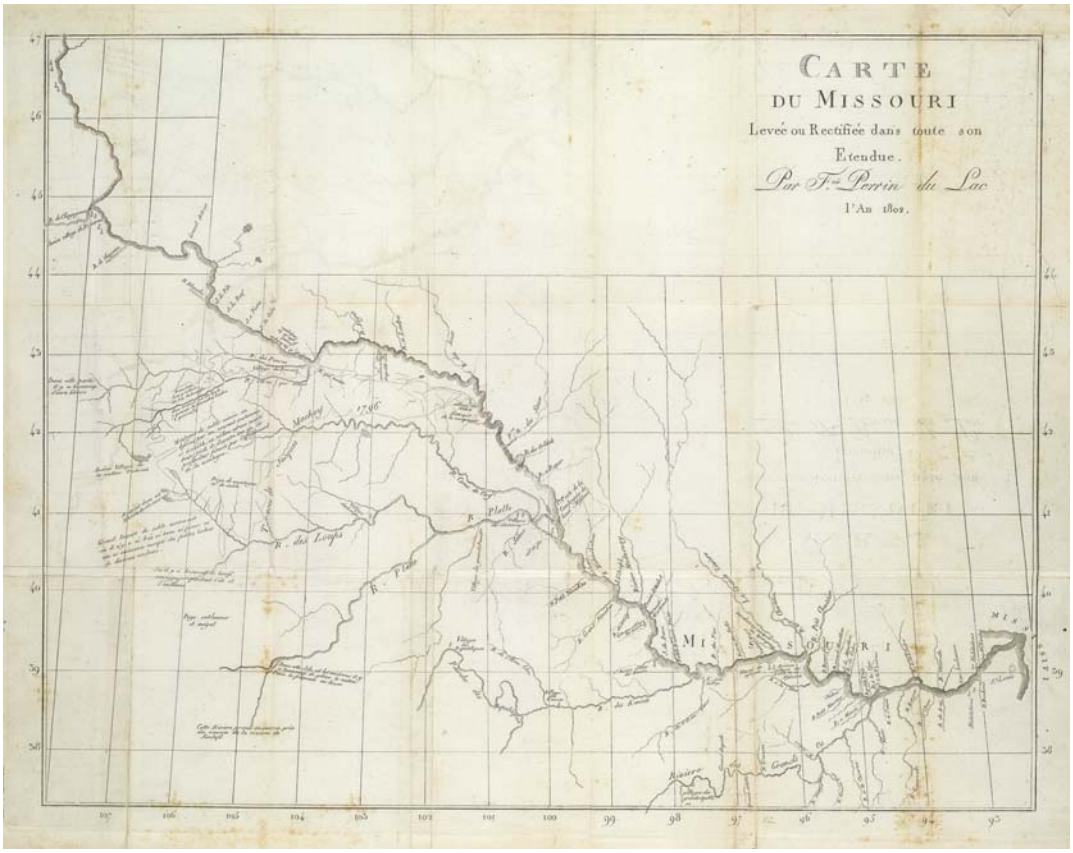
FIG. 8. Second page of the abridged description of the upper Missouri by Jean-Baptiste Truteau. Courtesy Archives du Seminaire de Quebec, Musée de l'Amerique francophone, Quebec, Canada.



FIG. 9. Drawings by Rudolph Friedrich Kurz, 1851. *Top*: Scene in Council Bluffs, May 19. *Bottom, from left*: Heads of two Cree men showing hair ornaments; a shirt; a Cree woman with facial tattooing wearing a strapped dress with decorated front and a bead necklace; and third Cree man with hair ornament. Pencil and ink on paper, 36.5 cm. x 27 cm. From Kurz's *Blackfoot Woman,* July 28, 1851, Inv. 1894.404.0057.85. Courtesy Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern, Switzerland.

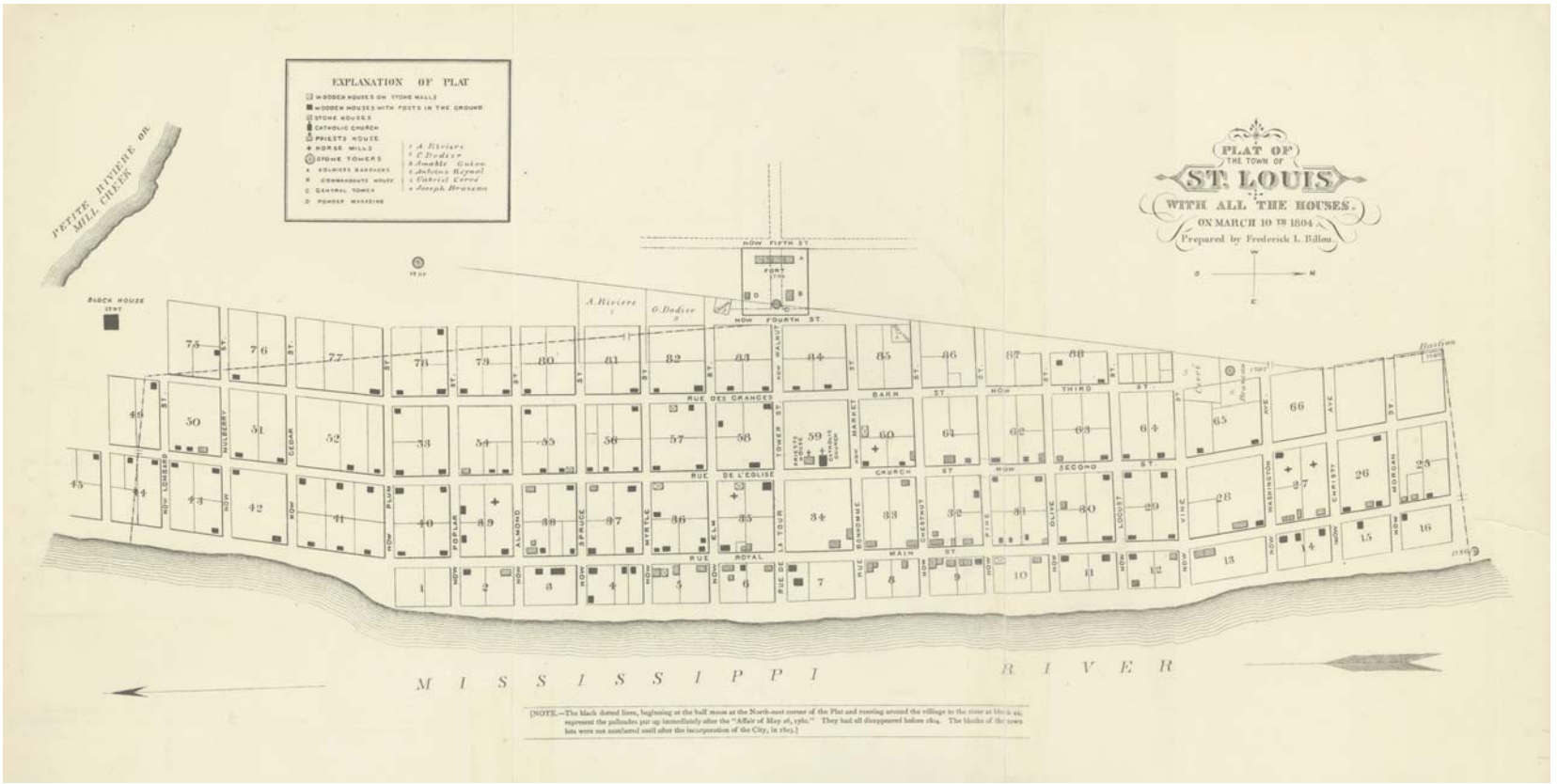


MAP 1. Map drawn by Mr. Guillaume Delisle at the beginning of this century to serve his conjectures about the existence of the Western Sea. Published by Mr. Joseph Nicolas Delisle in November 1752. Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

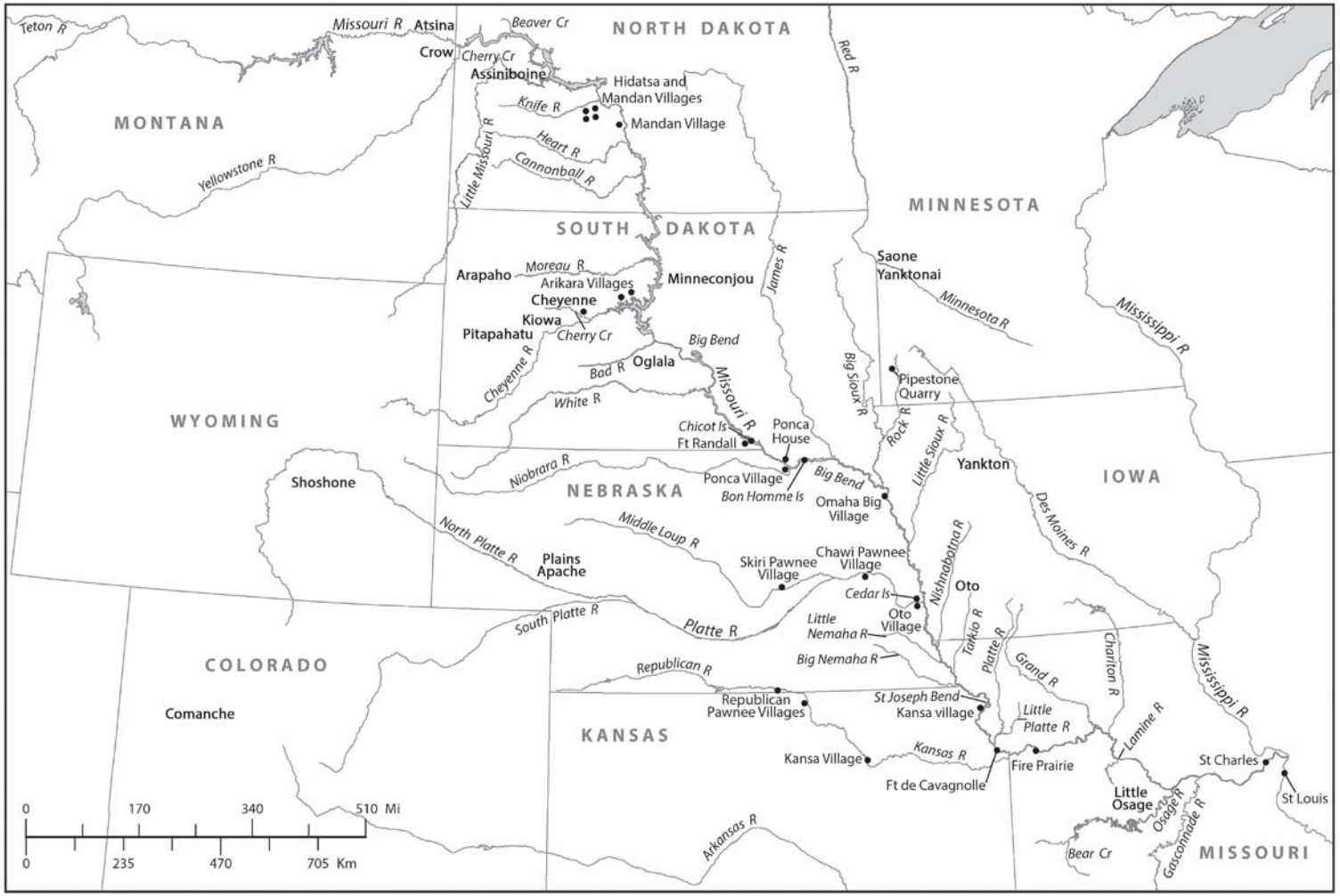


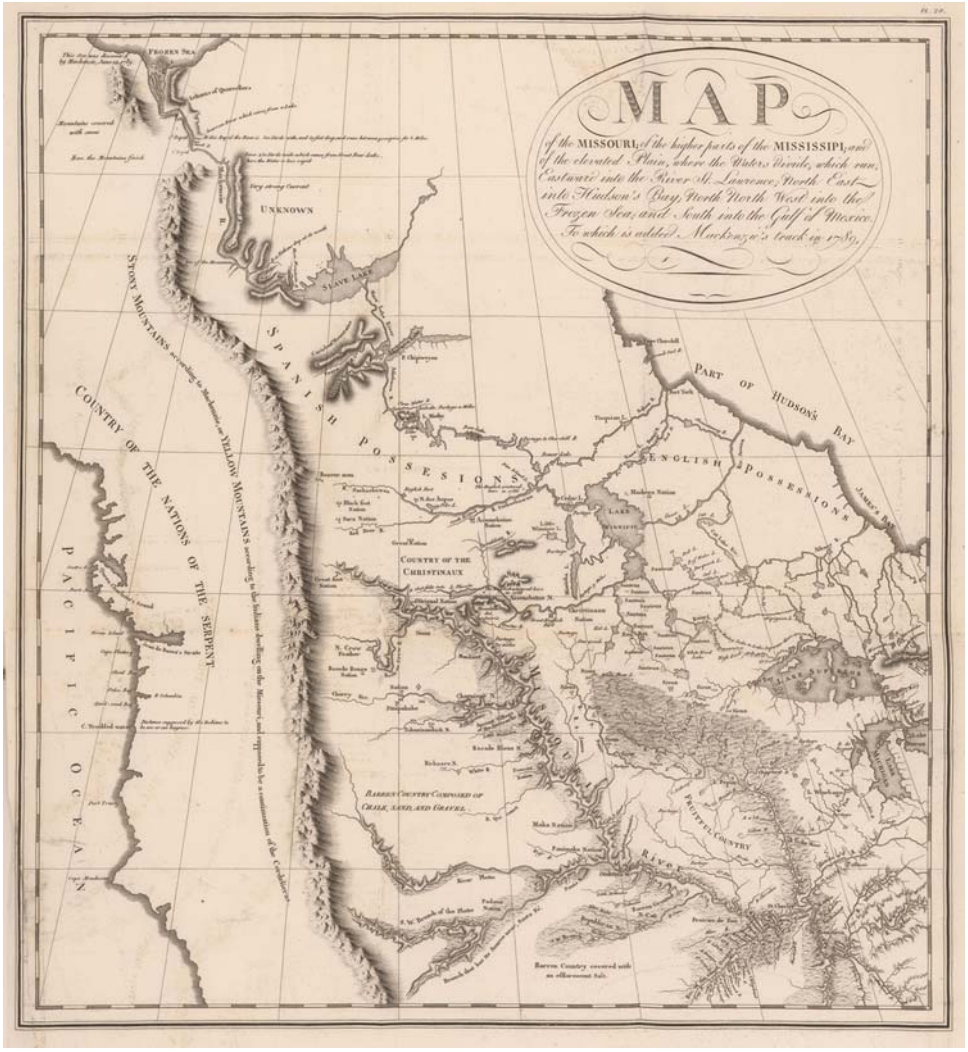
MAP 2. (*above*) *Carte du Missouri* by François-Marie Perrin du Lac, 1802. Engraved map, 45 cm. x 58 cm. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington DC, catalog no. 2003627086.

MAP 3. (*opposite*) Plat map of the city of St. Louis, 1804. Cartographer unknown. Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.



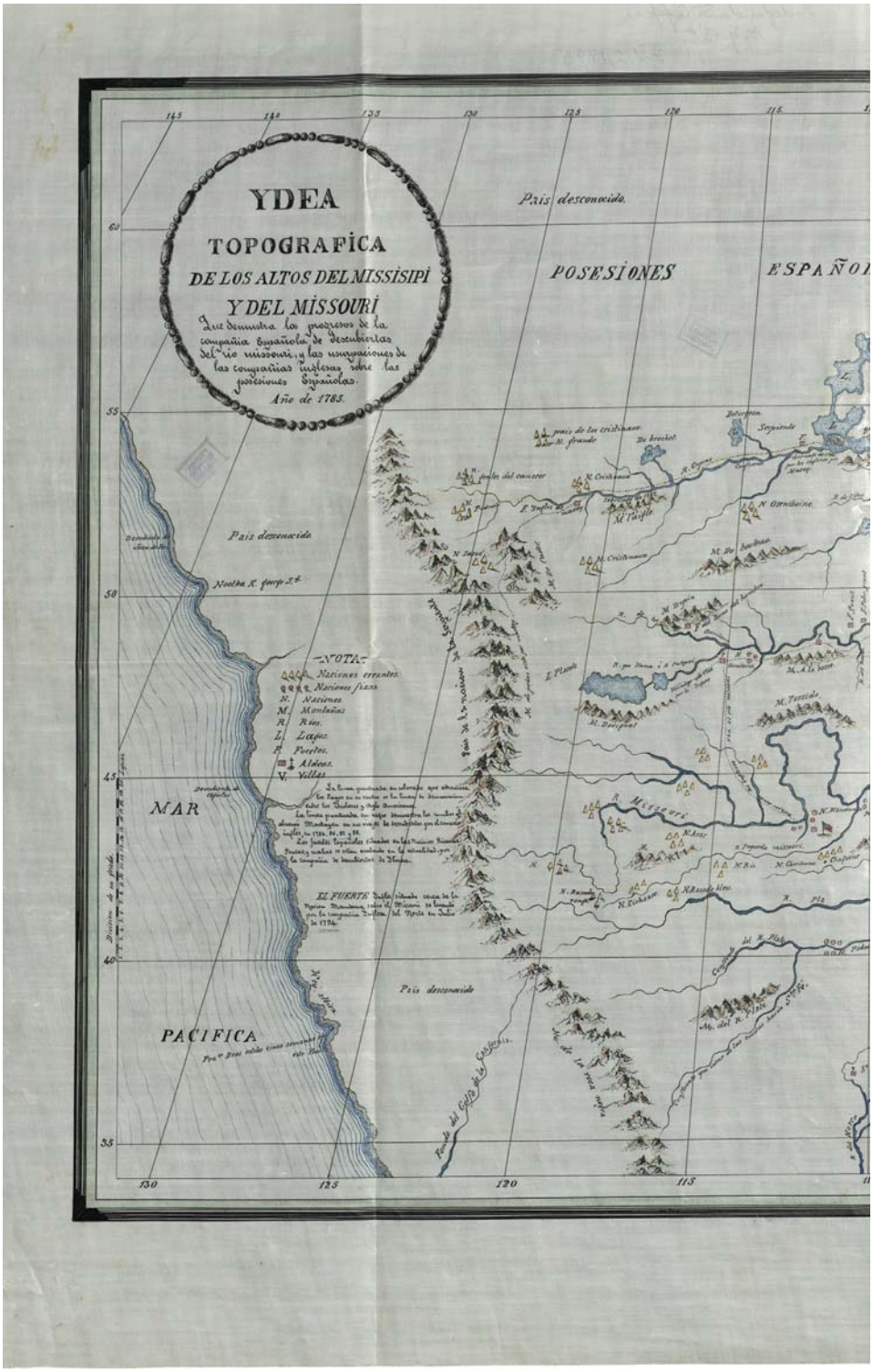
[NOTE.—The black dotted lines, beginning at the half moon at the North-east corner of the Plat and running around the village to the river at block 44, represent the palisades put up immediately after the "Affair of May 26, 1780." They had all disappeared before 1804. The blocks of the town lots were not numbered until after the incorporation of the City, in 1809.]


Teton R
Missouri R
Atsina
Beaver Cr
NORTH DAKOTA
Crow
Cherry Cr
Assiniboine
Hidatsa and
Mandan Villages
Knife R
Mandan Village
MONTANA
Heart R
Yellowstone R
Little Missouri R
Cannonball R
MINNESOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
Red R
James R
Saone
Yanktonai
Arapaho
Moreau R
Arikara Villages
Minneconjou
Cheyenne
Kiowa
Pitapahatu
Cherry Cr
Minnesota R
Mississippi R
Big Bend
Cheyenne R
Bad R
Oglala
Big Sioux R
Pipestone
Quarry
White R
Missouri R
WYOMING
Chicot Is
Ft Randall
Ponca
House
Rock R
Little Sioux R
Yankton
Niobrara R
Ponca Village
Big Bend
Bon Homme Is
NEBRASKA
IOWA
Shoshone
Omaha Big
Village
Des Moines R
Middle Loup R
North Platte R
Plains
Apache
Skiri Pawnee
Village
Chawi Pawnee
Village
Nishnabotna R
Oto
Cedar Is
Oto
Village
Little
Nemaha R
Tarkio R
Platte R
South Platte R
Platte R
Big Nemaha R
Grand R
Chariton R
Mississippi R
COLORADO
Republican R
Republican
Pawnee Villages
St Joseph Bend
Kansa village
Little
Platte R
Comanche
KANSAS
Lamine R
Kansas R
Kansa Village
Fire Prairie
St Charles
Ft de Cavagnolle
Little
Osage
St Louis
Osage R
Gasconnade R
Bear Cr
MISSOURI
Arkansas R
0
170
340
510 Mi
0
235
470
705 Km

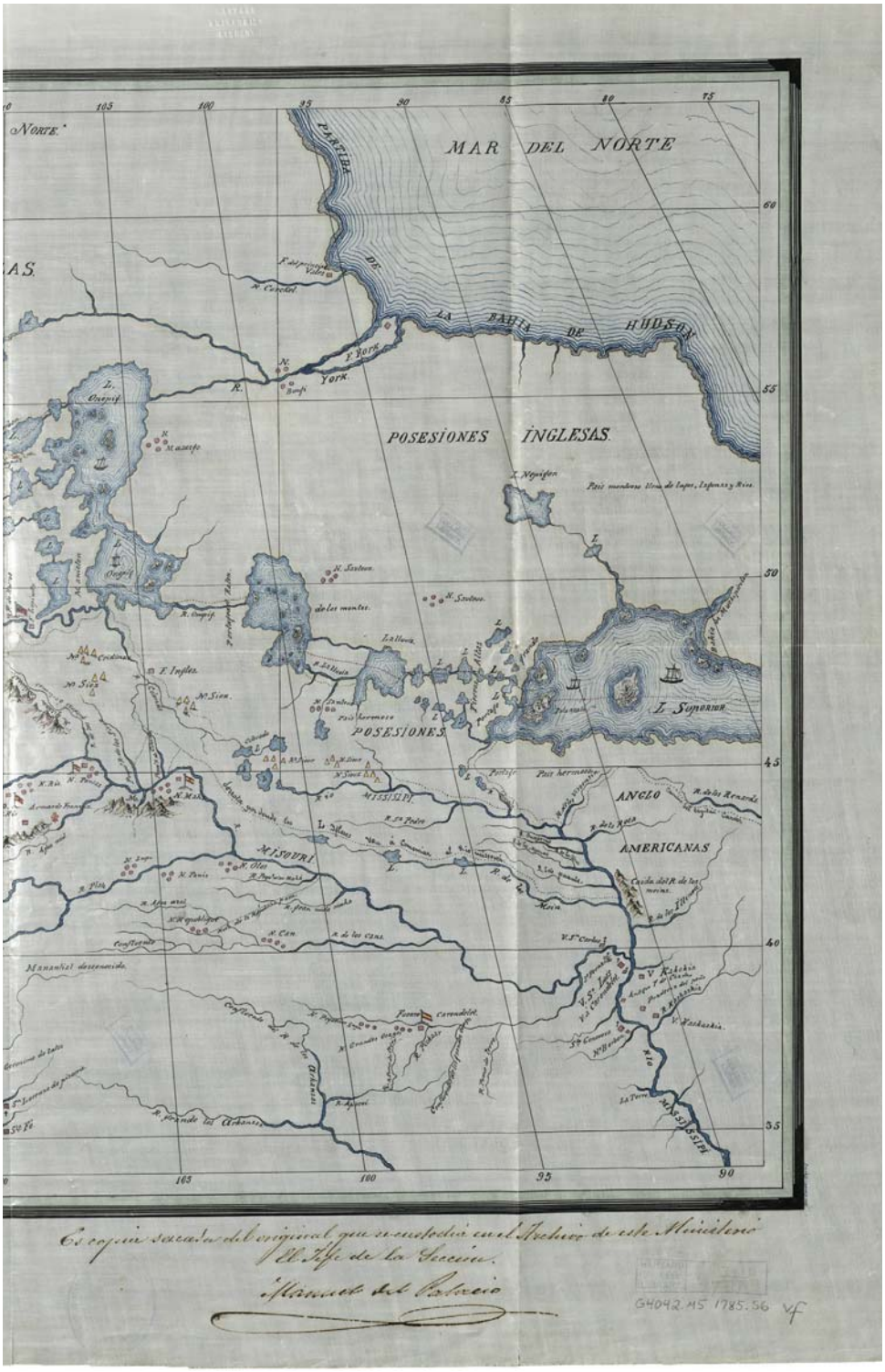


MAP 4. (*opposite*) Geographical points and landmarks in Truteau's journal of 1794–1796, showing tribal locations. Prepared by Daniel G. Cole, chief cartographer, Smithsonian Institution, 2015. Modified by Douglas R. Parks and Travis Meyers.

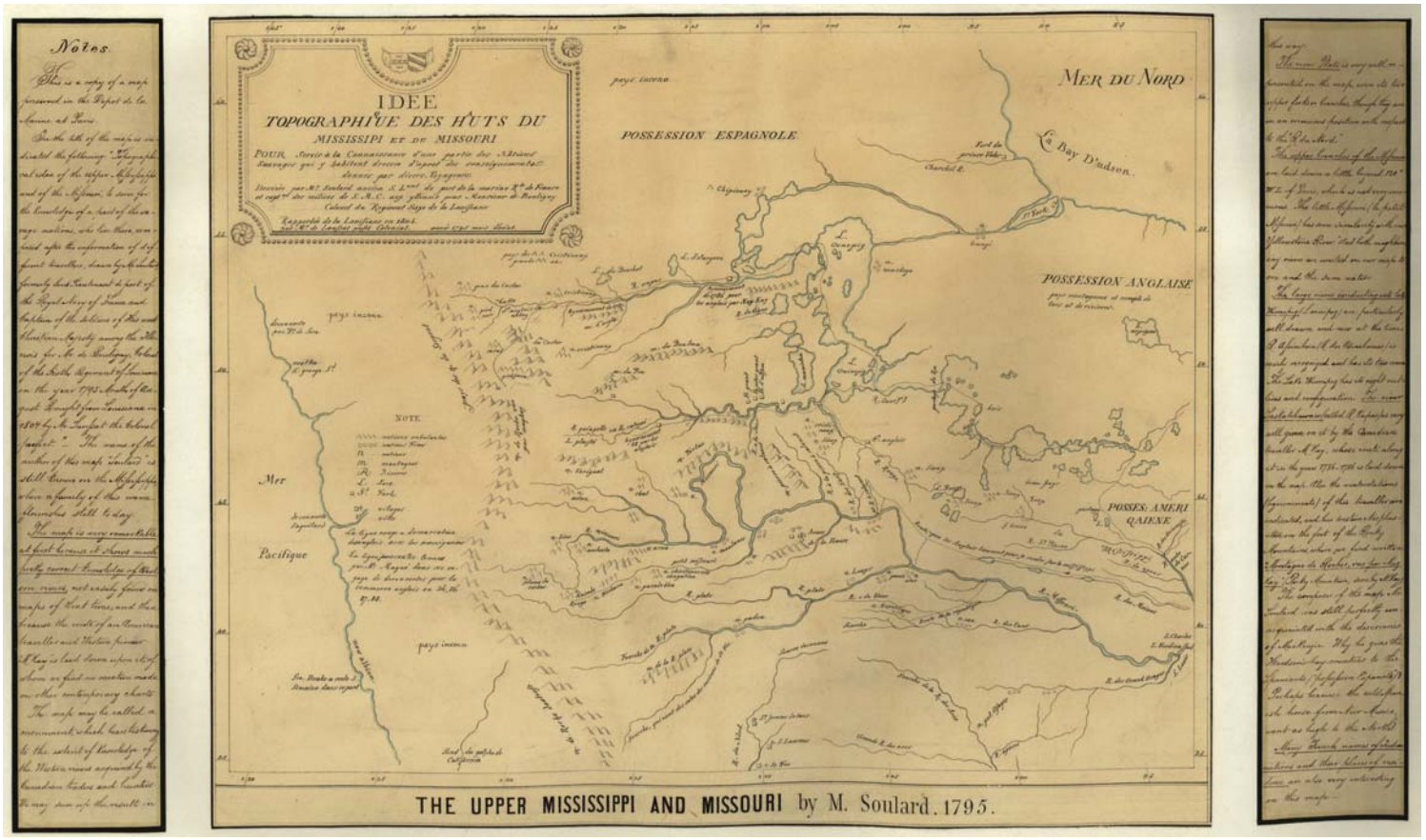
MAP 5. (*above*) *Map of the Missouri; of the higher parts of the Mississipi* [*sic*]*; and of the elevated Plain, where the Waters divide . . . To which is added Mackenzie's track in 1789.* From Georges Henri Victor Collot (1750–1805), *A Journey in North America, Containing a Survey of the Countries Watered by the Mississipi, Ohio, and Missouri . . . Atlas*, 1826. Printed for Arthus Bertrand, bookseller, no. 23, Rue Hautefeuille, Paris. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.



MAP 6. *Topographical Sketch of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri, Demonstrating the Progress of the Spanish Company in the Discovery of the Missouri River, and the Encroachments of the English*



Companies in the Spanish Possessions. Map by Antoine Soulard, commissioned by Baron Carondelet, 1795 [1785]. Courtesy of Harvard Map Collection, Harvard Unversity Library.



MAP 7. *The Upper Mississippi and Missouri.* Map by M. Soulard, 1795. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington DC.

Introduction

DOUGLAS R. PARKS

In the early summer of 1794 Jean-Baptiste Truteau, a voyageur, embarked from St. Louis with a crew of eight men in a pirogue laden with a two-year supply of trade goods. Truteau's plan was to ascend the Missouri River to the villages of the Mandan Indians. Truteau was instructed to build a fort there, among a people known little more than by their name to officials and merchants in the administrative centers of Spanish Louisiana. He was instructed to build a fort, establish friendly relations with the Indian tribes, fix prices and regulate trade, and compile information on the native inhabitants as well as on the geography of the region.

When Truteau set out on his expedition the Mandans were living just below the mouth of the Knife River in what is now central North Dakota. Hunters and traders from settlements in Spanish Louisiana had only recently begun to explore the northern plains of North America, and the information they reported on the Indian tribes and geography of that region was sketchy at best. Spanish officials and St. Louis merchants encouraged exploration of the northern plains for a variety of interrelated economic and political reasons: to seek new routes to Spanish New Mexico and later to the "Western Sea" (as the Pacific Ocean was then known); to establish a presence and dominion over this remote Spanish crown territory, securing it against British trading incursions from the north and east; and to establish a monopoly on Indian trade there that would secure the benefits accruing from the exploitation of a region presumed rich in natural resources. To accomplish these goals, in 1793 a group of St. Louis merchants formed an officially sponsored association called La Compagnie de Commerce pour la Découverte du haut du Missouri (the commercial company for the discovery of the upper Missouri, also known as the Upper Missouri Company), which over the following four years financed three major expeditions up the river. Truteau led the first.

In fact, Truteau never reached the Mandan villages. He and his party stopped at the villages of the Arikaras, a strategically located horticultural tribe living downstream, at the mouth of the Cheyenne River in present central South Dakota. Unable to ascend the Missouri any farther, Truteau remained among the Arikaras for a full year, during which time he carried out his mission, though among a different people. Throughout his travels and during much of his residence with the Arikaras and other tribes, Truteau kept a journal of his activities,

recording his observations on the geography of the country he explored and the peoples he met.

Although as a trading endeavor Truteau's expedition must be judged a failure, it was certainly a success in providing a guide to the region of the upper Missouri, since the documents written by Truteau serve as the first substantive description of Indian life at the very beginning of what was to become a new era on the plains. They describe tribal locations, interrelations, and lifeways before the native inhabitants had been exposed to and altered by the unrelenting European trade and settlement forces that rapidly unfolded over the next century. Truteau's portrayal of the Arikaras, moreover, is particularly significant: it provides the earliest substantive ethnographic account of the Arikaras' rich and distinctive culture and remains one of only a small number of descriptions ever recorded of this people, who, together with the closely related Pawnees, were for centuries prior to Truteau's trip among the most important tribes on the northern plains.

Truteau's accounts and observations comprise two sets of documents, written at different times. The first was a record of events and observations made in a journal during his two years of traveling and residency among the Arikaras, which the Upper Missouri Company had ordered him to make in duplicate (one copy to be sent annually to the directors downriver in St. Louis and the other to be retained by himself). The second is a description of the upper Missouri region that summarizes the geographical information gathered from his journal. It portrays in greater detail the native peoples of the region in addition to assessing the potential value for future trade with them. This report, dated June 4, 1796, was composed for his employers after he returned to St. Louis.

Prior to the publication of the manuscript presented here—the Quebec version—only portions of other versions of Truteau's journal and description were ever printed. Although excerpts of the first part of the description were published in English translation in the early nineteenth century (Mitchill 1806a, 1806b, 1806c; 1808a, 1808b, 1808c), other longer, more substantial sections did not appear until the early twentieth century. The first of these later publications presented the second part of the three-part journal (Beauregard 1912); it was followed two years later by a French version of the first part of the journal (Jameson 1914). Nearly a decade later a copy of the initial part of the description was found and published in French and English (Abel 1921). Finally, a transcription of a copy of the journal and description held by the archives of the Seminary of Quebec was published in French, with an accompanying electronic version comparing the various versions of the text (Grenier and Saint-Gelais 2006). Until their presentation here, however, no complete set of Truteau's writings has ever been printed.

Historical Background: The French in North America

Although French exploration in North America began with Giovanni da Verrazano (1524) and Jacques Cartier (1534), the goal of these sixteenth-century expeditions was not colonization but the discovery of a passage through North America to the Orient. It was not until 1600 that Pierre de Chauvin built the first French trading post on the St. Lawrence River at Tadoussac, where Indians from the north came during the summers to exchange their furs for European goods. In 1608 Champlain founded Québec farther upriver on the St. Lawrence. Jesuit missionaries, filled with religious zeal to convert the Indians to Catholicism, soon arrived. The establishment of colonies, which was required in order to secure imperial claims to lands in the New World, was impelled by rivalry with the English, Dutch, and Spanish.[1]

French colonists continued to move up the St. Lawrence River valley from Québec, establishing Trois-Rivières in 1634 and Ville-Marie (later renamed Montréal) in 1642. Throughout the history of New France, the furs obtained in trade with the Indians were the most lucrative export, although the first settlers were primarily farmers whose products were essential to maintain the colony. The fashion for wide-brimmed felt hats had come into vogue in Europe and the demand for Canadian furs, especially the soft underfur of the beaver, increased just as the supply of European beavers was dwindling. European trade goods were eagerly sought necessities by the Indians and, given their access to a plentiful supply of furs, a lively trade developed.

In their quest for furs the French quickly expanded west into the Great Lakes region. In 1659 Médard Chouart des Groseilliers and Pierre-Esprit Radisson reached the western end of Lake Superior and made the earliest recorded European contact with the eastern Sioux living there. Trade began in the mid 1660s with the tribes from Green Bay and throughout present-day Wisconsin. Nicolas Perrot, a former Jesuit *donné,* spoke several Indian languages and served French interests by attempting to broker peace among the tribes.

As early as the 1660s Jesuit missionaries were working on the shores of both Lake Superior and Lake Michigan. In 1665 Fr. Claude Allouez established the mission of Saint-Esprit at La Pointe on the western end of Lake Superior, and Fr. Jacques Marquette founded missions at Sault Ste. Marie in 1668 and at Saint-Ignace on the north shore of the straits of Michilimackinac in 1671.

In return for a monopoly on the fur trade, the French government had delegated the responsibility for colonizing Canada and for converting the Indians to a private venture known as the Company of One Hundred Associates. This arrangement lasted during the turbulent years of 1627 to 1663, when the fledgling colony was at the mercy of the Iroquois Confederacy. The company failed

to establish a thriving colony and was commercially unsuccessful. In 1663 the young King Louis XIV reclaimed Canada, and from 1665 to 1672 he and his minster, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, directly controlled the colony and subsidized emigration to it.

Although official French policy throughout the seventeenth century was to restrict colonization to only the St. Lawrence valley and to invite the Indians to trade their peltries at the settlements already established, that policy was never successfully enforced. A temporary peace with the Iroquois beginning in 1667 resulted in increased trade activity. Large numbers of Frenchmen took canoeloads of trade goods—including brandy—into Indian territory to barter for furs. Such men became known as *coureurs de bois*; they spent the winter living in Indian camps and returned to the settlements in the summer to sell their furs.[2]

In 1672, under the aegis of Gov. Louis Buade de Frontenac, a post called Fort Frontenac was built at the eastern end of Lake Ontario and placed under the charge of his protégé, René Robert Cavelier de La Salle. Cartographer Louis Jolliet, accompanied by the Jesuit Fr. Jacques Marquette, made their famous trip down the Mississippi River as far as the Arkansas River in 1673. La Salle constructed another post at Niagara on the western end of Lake Ontario in 1676. In response, to protect their interests, the Montréal merchants built posts at Michilimackinac and elsewhere around the northern Great Lakes.

While visiting France in 1678, La Salle received the king's permission to explore the Mississippi valley. In 1680 La Salle and his associate, Henri de Tonty, founded Fort Crevecoeur on the Illinois River (near present-day Peoria) and that same year sent traders Michel Accault and Antoine Auguel, accompanied by Recollet missionary Louis Hennepin, to explore the upper Mississippi. After being taken captive by the Sioux, Accault, Auguel, and Hennepin were recovered by Daniel Greysolon Dulhut, who in the previous year had made a treaty with the Sioux and neighboring tribes and raised the king's arms in several of their villages to claim the region for France. In 1682 La Salle and Tonty built Fort St. Louis to replace Fort Crevecoeur on the Illinois River (present-day Starved Rock) and then continued their journey down the Mississippi to its mouth, taking possession of the entire region for Louis XIV and naming it Louisiana.

After another visit to France, in 1685 La Salle returned to North America and attempted to enter the Mississippi by way of the sea. Sailing too far west, La Salle's party landed on the Texas coast and spent the next two years traveling through southeastern Texas and western Louisiana. La Salle was murdered early in 1687 and the remainder of his men eventually made their way to Fort St. Louis.[3]

The coureurs de bois continued to expand the fur trade. In 1685 Perrot built Fort St. Nicolas at the mouth of the Wisconsin (later the site of Prairie du Chien)

and in 1686, farther up the Mississippi, Fort St. Antoine at the mouth of the Chippewa. At Fort St. Antoine Perrot proclaimed French sovereignty over the upper Mississippi. Pierre Charles Le Sueur, also a former Jesuit donné who engaged in trade with the Sioux and other tribes of the region, was present for the occasion. In 1693, following instructions from Governor Frontenac, Le Sueur established a post on Madeline Island in Chequamegon Bay on the south shore of Lake Superior, which was intended to secure peace between the Chippewas and the eastern Sioux. In 1695 he built a fort on Prairie Island in the Mississippi.[4]

Missionaries followed the explorers into the Illinois Country during the late seventeenth century. Jesuits established the Mission of the Immaculate Conception at Fort St. Louis in 1689; after intermediate moves the mission settled at Kaskaskia in 1703. Additionally, Sulpician priests from the Seminary of Foreign Missions were sent by the bishop of Québec to proselytize among the Indians. In 1699 the Sulpicians founded the Mission of the Holy Family among the Tamarois at Cahokia. Both sites functioned as fur trade posts and missions, and both soon developed into agricultural settlements.

THE FRENCH IN LOUISIANA

France began to consolidate its grip on the Mississippi Valley in 1699 when Louis XIV entrusted Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville with the founding of a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, a move hastened by fear that the English planned to take imminent possession of the area and that the Spanish might encroach upon it as well. After first establishing a base at Biloxi, Iberville returned to France but left his brother, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, in command to oversee exploration of the coast and lower courses of the Mississippi and Red Rivers and to establish friendly relations with the Indian tribes there. Iberville visited the colony twice more; the final time was in 1702, when he moved the capital from Biloxi to Mobile. Subsequently, Bienville assumed control of the colony.[5]

Forging alliances with native tribes through treaties and trade was integral to Iberville's plan to obtain control over the Mississippi valley. By establishing the colony he gained Indian buffers to prevent the spread of English traders from Carolina into French territory and military allies to be relied on in case war broke out between France and England. It was a policy that had worked successfully in the St. Lawrence valley, for example, where the Hurons, the Algonquins, and the Montagnais had fought on the side of the French against the Iroquois. In Louisiana the tribes of the Gulf region were anxious to ally with the French in order to seek protection from the slave raids of the British-allied Creeks and Chickasaws. In 1702 Tonty was sent on a peace mission to form an alliance

and establish trade with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, hoping to check English traders from gaining ground in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina.

Reports from French traders on the Missouri River came downriver to Iberville and Bienville. In 1702, for example, Iberville was able to list many of the Indian tribes living on that river as far north as the Panimahas (the Skiri Pawnees). In 1705 a Frenchman, whose name is recorded only as Laurain, gave Bienville a confused account of the Missouri River, of the Indians living along it, and of the Spanish settlements on the frontier of New Mexico. In 1706 or 1707 one Derbanne, along with a small party of men, ascended the Missouri some four hundred leagues and claimed to have found horses there that had been either purchased or stolen from the Spanish. Other accounts like these surfaced, with most claiming that Spaniards had already penetrated the Missouri River region and that New Mexico was near where the Frenchmen had been.[6]

During that first decade Louisiana had a military government headed by Bienville. Largely cut off from France during the War of Spanish Succession (1702–1713), the colony did not prosper and its European population remained a mere two hundred people. In 1712, to rid France of the expense of maintaining Louisiana, Louis XIV granted a fifteen-year trade monopoly to Antoine Crozat, a wealthy financier and the king's secretary. In theory this monopoly extended from the Illinois River to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Carolinas to New Mexico; for his part Crozat was charged with bringing settlers into the colony and developing it. The first governor, Lamothe Cadillac, tried unsuccessfully to open trade with the Spanish colonies by sending Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis to establish an overland trade route through Texas to New Mexico. After founding the Natchitoches trading post on the Red River to serve the Caddo groups and other tribes, Saint-Denis proceeded to San Juan Bautista, where he arrived in 1714. Fearing French encroachment on their territory, the Spaniards arrested Saint-Denis and subsequently began a tenuous reoccupation of Texas. Spanish efforts to counter French expansion were, however, feeble ones, as represented only by the establishment of a number of missions, among them San Antonio de Béxar and Los Adaes, the latter only a dozen-some miles from the French post of Natchitoches.[7]

Under Crozat's monopoly Louisiana still did not prosper. The colony's population did not increase, trade was not opened with the Spanish provinces in Mexico, no gold or silver mines were discovered, and a profitable trade in furs with the Indians never developed. From 1714 on he failed to fulfill his commitments to the colony and finally surrendered his patent in 1717. Control of the colony then passed to a commercial oligarchy, the Company of the West, formed on the initiative of John Law, who made Louisiana the center of his system by issuing unsecured paper money that ushered in a brief period of speculation

and growth.[8] In 1719 the Company of the West acquired other trading companies with interests in Africa, China, and the Indies; together they became the Company of the Indies, which held a monopoly on all French maritime trade. Law's financial system collapsed in 1720, but these years nevertheless experienced the real beginning of colonial development in Louisiana. Bienville was appointed governor, New Biloxi was the capital, and in 1718 New Orleans—just four years later to become the seat of government—was founded. The population of the colony expanded and reached eighteen hundred by 1723, while the plantation agriculture developed with the importation of African slaves. France once again turned its attention to the Illinois country, which had proved to be an important source of agricultural produce for Louisiana. In 1717, at the request of the Company of the West, Illinois was detached from Canada and became a part of Louisiana.

The newly combined Company of the Indies vigorously pushed exploration and trade in the trans-Mississippi west, initiating endeavors that invariably had three goals: establish trade and friendly relations with the Indian tribes of the vast unknown region; prevent Spanish encroachment on French territory; and open commerce with New Mexico. One of the earliest expeditions was led by Etienne Véniard, Sieur de Bourgmont, a onetime soldier, deserter, and coureur de bois who in 1714 made an official trip up the Missouri River by boat as far as the Platte River and kept a record of his travels.[9] Farther south, Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis undertook a second trading expedition to the Rio Grande River via Natchitoches in 1717.[10] Two years later, Bénard de La Harpe established a post on the Red River among the Cadodachos and then went north to the middle Arkansas River, above the mouth of the Canadian River, where the Tawakonis lived. That same year Claude Charles Du Tisné ascended the Missouri River to visit the Missouria tribe and then went up the Osage River to visit the Osages. Du Tisné finally reached the locale of the Panis (Paniouassas), a Wichita group living on the Verdigris River in southeastern Kansas, where he made an alliance with the tribe and raised the French flag in their village.[11] Thus within two decades the French had expanded their activities north into the valleys of the Missouri, Arkansas, and Platte Rivers.

Even though exclusively commercial, this French activity in the Mississippi valley and beyond alarmed the ever-fearful Spaniards living in New Mexico, who perceived it as a threat to the security of the northern provinces of New Spain. Rumors reaching New Mexico told of Frenchmen forming alliances and trading firearms with Indian tribes and preparing for a future advance on New Mexico and the "mines of Santa Fe." To investigate the French presence on the plains northeast of New Mexico, Gov. Don Antonio de Valverde embarked on an expedition in 1719 but went no farther than the village of an Apache group on

the Arkansas River, known as El Quartelejo, after he heard alarming reports of a French-Pawnee alliance menacing the Apaches and drew the implication of French designs on New Mexico. Valverde's report, written after his return to New Mexico, prompted another reconnaissance expedition in 1720 under the command of Don Pedro de Villasur. This mission succeeded in reaching a Pawnee village on the Upper Platte River in the center of Nebraska. However, while waiting to establish communication with the French in the village, Villasur's force was attacked by surprise. Only 13 of the 110-man force escaped; among the victims was Villasur.[12]

Although the Spaniards of New Mexico did not want to establish commercial links with them, the French in Louisiana were determined to reach the Spanish settlements and French traders continued to try to reach Santa Fe after the Villasur expedition. This required making peace between the Plains Apaches (the Padoucas), who controlled the country east of New Mexico, and their enemy tribes already allied to the French.[13] The man assigned to this task—and also to establish a French military presence in the Missouri Valley—was Bourgmont, who had lived among the Missouria tribe, knew the Indians of the region, and had traveled extensively on exploring and trading trips up the Missouri River and elsewhere. Setting out on an official expedition in 1723, Bourgmont first reached the Missouri River in Carroll County, Missouri, where he established Fort d'Orléans (1723–29). He then proceeded further in the company of Indian allies—Missourias, Osages, Kansas, Otoes, and Skiri Pawnees—to a general council of peace with the Plains Apaches, thereby securing safe passage through their country to New Mexico.[14]

By now countless voyageurs and coureurs de bois were commonly visiting the Missouria, Kansa, Osage, and Pawnee tribes; in 1734 a French trader living with the Skiri Pawnees had even visited the Arikaras on the Missouri River in South Dakota, claiming that these people had never seen the French before.[15]

During the same decade, French exploration also proceeded along a more northerly route, impelled in part by an increasing scarcity of furs in eastern New France as well as by the continuing desire to discover a route to the Western Sea. Both goals were epitomized when Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye, proposed an expedition from Winnipeg to the sea. Although the French government did not lend financial support to La Vérendrye's expedition, it did give him a monopoly on the fur trade emanating from the country that he proposed to explore. After undertaking many shorter trips to establish a chain of posts in the west, in 1738 he and a large party that included his two sons, François and Louis-Joseph, finally reached the Mandans living along the Missouri River in North Dakota, whereupon La Vérendrye returned to Montréal thinking that he had found the river flowing to the South Sea.[16] Four years later

his sons set out with another party to continue the search but were forced to stop at a mountain range located in either present-day South Dakota or Wyoming. On their return in 1743 the party visited many bands and tribes, including the Arikaras in South Dakota, among whom they found a man who spoke Spanish and could speak about a Frenchman known to be living in the country of the Snake Indians (either the Shoshones or the Comanches).[17]

Meanwhile, the Illinois region continued to develop. Forts and settlements were established: Fort de Chartres in 1720, the villages of Prairie du Rocher and St. Philippe shortly thereafter, Vincennes in the early 1730s, and Ste. Genevieve in the late 1740s. Kaskaskia and Cahokia, established earlier as mission posts, had become important agricultural settlements from which grain was sent to Detroit, New Orleans, Mobile, and eventually Europe. Moreover, the posts were like the other posts and settlements on the Mississippi, Illinois, and Wabash Rivers, acting as way stations for traders, missionaries, and the western garrison en route from Canada to Louisiana.

By the early part of the eighteenth century the fur trade was firmly established throughout most of the Mississippi valley. From the post at New Orleans and southern posts at Natchitoches and among the Cadodachos the French traders had established commerce among the tribes of eastern and northern Texas; from the Arkansas post they were trading among the Quapaws and tribes adjacent to the Arkansas River; and from the Illinois and smaller posts they were active among the Osages, Missourias, and Kansas and were trading not only with those tribes but also with the Iowas, Otoes, Pawnees, and other northern tribes.

At the same time, traders from Canada operated in the Illinois country, bringing about jurisdictional conflict between Canada and Louisiana. To protect the colony's interests, in 1744 the governor of Louisiana, Pierre de Rigaud de Cavagnial, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, gave to a company headed by his protégé Joseph Trottier Desruisseaux a five-year monopoly on trade with the Indians of the Missouri River and all its tributary streams. Desruisseaux was required to build a fort and maintain a garrison of soldiers, was able to forbid anyone else from organizing trade or hunting along the Missouri, and was charged with maintaining peace among conflicting tribes—largely at his own expense. Moreover, he was instructed to search for mines and minerals in the region, explore to the source of the Missouri, and open a route to Santa Fe. Furs collected were to be sent to Canada, while all other hides were to be sent to New Orleans (the latter an attempt to separate the Canadian from the Louisianan trade). Desruisseaux built Fort Cavagnial near present-day Kansas City, but his monopoly did not succeed in keeping other traders from the Missouri.[18]

French interest in establishing trade with New Mexico continued throughout this period. Its continuing attraction was heightened by the success of the

Mallet brothers, Pierre and Paul, who in 1739 left the Skiri Pawnee villages on the Loup fork of the Platte River in Nebraska and succeeded in passing through Comanche country to reach Santa Fe. After a nine-month stay, they returned safely, which in 1741 prompted Governor Bienville to dispatch an expedition led by André Fabry de la Bruyère; that expedition was to proceed up the Canadian River and establish a trade route. Fabry de la Bruyère failed, however, to reach his destination. After peace was once again established between the Comanches and their eastern neighbors, making the route to Santa Fe safe to traverse, numerous parties—variously comprising deserters, traders, and official agents—set out for New Mexico. In 1751, for example, a party of four traders from New Orleans reached New Mexico by way of the Missouri and Jean Chapuis and Louis Feuilli led another party from the Illinois via the Platte with a commission from the commander of Fort de Chartres. When Chapuis and Feuilli arrived in Santa Fe in 1752, however, they were arrested, imprisoned for months, and finally sent to Spain.[19]

In the final years of French Louisiana, the issue of free trade became a dominant one among traders and settlers, who agitated for an end to the old system. The governor-general of New France, Ange Duquesne de Menneville, believed in free trade and stated his intention to grant it after 1755. Nevertheless, despite numerous Indian complaints about trade restrictions and threats by inhabitants of Vincennes and the Illinois to abandon their posts unless free trade were allowed, Duquesne himself authorized some exclusive grants and did not lend the necessary support to the strong efforts of Louis Billouart de Kerlérec, the governor of Louisiana, to open trade to all (Nasatir 1952, 1:49).

In 1763, when Jean-Jacques Blaise d'Abbadie arrived with the title of Director of Louisiana, he had to deal with the issue of trade. At certain times in the past, trade had been open to all licensed traders; at other times trading rights had been granted exclusively to certain traders by post commanders. D'Abbadie opted for granting exclusive privileges in the fur trade, believing that this policy would offer the greatest profit. During his first year he granted exclusive commerce of the entire Illinois country, including the Missouri River valley, to Maxent, Laclède, and Company. D'Abbadie's actions, however, set off angry protests from the merchants of New Orleans, and in 1765 the French government canceled the three grants he had bestowed (one each for the Illinois, Natchitoches, and the Opelusas) (Nasatir 1952, 1:60–63).

Before cancellation of the grant to Maxent, Laclède and Company, however, Pierre Laclède Liguest was entrusted with selecting a site and establishing a trading post to serve the area covered by the grant, which was understood to carry exclusive control of trade with the Missourias and other tribes as far north as the St. Peter's River (now the Minnesota)—apparently

including all Indian tribes west of the Mississippi. Laclède and his party, which included the young boy Auguste Chouteau, left New Orleans on August 3, 1763, and ascended the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Missouri, where on February 15, 1764, at a site just below the juncture of the two rivers they established the future town of St. Louis and named it after the patron saint of the reigning French monarch, Louis XV.[20] The site was perfectly situated to receive furs from all of the streams entering the Missouri and upper Mississippi. Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent, one of the leading merchants of Lower Louisiana, thought that a post there would become the entrepot for the fur trade in the upper Mississippi drainage and in turn allow trade to be diverted from Montreal and Quebec to New Orleans.

Spanish Louisiana

Louisiana was largely unaffected by the Seven Years War (1756–63) that raged in Canada and to the east along the mountainous western borders of the English colonies. The southeastern province suffered official neglect, but the Creeks and Choctaws remained loyal to the French and kept British traders out, in large part due to the Indian policy of Governor Kerlérec. More important, Louisiana's isolation, together with a succession of good harvests and the greater freedom of movement that the war allowed, promoted trade expansion and prosperity for the province. The volume of commerce, for example, increased from 850,900 livres in 1756 to 6,662,200 livres by 1762, while the export of furs doubled from a value of 120,000 livres in 1756 to 240,000 by 1760 (Villiers du Terrage 1982:168–69). When the war ended via the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau in late 1762, Louis XV surrendered Louisiana west of the Mississippi River (but including New Orleans) to Spain. Then, through the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France ceded Canada to England and Spain ceded Florida to England.[21]

With limited resources and vast responsibilities, Spain was not eager to take immediate possession of her new colony, which included New Orleans and the western watershed of the Mississippi River. At the time of cession the principal settlements were located along the Mississippi and Missouri as far north as the Kansas post and along the Red River as far west as the Cadodacho post. The bulk of the population lived on the lower Mississippi between Pointe Coupée and New Orleans. In Upper Louisiana there was the Arkansas settlement as well as Ste. Genevieve, and further north the newly founded St. Louis. Posts included several in the interior: the Natchitoches post among that tribe; the Nassonite post among the Cadodachos and other Caddo groups; one on the Osage River; and Fort Cavagnial, near the mouth of the Kansas River. According to the 1763 census, the population of Louisiana, excluding the Illinois country, was 8,253, slightly more than half of whom were African slaves or free men. The 1766

census gives a total population for all of Louisiana as 11,034, of whom only 713 lived in the Illinois country (Lachance 2005:228). The economic mainstay of lower Louisiana was plantation agriculture, including tobacco, indigo, and rice; livestock—horses, mules, and cattle—were obtained in trade, often as contraband, with Indians and Spaniards to the west. Agriculture was also the major commercial activity in upper Louisiana; given its temperate climate, the Illinois country was an important source of wheat for lower Louisiana.

News of the cession of Louisiana to Spain did not become known in New Orleans until September 1764, a full year after the fact, and immediately the revelation caused unrest and heated protests there. Nevertheless, many French settlers in the lower part of British Louisiana moved across the Mississippi to take up residence in New Orleans or other settlements, preferring Spanish rule to English. Likewise, in the north many French inhabitants of the Illinois country, including traders and merchants of Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Prairie du Rocher, crossed over to Laclède's recently founded town of St. Louis; and when the British occupied Fort de Chartres, Louis St. Ange de Bellerive and his garrison also moved there. Although these immigrants sought to escape English rule, many believed that St. Louis—nicknamed "Paincourt" during the early years—would become the new center of the fur trade in the Mississippi valley and that control of the trade would be wrested from the merchants of Canada. This expectation likely accounted for the rapid initial population growth of the new settlement, which soon counted over 500 residents; later, as it became clear that merchants in the Saint Lawrence valley would continue to dominate the fur trade, that growth slowed.

Don Antonio de Ulloa, the first Spain-appointed governor of the newly acquired province, arrived in New Orleans in July 1766. One of his first actions was defensive: to establish Spanish garrisons and posts in the upper district in order to protect the province from the English on the east side of the river. To accomplish that enterprise, as well as to establish relations with the Indian tribes and regulate trade with them, he sent out three expeditions: Lt. Juan Orieta established San Gabriel in the Iberville district; Lt. Pedro Piernas constructed San Luis de Natchez on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite Natchez on the British side of the river; and Capt. Don Francisco Ríu traveled to the mouth of the Missouri River, where he built a fort on the south bank and a blockhouse on the north bank.

Along with the construction of forts along the Mississippi River to protect the eastern border of Louisiana, Ulloa adopted the French system of managing relations with the Indian populations, gaining the economic advantage of trade by maintaining peace and friendship. To implement that policy he employed the services of experienced French commandants in the frontier posts, who

continued the official French policy of distributing annual presents to the Indians and relied upon the system of licensing traders to deal with specific tribes. Thus, even though trade was ostensibly open to all, each trader had to obtain an annually renewed license from the commandant, thereby compelling those operating in the Illinois country to come downriver each year to St. Louis.[22]

In attempting to govern Louisiana, however, Ulloa encountered insurmountable problems, nationalistic and economic as well as personal. He left the French governmental structure intact and tried to both establish a joint rule with Charles Aubry, d'Abbadie's successor as director of Louisiana, and incorporate the remaining French soldiers into the Spanish Army. However, he was unable to conciliate the local French population. Compounding their resentment of Spanish rule, and of him as a symbol of it, was the chronic shortage of money. Not only did Ulloa need to meet current Spanish governmental expenses, he also inherited the debts of the previous French government. The funds given him by Spain, however, were never adequate, and his administration was plagued by a series of financial crises that did not allow him to meet the obligations of the government and maintain—in fact, ever really gain—control over the province. Moreover, in 1768 Ulloa restricted all trade in Louisiana to Spanish vessels alone and to specifically designated Spanish ports, an act that resulted in English smugglers soon monopolizing the trade of the lower Mississippi River. Ulloa's decree regulating commerce, which fulfilled French merchants' fears that their trade with New England and France would be suppressed, combined with his inability to stabilize the economy and his personal unpopularity—he was a noted natural scientist whose intellectual interests and cultural style did not appeal to the frontier's inhabitants—finally triggered an insurrection. In 1768 Ulloa was forcibly expelled from the province.

A year later, the new governor, Alejandro O'Reilly, an Irish soldier of fortune who was a lieutenant-general in the Spanish Army, and the 4,500 troops under his command retook New Orleans by force. Although some of O'Reilly's initial actions were deemed ruthless—he executed five prominent citizens, imprisoned others, and dismantled the French administrative structure—O'Reilly did appoint numerous former French officers to important positions, thereby maintaining continuity between the old and new regimes. In another compromise with the population of the province O'Reilly both installed Spanish law and retained the French Black Code. Trade with all foreigners and foreign ports, however, was prohibited, and many foreign merchants were expelled. The colony was divided into two districts, Lower Louisiana and Upper Louisiana (the latter commonly known as Spanish Illinois), and put under the supervision of lieutenant-governors Balthazar de Villiers at the Arkansas Post and Pedro Piernas at St. Louis.

O'Reilly left in 1770 and Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga, who had accompanied O'Reilly to Louisiana, was appointed the next governor. Unzaga proved to be a popular governor, largely because he overlooked smuggling by English traders on the lower Mississippi River. In 1776, a year before he left office, Unzaga reached an agreement with France that permitted Louisiana to trade with the French West Indies, an act that allowed the commerce of the colony to pass into the hands of the French. Then in 1778, under Unzaga's successor, Bernardo de Gálvez, Louisiana's produce was admitted to ports in France, the United States, and any others to which Spanish commerce was admitted. At the same time, furs were exempted from duty for a period of ten years, thereby providing a stimulus for the fur trade. Such measures ruined the English trade in Lower Louisiana and in part contributed to a steady population growth in the colony under Spanish rule—growth that, from Ulloa's administration onward, was built on the encouragement of immigration into the province.

For the Spanish, however, Louisiana was primarily a protective buffer between British forces on the east side of the Mississippi and Spain's more valuable provinces in the continent's southwest and in Mexico, both of which it deemed integral to its New World empire. Consequently, one of Spain's principal goals in the new territorial possession was military: to keep the British out of the province and indeed out of the heartland of North America in order to maintain peace among its Indian inhabitants. No sooner had Spain acquired Louisiana than English traders began moving into the area of the Illinois and then even crossing the Mississippi to enter the Spanish province. Initially, though, English traders entering the region east of the Mississippi came up against a well-entrenched French trade network operating out of St. Louis, comprised of private traders and coureurs de bois who were permitted to go everywhere but on the Missouri, an area that was restricted by Laclède's license. This trade took them up the Mississippi, the Wisconsin, and the Illinois Rivers to the north and up the Ohio and the Wabash to the east, where they controlled the trade and were reported to have "debauched" the Indians with brandy and licentious behavior.[23]

Soon, however, the situation changed, and within a decade English traders were conducting commerce not only in Illinois country and west of the Great Lakes but also with tribes west of the Mississippi, up the Missouri and the Arkansas, and into Texas, which they reached overland and via its rivers from the Gulf Coast. In 1777, for example, Lt. Gov. Francisco Cruzat (administrator from 1775 to 1778) reported that the English were monopolizing trade on the Mississippi above the Des Moines River, particularly among the Sioux and Iowas (Houck 1909, 1:144–45). To keep the English out of Louisiana, the Spanish government in New Orleans affirmed Ulloa's defensive plan of constructing fortifications at strategic points along the Mississippi that were garrisoned by Spanish militia

and of promoting immigration into the colony as a means of establishing settlements, at least in Lower Louisiana. On the upper Mississippi, however, no forts were erected during the Spanish period, despite the pleas of lieutenant-governors Cruzat and Manuel Pérez (1787–92) to establish posts there, particularly at the mouths of the Des Moines and the St. Peter's, where English traders regularly intruded upon Spanish territory.[24]

A complementary Spanish strategy designed to establish a strong defensive posture in Louisiana aimed to maintain the loyalty of Indian tribes inhabiting the province. Louisiana was the first Spanish colony that had been occupied previously by Europeans and, since there was already a legion of French traders among the tribes of the region, the Spanish government used them as a means of controlling the native population (rather than using the mission system that it had used in northern Mexico and California). Again, following the lead of Ulloa, who in turn had relied on the French model, the Spaniards instituted a system of licensed traders with exclusive commercial privileges; plus, to win the loyalty of the tribes, the government bestowed medals on their chiefs and generously distributed food and gifts to them annually. The important centers for the fur trade and consequently for the issuance of licenses and the distribution of these presents were St. Louis, the Arkansas post, and the Natchitoches post.

Immediately after its founding, St. Louis became the trading hub for the vast region of the lower Missouri and upper Mississippi valleys and the Illinois country, attracting traders and Indians alike. Traders descended the rivers annually to renew their licenses, and tribes came for trade, councils, and, most important, gifts. In 1768 Ríu issued licenses for trade with the Pawnees, the Kansas, the Otoes, and the Osages on the Missouri River; the following year St. Ange, commandant at St. Louis, reported a total of twenty-three tribes who were accustomed to receiving presents there. Among the tribes living on the Missouri he listed the Missourias, the Big and Little Osages, the Kansas, the Otoes, and the Skiri Pawnees; from the upper Mississippi were the the Iowas, the Sioux, the Sauks and Foxes, and the Ottawas. In addition were various tribes from the Illinois country and the valleys of the Wabash and St. Joseph Rivers.[25]

In 1769, after taking charge of Fort Don Carlos el Principe at the mouth of the Missouri River, Piernas described St. Louis and the annual Indian visits to it in a report prepared for the governor. Although he praised the agricultural efforts and wheat production of the *habitants* of St. Louis, he was scornful of most of the population. As he complained, in St. Louis, just as in Ste. Genevieve, "License, laxity of conduct, and vice are the characteristics of its inhabitants. Religion is given but scant respect, or to speak more correctly, is totally neglected" (Houck 1909, 1:70–71). In addition to its *habitants*—the settled segment of the

population that farmed—St. Louis had a large transient population of hunters, trappers, and traders,

> unattached persons who are wanderers from will, who serve but to increase the excess and to consume uselessly the products of the country. For although they are wont to employ themselves from four to six months in the hunt, they quickly waste whatever they gain in revelling and scandalous chambering as is notorious. They do not apply themselves to agriculture, or to any other work, but are forever wandering; and although they have at times the means for their sustenance and vices, as they find men to back them, who will supply them on account of the future trade, they come out on top and always live in idleness, although it is known that they corrupt the native youth by their evil example. (Houck 1909, 1:71)

In that same report Piernas informatively portrays the annual Indian visits to St. Louis and relates many of what he considers the underlying problems of the fur trade in Spanish Louisiana:

> As this has been, and is, the place of residence for the commandant [of] the near and distant tribes, both those of the Misisipi River, and those of the Misuri and its branches, whose names are contained in the enclosed report, gather there. The season for their greatest gathering is during the months of May and June. At that time they descend the rivers in numerous parties with their traders to declare the furs. That is their first object, although it is accompanied with the condition of the pretext of visiting the chief and ratifying the friendship that has been established. All the time of their stay provisions are furnished them at the expense of the king, those provisions being reduced to bread and corn, for they provide themselves with meat; and when they depart one has to make them, as it is the established custom, a present, which is proportional to the number of each tribe. Most of the tribes, with the exception of some remote and distant tribes of the Misuri are accustomed to the use of brandy, and prefer a small portion of it to any other present of merchandise even of four times its value. If the savages are treated with kindness, reasonably, and with consideration, they are reasonable when in their right mind. But when drunk they are importunate, beggars, insatiable, and tiresome. Yet the commandant must always be attentive to them, listen to them with patience, compose the differences and discords among the various tribes, sometimes make rulings and mediate in their peaces, with persuasions, sometimes with firmness, and most always with presents. Consequently, they are generally costly. But they cannot be so, if the presents are distributed little by

> little and with equity. That depends in part on a disinterested and vigilant commandant, a loyal interpreter, and a righteous storekeeper, who prefer the service and interests of the king to their own. (73–74)

Initially three theaters of activity presented problems for the Spanish when they were establishing their rule in Louisiana. One was the Red River area: its tribes had been friendly to the French but hostile to the Spanish. The task of gaining their loyalty was entrusted to Athanase de Mézières, lieutenant-governor at Natchitoches, who during the 1770s installed French traders in the district, officially prohibited unlicensed traders and Englishmen, and concluded treaties with the different tribes. As part of his efforts Mézières undertook an exploring expedition through northern Texas and in his report acquainted Spanish officials with the region and its peoples for the first time (Bolton 1914).

A second theater of activity was the Texas-Coahuila frontier, where Spanish colonization was hampered by the hostilities of eastern Apaches. The task of pacifying or exterminating them was given to Teodoro de Croix, the *commandante general* of the northern provinces of New Spain, who was stationed in Chihuahua. De Croix's plan in 1777 was to unite the tribes of the Red River and eastern Texas—the so-called Nations of the North—with soldiers from Lower Louisiana and the interior provinces, all of whom would be under his command, and use them to exterminate the Apaches. However, when Spain entered the American Revolutionary War, the execution of the war with the Apaches was left to De Croix's successors. Of them, the most successful was Jacobo Ugarte, who managed to establish peace with most of the Apache bands.

A third area of operations was along the Mississippi and later the Missouri; that story in part follows the development of the English fur trade and Spanish reactions to it. After the English took possession of French Canada and the eastern half of Louisiana, the fur trade was regulated by the principles stated in the Proclamation of 1763, by which the former French monopolistic system was disbanded and trade was opened to any duly licensed subject. Superintendents were installed at trading posts and settlement was restricted to the immediate vicinity of the posts in order to maintain the populations of fur-bearing animals. English conquest destroyed the French fur trade organizations: French merchants were ruined and the entire trade of the Great Lakes region fell into the hands of the British. Nevertheless, French-Canadian voyageurs continued to be the backbone of the industry in the interior parts of the country, but employed by the British.

In 1765, after the close of Pontiac's War and the removal of the Indian barrier that it had posed, traders rushed to the interior; by 1771 they were safely established at posts as distant and remote as the Saskatchewan River. The

Revolutionary War, meanwhile, destroyed the western fur trade of the American colonies and thereby put the entire trade into the hands of British traders in Montréal. By the time that war ended, the Montréal-based North West Company, founded in 1779, had extended its operations to both sides of the Great Lakes, into the Illinois country, west of the upper Mississippi River to the Missouri, and into remote Canadian lakes such as Winnipeg, Churchill, Athabasca, and Great Slave. This burgeoning commerce created great trading houses in Montreal and great mercantile establishments in London. For example, even before the Revolutionary War was over, the annual value of furs sent to London from Montréal and Québec averaged $1,000,000 (Bolton 1925:421–23).

Interior supply posts continued to operate at Detroit and Michilimackinac, just as they had under the French, where branch houses and lesser merchants operated. Wintering partners and clerks traveled with fleets of bateaux into the far interior and, more commonly, French *engagés* or voyageurs plied the waterways to barter with the Indian tribes for their peltries.[26] Although the Spanish government and Louisiana merchants decried British traders in their territory west of the Mississippi River, and despite the fact that they had the advantage in ease of transshipment, they were unable to wrest control of it from their rivals. The Spanish were able to bring cargos of goods up the Mississippi from New Orleans entirely by water, whereas the British, coming from Montreal by way of Michilimackinac, were required to make some thirty-six portages of both vessels and merchandise for varying distances (Trudeau in Nasatir 1952, 1:177). Thus it was said that twenty-five men were required for the transportation of a bulk of goods from New Orleans to St. Louis, while the transportation of the same goods from Québec required ninety men (Perrin du Lac 1805:421–23). That the British were able to offset the Spanish advantage of the easier, potentially less costly route was due to their more-efficient and less-costly transportation system that was sustained by employees who were more disciplined than the Spanish *engagés* and traders. British traders were thus able to offer lower prices for their goods on the Indian market.

Although the Spanish failed to make any real effort to claim the trade of the upper Mississippi and Missouri until the last decade of the eighteenth century, other fundamental reasons (some carried over from the earlier French period) help explain the British advantage in the fur trade. Primary among them was the economic structure of commerce. In contrast to the British system, which relied on larger companies with stockholders in Europe, the organization of the Spanish fur trade primarily was based on individual enterprise. Until 1794, when the Upper Missouri Company was formed, the only other joint enterprise in Louisiana was the short-lived Maxent, Laclède, and Company; otherwise, merchants operated independently. Moreover, Canadian merchants in

Montréal had commissioners and agents in England who dealt with the commercial houses and bankers there. Merchandise, invoiced in England at set prices that included a percentage of profit, was sent to Montréal merchants on credit. Payment on those goods was not due in England for two to four years, depending on the area to which the merchandise was being sent. In Montréal, similar merchandise going to Michilimackinac or other interior supply posts was invoiced at set prices with a percentage of profit, and payment was not due until the merchandise had been traded for peltries. Thus the credit system and stable pricing of merchandise gave Canadian traders the capital support necessary to conduct a profitable trade.

The Spanish system, by contrast, required individuals to invest and risk their own capital. The prices on merchandise were set in New Orleans, where they fluctuated according to the abundance of furs in a given season, while the price of peltries was fixed at a previously determined rate. Thus prices on merchandise were higher when peltries were taken in larger numbers and lower when they were in smaller numbers. Moreover, the Spanish lacked the credit system of the English: since suppliers in New Orleans had already paid their European suppliers for the merchandise shipped to Spanish Louisiana, they consequently had to demand immediate payment on the merchandise sold to merchants and traders in the province.

No less detrimental to Spanish success in gaining control of trade in their territory was the requirement of trade licenses and other bureaucratic obstacles to entrepreneurial activity. Many traders and merchants in Spanish Louisiana, like those during the French regime, strongly believed that they would have successfully rivaled their English competitors had Spanish Louisiana allowed free trade with open competition.[27] Even though trade throughout the Spanish period was ostensibly free, as first proclaimed in 1770 by Alejandro O'Reilly—requiring only a license and an honest reputation—in fact the post commandants and later the lieutenant-governors controlled all trade and often sold licenses for considerable sums. Bitter resentments and controversies naturally ensued.

The commercial practices of Spanish officials and the poor quality of goods available to their traders often drove Louisiana merchants to engage in contraband trade with English traders, from whom they could secure better quality merchandise at lower prices. As early as 1770 Piernas complained that citizens in the Spanish Illinois country were engaged in a clandestine business with traders on the British side of the Mississippi (Houck 1908, 1:302); later, in 1787, merchants in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve were reputed to have at least one hundred traders being supplied with goods that came from places such as Michilimackinac and Detroit to Kaskaskia and Cahokia, where Spanish subjects crossed the river to purchase them (Alvord 1909:411); in 1793 Lt.-Gov. Zenon Trudeau

repeated official recognition of the problem when he wrote that "we make use of our peltries to acquire their [British] merchandise" (Nasatir 1952, 1:178).[28]

From its inception the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had relied on Indians to bring their furs to company posts on Hudson Bay. In the 1770s, however, reacting to the success of North West Company traders, the HBC began to push into the interior to aggressively engage the Montréal traders for the control of commerce. This new competition resulted in both companies setting up rival forts side by side on all the important rivers between Hudson Bay and the Rocky Mountains, and from the Red River to Great Slave Lake. For Louisiana it also meant a new intrusion onto Spanish soil when, in 1793, the North West Company built Fort Souris near the mouth of the Souris River in southern Manitoba; that same year the Hudson's Bay Company established Brandon House nearby to serve as its headquarters for the Assiniboine River valley trade.[29] From these posts, as well as from another one erected near the mouth of the Souris by Peter Grant's independent company, traders regularly traveled south to the Hidatsa and Mandan villages on the Missouri River in North Dakota, where they established a regular trade that, despite interruptions, lasted into the early nineteenth century.[30]

While British traders were intruding upon Spanish Louisiana from the east and north, still another cluster of threats to Spanish territory emerged on the Northwest Coast of North America, where Russians, British, and American ships were converging. Spain claimed exclusive rights to the region, but until 1789 it had failed to establish a base or settlement on the coast. When the viceroy of New Spain, alarmed by the entry of other powers into the area, decided to establish a base at Nootka Sound, the Spanish found British and American vessels already stationed there, attracted by Capt. James Cook's 1778 report of the riches to be obtained from marketing the Northwest Coast sea otter. The ensuing international crisis, which threatened war between Spain and England, handed Spain a major diplomatic setback in 1790: her exclusive sovereignty over the region was relinquished and she was forced to share the Pacific northwest with England. As a result of the controversy, Spanish officials decided to establish a settlement near Nootka Sound in order to prevent the English or Russians from gaining a permanent foothold there.[31]

This convergence of events impelled Spaniards to ascend the Missouri River, which at the time was believed to have its source near the Pacific Ocean. On the lower Missouri the crowding of trade was now forcing traders to spread out in search of new tribes and sources of peltries, while Spanish officials felt the need to check British intrusions on Spanish territory from the east and north as well as on the Northwest Coast. Other events also reinforced the need for the Spanish to act before they lost Louisiana as a buffer province. American traders were pressing on its eastern border, threatening to spill over into the

province, and projects like Lt. John Armstrong's unsuccessful expedition up the Missouri in 1790 and André Michaux's proposed exploratory expedition up the same river in 1793, encouraged by President Thomas Jefferson, promised to usurp the Spanish initiative to explore and secure that territory.[32] The strategy that Governor Carondelet adopted was to encourage traders to move up the Missouri and oust the British from their trading posts, to push on to the Pacific Coast and establish a settlement, and to erect a line of forts along the Missouri River that would protect from continued English incursions the broad sweep of this northern border of the province.

Ascending the Missouri

In 1769, when St. Ange listed the tribes coming to St. Louis to receive presents, the list included the same groups with whom the French had been trading earlier in the century. Throughout the two decades following his report, the surviving lists of tribes and licensed traders include tribal names that are, with few exceptions, the same familiar ones. For example, in 1777 when Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat sent Gov. Bernardo de Gálvez a list of licensed traders for the Indian nations on the Missouri with whom the merchants of Spanish Illinois were trading, the tribes enumerated are the Big Osages, Little Osages, Missourias, Kansas, Otoes, Omahas, Republican (or Kitkahahki) Pawnees, and other Pawnees (designated simply as the Panis). The only tribe on this list appearing for the first time is the Omaha, indicating that on the Missouri the Spaniards were not trading regularly with tribes beyond the Platte or perhaps the Big Sioux River. A 1784 report of tribes is the same (Nasatir 1952, 1:71–72). Only rarely, in fact, do new tribes appear in documents. For instance, when Piernas reported in 1771 that an unlicensed trader, going against his injunction to travel upriver to more distant tribes, had sent to him in St. Louis two "Patuca," or Plains Apache children, obtained "in the distant interior of Missouri."[33]

Thus by the mid 1780s the Spanish had advanced no farther up the Missouri River than had the French during the preceding period. Despite the economic rewards to be gained from progressing beyond those limits—rewards that English traders lost no time in exploiting—officials in St. Louis discouraged trade expansion farther north. Beginning with St. Ange, who in 1768 expressed his intention not "to attract new nations" to St. Louis, administrators either frowned upon traders seeking out new markets or, as during the years of the American Revolutionary War, were too preoccupied with defending the Mississippi River border to assist the movement of traders north into the unknown interior. Even after the war ended, Spanish policy continued to focus on keeping American and English traders out of Louisiana rather than emphasizing an expansion of exploration and trade. On the Missouri that effort concentrated on maintaining the loyalty

of the Indian tribes with whom the Spaniards already had commercial dealings. This allowed the English to monopolize the trade north of St. Louis on both sides of the Mississippi River and begin their movement into the Missouri River valley. By the 1780s British traders were well established on the Des Moines, Minnesota, and middle Missouri—because the Spaniards had not attempted to expel them.

In 1785 Spanish geographical knowledge of the Missouri valley was summarized in a report on Spanish Louisiana drawn up by Gov. Esteban Miró for the *commandante general* of the Internal Provinces, Antonio Rengel.[34] The report demonstrates that Spanish knowledge of the Missouri valley at that time did not surpass that of the French in 1758, nearly thirty years prior. Miró was able to give only the most speculative list of rivers entering the Missouri beyond the Niobrara and stated that no one had ascended the Missouri past the region of the Sioux people, although he was able to cite the names of two tribes living farther upriver beyond the Poncas: the Arikaras and Mandans. That he was able to report the Arikaras—also designated "Riis" in the document—as well as the Mandans—cited as both Higadosduros and Pitacaricó—and give the number of villages for both tribes suggests that hunters or trappers from Spanish Illinois had ventured at least as far north as the Cheyenne River by that date.[35]

The last years of that decade, however, finally bore witness to Spanish advances north of the Platte River and into the lands of the Omaha tribe—the upper Missouri region—in an effort to explore unknown territory and establish trade with new tribes. The first record of such an enterprise was in 1787, when Don Andrés Fagot la Garcinière of St. Louis sent Joseph Garreau to hunt and trap on the upper Missouri; however, there is no record indicating whether Garreau actually completed the trip (Luttig 1920:64). In 1789 Jean-Baptiste Meunier (also known as Juan Munier or Juan Munié) succeeded in reaching the Poncas and claimed to have been the first Spanish citizen to visit them at their village on the Niobrara River, thirty leagues above the Omahas. Due to this claim of discovery and the subsequent trade that he established with the tribe, Meunier petitioned the government for exclusive commerce with the Poncas; in 1793 Governor Carondelet granted it to him for a period of four years, beginning in 1794 (Nasatir 1952, 1:194–96, 206–7).

In August 1790, the year after Meunier reached the Poncas, another itinerant trader from St. Louis, Jacques d'Église (variously called Santiago Leglise, Santiago de la Inglesia, and Santiage D'Yglise), obtained a license from Lt.-Gov. Manuel Pérez to hunt on the Missouri.[36] Setting out from St. Louis with merchandise to trade, d'Église first reached the Omahas, among whom he met Pedro Montardy, a St. Louis militiaman licensed to trade with that tribe. From Montardy he obtained additional goods and then proceeded up the Missouri

to search out unknown tribes with whom there was yet no commerce, since Pérez had prohibited d'Église from trading with all of the Indian tribes known to St. Louis merchants. After ascending the Missouri a distance that he calculated to be 800 leagues above its mouth—farther than anyone had ventured to date—d'Église found the Mandans, a people whom he characterized as similar to Europeans and more civilized than other tribes. He estimated their population at four to five thousand people living in eight fortified villages. They were equipped with arms obtained in trade with the English, who were established in a fort fifteen days' travel from the Mandan villages.[37] He also found there a Frenchman named Ménard, who had been living among the Mandans for fourteen years.

Although d'Église's stock of merchandise was insufficient to reap a profitable trade—and despite the welcome and good treatment that he received among these people—he told the Mandans of the Spaniards' greatness and of the advantages that they would gain from the trade that he had now established and would later continue with them upon his return. For officials in Spanish Louisiana, however, the report of his trip, made after he came back to St. Louis in October 1792, was sketchy. Pérez's successor as lieutenant governor of Spanish Illinois, Zenon Trudeau, who interrogated d'Église, complained that the trader was "an ignorant man who made no observations and who hardly knows how to speak his own French language." Nevertheless, d'Église did provide more precise, albeit meager, geographical information on a previously unknown part of the province, intelligence on the activities of English traders among the Mandans, and his discovery of Spanish trade goods being used there—Mexican-style saddles and bridles as well as other articles from New Mexico that were probably obtained in trade from an intermediary tribe such as the Arapahos (Nasatir 1927:58). In spring 1793, with permission from Trudeau, d'Église outfitted himself for another voyage up the Missouri to the Mandans, this time accompanied by Joseph Garreau. D'Église and Garreau each had a pirogue equipped with oarsmen and merchandise, the latter obtained on credit. Their trip, however, failed when the two men were stopped by the Arikaras and Sioux, who prevented them from proceeding farther upriver.[38] According to d'Église, they obtained little for their merchandise in large part as the result of Garreau's reprehensible conduct. D'Église returned to St. Louis with barely enough furs to satisfy his creditors, but Garreau, who apparently had squandered all his trade goods, remained among the Arikaras rather than return to face his backer.

After his return, d'Église petitioned Governor Carondelet for exclusive trade with the Mandans and the "Tayenes" for a period of four years, swearing that he had discovered the two tribes and requesting the same terms of trade that had

been granted to Meunier for his reputed discovery of the Poncas.[39] His request was not granted, however, because in the meantime a group of St. Louis merchants had formed a company to explore the Upper Missouri and take control of the trade with the Indian nations there, a development that had been fostered by Carondelet's desire to extend Spanish exploration and trade along the length of the Missouri River and secure the northern border of Louisiana.

Carondelet's efforts to promote exploration and trade on the Missouri above the Poncas began in 1792, when he decreed that all Spanish subjects could engage in that commerce. Traders had only to obtain permission from the lieutenant-governor of the Spanish Illinois, Zenon Trudeau, who was instructed not to refuse it to anyone. However, when Carondelet's proclamation created dissent among the merchants of St. Louis, he followed it up on July 20, 1793, with a set of rules to regulate commerce in the Illinois country.[40] Foremost among those eleven articles of regulation, was the stipulation that trade with the Indian tribes of the Missouri River was to be divided by lot among a *corps du commerce* of the merchants of St. Louis, and from among them a syndic was to be chosen. Among the requirements for obtaining a license to trade were one year's residence within the jurisdiction of St. Louis, previous business relations with a New Orleans firm, Spanish citizenship, and, to be able to voyage up the Missouri, the employment of men who had resided in Spanish Louisiana for at least one year. At a special assembly called by Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau, those terms were to be submitted to the members of the *corps du commerce*, who had to vote upon each article separately.

When Trudeau submitted the articles to the merchants who constituted the St. Louis board of trade on October 15, 1793, the board made some modifications to strengthen them and bring them into accord with their own seasonal activities and then proposed an additional twelve articles to regulate trade even more carefully. But, more significant, they included an addendum by which they petitioned the government to allow them to form a company, designated the Company of Discoveries, that would explore the country above the Poncas and for a period of ten years have the exclusive privilege of exploiting trade with all of the Indian tribes they found there. Moreover, because of the scarcity of merchandise available at that time in Spanish Illinois, the merchants requested that they be allowed to purchase goods in time of war from the British or the Americans as a means of increasing profits.[41]

Jacques Clamorgan, an imaginative and daring West Indian creole who had become one of the leading merchants in the Spanish Illinois country—he was a slave dealer, fur trader, merchant, financier, and land speculator—was elected syndic of the new *corps du commerce*.[42] On May 3, 1794, Clamorgan assembled the merchants and traders of St. Louis to discuss the distribution of trading

posts on the Missouri. There were nine posts along the river course,[43] which together yielded an annual income of 175,000 livres; shares in them had to be divided among twenty-nine individuals, comprising Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau, three merchants of Ste. Genevieve, and twenty-five merchants of St. Louis. These shares were drawn by lot, as stipulated, and on May 31, Trudeau transmitted to Carondelet a report of the results, noting that, despite the increased importation of trade items into Spanish Illinois, profits from trade on the lower Missouri had fallen dramatically from a previous high of three hundred or four hundred percent to twenty-five percent at present (Nasatir 1952, 1:209–11; 1930c).

Meanwhile, on May 5, Clamorgan also assembled the principal merchants and traders of St. Louis to discuss the formation of the company that had been proposed to the governor. At that meeting—which included familiar merchants' names such as Reylhe, Papin, Yosty, Montardy, the Chouteaus, Gratiot, Sarpy, and Robidoux—Clamorgan explained the project and submitted forty-five articles of incorporation. Those articles provided for the selection of two directors who were to serve three-year terms, the first commencing May 1, 1795, and stipulation of the directors' duties, which included arranging expeditions, receiving returns from those expeditions, and keeping company accounts and records of meetings. As compensation for those duties the directors were to receive a 2 percent commission on all receipts and expenditures. The company would outfit three annual expeditions, all departing in April, with each member supplying his share of merchandise and rowers. The articles further specified the roles of crew members on voyages, the penalties for fraud and other offenses, and the procedure for resignation. Once the articles had been presented, Clamorgan adjourned the meeting for a week so that those in attendance could carefully consider the project, since it required that they risk their fortunes for the discovery of unknown tribes and uncertain profits.

When the meeting reconvened on May 12, only nine of the twenty members of the St. Louis Board of Trade approved the articles of incorporation and joined the new company, now designated the "Commerical Company of the Missouri for Trade with the Tribes farther up [the Missouri] than the Poncas."[44] The signatories were Laurent Durocher, Antoine Reihle, Joseph Robidoux, Hyacinthe St. Cyr, Charles Sanguinet, Louis C. Dubreuil, Joseph Montard, Benito Vasquez, and Jacques Clamorgan.[45] Trudeau, who promoted the enterprise largely as a means of extending Spanish knowledge of the territory under his jurisdiction and of wresting control of trade from British intruders, not only immediately endorsed the new company but joined it himself and forwarded to Governor Carondelet the articles of incorporation, together with his recommendation for their immediate approval. Carondelet was equally enthusiastic about the goals

of the proposed enterprise and readily granted the company the ten-year trade monopoly requested. In fact, he was so enthusiastic about the enterprise and the geographical discoveries that it promised that he offered a prize of 2,000 pesos, later raised to 3,000, for the first Spanish subject to reach the "South Sea" (Pacific Ocean) by way of the Missouri River, a step toward founding a Spanish settlement to forestall the British and Russians from establishing themselves there (Nasatir 1952, 1:86, 2:388).

The first two company directors, Clamorgan and Antoine Reyhle (called Antoine Reillie or Antonio Reihle), did not wait for Carondelet's official approval, which was granted on July 12.[46] So anxious were they to dispatch the first expedition that they immediately drew up a detailed set of fifty-three instructions for its designated leader, Jean-Baptiste Truteau (Juan Bautista Truteau), which stipulated that his destination was the Mandan villages on the Upper Missouri and that his term of service as agent of the company was three years. The instructions covered an extensive array of duties and activities (see "Instructions to Truteau" herein). After reaching the Mandans, for example, he was to construct two buildings—one a storeroom and living quarters for himself, the other living quarters for his men—and enclose them within a fort, all of specified dimensions, and then plant a garden. He was instructed in detail how to deal with the Indian peoples he encountered: to establish friendly, peaceful relations with and among them—toward which goal he was given three Spanish flags, tobacco, and medals to distribute to Mandan and other chiefs; to fix the prices of merchandise for the Mandans and set those as the standard for all tribes; and to determine which articles the Indians of the upper Missouri wanted most in trade. Moreover, he was instructed to keep a diary of his daily activities and collect information on the geography of the region and the habits and customs of the Indians. Should he encounter unauthorized traders, especially d'Église and Garreau, he was authorized to confiscate their trade goods. Finally, he was enjoined to keep accounts of the *engagés* on his expedition, recording any offenses committed by them as well as everything that he furnished or sold to them.

Truteau's Expedition

With those instructions in hand, Truteau embarked on his voyage on June 7, 1794.[47] In a report on the condition of the company made the following year, Clamorgan and Reyhle itemized the expenses of the expedition. Total capital outlay for it was 46,747 *piastres*, the largest portion of which was a 20,000 piastres valuation placed on the merchandise furnished to the expedition. Half of that merchandise was intended as presents for the Indians of various tribes; the remaining half was to be traded for peltries. Other expenses included

4,000 piastres for armaments, equipment, and provisions; 8,800 for employee salaries; 900 for items necessary for departure; and 2,000 for expenses incurred by promises of the lieutenant-governor. In addition, this account itemizes the expenses of a second pirogue that was supposed to have carried supplies upriver to Truteau's party the following year but which never reached him. Reported merchandise in the pirogue was valued at 6,647 piastres; employee salaries and armaments were 4,000; and items furnished at departure were 400 piastres (Nasatir 1952, 1:339).

The choice of Truteau as leader of this first expedition was undoubtedly due to a combination of his experience and education. Born in Montréal on December 11, 1748, Truteau was the eldest of five children of Joseph Truteau and Catherine Ménard; his father was from a family that had migrated to Canada in the seventeenth century.[48] Although virtually nothing is recorded of Truteau's early life in Canada, it can be inferred that he engaged in the Indian trade there before coming to St. Louis in 1774, since he states in his journal in 1794 that he already had twenty-six years of trading experience among the Indian tribes east and west of the Mississippi.[49]

Truteau was twenty-six years old when he settled in St. Louis in 1774 and forty-five when he left on the Upper Missouri Company expedition. In his journal he remarks that during his twenty-six years of trading experience he "had visited all the nations of the Mississippi and the Missouri," had lived a very long time among the Yanktons in their villages on the Des Moines River, and had lived among the Republican River Pawnees for three years. He spoke Sioux and presumably was able to communicate in Pawnee and perhaps other Indian languages as well, languages that were an invaluable asset, since the lack of capable interpreters for communication with the various tribes on the Missouri was a perennial problem.[50] Later, while among the Arikaras, he learned their language. Moreover, after one of his men accidently drowned during his stay among the Arikaras, Truteau remarked that no disaster had ever previously befallen him or any of the men with him on his many trading expeditions.

Equally important in a leader of such an expedition was high moral repute, since no problem plagued the Indian trade more than the chronic irresponsibility and unscrupulous behavior of traders, voyageurs, and coureurs de bois in Louisiana.[51] As his journal makes clear, Truteau was scrupulous in his concern for company interests, for its property and mission, even under the most adverse conditions. Moreover, he was an avowedly religious man who, when he lived among the Arikaras, felt compelled to justify his conformity to certain Indian social norms that were deemed scandalous in eighteenth-century European society. When, for example, he relates in the description how he had to appear nude publicly in the Calumet dance, he explains:

> Some will be amused no doubt, and others being more conservative will find themselves scandalized that a man who not only professed to a religion, pure and holy, but in addition has received a thorough education in the principles or rules of honesty and of propriety befitting civilized societies, allowed himself to be led voluntarily into the midst of so many persons of both sexes in a state so contrary to his modesty. (Notebook 2, fols. 19–20)

Later he defends the same behavior, arguing that when one visits people whose customs differ from one's own, one "is obliged upon certain occasions, even though he is religious and a strict observer of his beliefs, to brush them aside in order to conform to the ones of those with whom he lives, and to follow sometimes this common saying, 'With the wolves it is necessary to howl'" (Notebook 2, fol. 20).

Presumably no less important a qualification in the choice of Truteau was his education. This distinguished him from most voyageurs and even the vast majority of illiterate inhabitants of St. Louis and enabled him to keep a journal and write a description of the upper Missouri country that would be informative and useful to both company directors and Spanish officials.[52] Although in his introduction Truteau apologizes for his poor writing—"little of elegance" and "the lack of fine expressions and studied wording"—and states that, "far from being an academician" he is only "a poor voyageur" who in his youth had received some education "that had been badly neglected since," his writing style and literary references in both the journal and description decidedly belie his modesty. His writing is, in fact, characterized by a complex syntactic style of long, frequently tortuous sentences that indeed are often elegant in expression, especially given the conditions under which he wrote. That his education was exceptional in Upper Louisiana is, moreover, underscored by his decision to become a teacher after his return from the expedition.

Truteau departed from St. Louis with eight men accompanying him. Pierre Berger, cited in Truteau's instructions as Periche Berger, was second in command of the expedition and, according to Truteau, knew the Ponca language "fairly well."[53] Noël Charron was the expedition hunter, whose duty was to go out early every morning to kill game for the party to eat. The other members were *engagés*: Joseph Laderoute, Joseph Chorette, and apparently three others mentioned by their surnames only: Généreux; La Voiet (La Voyé); and Déloge.[54] Virtually no information exists on the latter three individuals, except for Truteau's statement that Généreux was "an old voyageur."

The Upper Missouri Company's first expedition, unfortunately, suffered from a series of misfortunes that ultimately resulted in its failure as a trading venture. After traveling upriver for two months, Truteau's party was overtaken by

Jacques d'Église who, in a lighter craft with a smaller party of men, was rapidly ascending the Missouri on his third trip to the Mandans. D'Église brought with him letters and new instructions for Truteau from Clamorgan and Reyhle as well as commissions, medals, and other gifts for chiefs of the Arikaras, Sioux, and Cheyennes. When Truteau proposed that the two parties travel together, d'Église refused, explaining that he could not delay his progress upriver by traveling with Truteau's slower party.

On his ascent Truteau endeavored to pass undetected by the tribes on the lower Missouri, since he anticipated their hostility to his trading mission to the tribes farther upriver. After passing beyond the Ponca village his worst fears were realized: in the first major event for the expedition, they had a dreaded encounter on September 29 with a group of Teton and Yankton Sioux who were hunting and who prevented the party from proceeding upriver. Over a two-day period the Tetons forced Truteau to give them gifts and then took trade goods from him in forced exchange for beaver pelts and deer skins; they finally pillaged the group while demanding that Truteau build a wintering lodge among the Sioux rather than continue upriver to the Arikaras. With the aid of some Yanktons, Truteau's party escaped from these Sioux just in time to save themselves. They hastily proceeded upriver to the Arikara villages, where they arrived on October 9, only to find the villages abandoned—as the Sioux had told them. Unable to remain there, the expedition returned downriver and in early November, at a location just north of the Ponca village in present-day Charles Mix County, South Dakota, the men built a wintering post known subsequently as Ponca House. They remained there through the winter and were visited first by the Omaha chief Big Rabbit and his people and later by the infamous Omaha chief Blackbird, whom Truteau portrays at length as the greatest rogue among all the Natives on the Missouri. Blackbird was feared and respected by all and a tyrant over his people—a graphic description of this chief that undoubtedly contributed to the legendary status Blackbird later achieved.

For Truteau, however, Blackbird and the Omahas were mostly an obstacle to Spanish trade along the Missouri. The chief traded Omaha and Ponca peltries to tribes on the Mississippi for English trade goods, he learned trading practices from the English, and he was generally ill-disposed toward the French and Spanish, especially after St. Louis traders like d'Église and Truteau himself had sneaked by the Omaha village to take trade goods to upriver tribes. Nevertheless, Truteau acknowledged the necessity of establishing good relations with the Omahas in order to assure the safe passage of goods up and down the river. He recommended the Omaha village as a strategic location for a supply depot for future commercial traffic on the upper Missouri.

For Truteau the winter at Ponca House was an unpleasant season of unfavorable trade with the Omahas that was distinguished by incessant contention, particularly with chief Blackbird, and exacerbated by the Omahas' demand for credit. Moreover, it was made all the more difficult by the presence of two other St. Louis traders, Jean Munier and Salomon Petit, who wintered nearby. Nonetheless Truteau did obtain a small quantity of furs from the Omahas as well as from the Poncas and the Sioux during the winter. On March 25, 1795, he and his party abandoned Ponca House to reascend the Missouri. They stopped first at the Ponca village, where they remained for two weeks, primarily to secure payment for some expedition guns and ammunition that Truteau had previously given to d'Église to carry upriver and that the Poncas had taken from d'Église when he passed their village. After trading there on April 9, Truteau sent Joseph Laderoute with two men downriver to St. Louis with the peltries the party had obtained during the winter, while he and the other five men continued the voyage upriver.

On May 15 the party arrived at the Arikara villages just below the mouth of the Cheyenne River and found Jacques d'Église living there. While ascending the Missouri the previous summer, d'Église had also encountered Sioux, who destroyed his pirogue. He had been forced to winter among the Arikaras rather than proceed to the Mandan villages as planned. The winter and spring there had nevertheless allowed him to conduct a profitable trade among the Arikaras. On May 24 Truteau sent his pirogue downriver with two company employees, who escorted d'Église and his large stock of peltries as well as some furs that Truteau had traded from Cheyennes visiting the Arikaras after he arrived. Truteau ordered two men, Québec and La Voye, to construct for him a large pirogue in which he could continue his ascent to the Mandans. They were unable to find trees in the vicinity that were sufficiently large to build the craft, so Truteau was left stranded in the Arikara village, awaiting a supply pirogue from St. Louis that was due to reach him during the summer.

In June Truteau wrote a letter to two traders living among the Mandans, René Jusseaume and Ménard, to announce the formation of the Upper Missouri Company and explain its goals, supported by the Spanish government, as well as his intention as its agent to come north to establish a trading post among the Mandans. He stated that he expected to arrive in July or August and trusted that they would help his enterprise as well as put a stop to the trade with the English. Later, on August 10, after the company's supply pirogue failed to appear, Truteau anxiously dispatched the two company *engagés*, Généreux and La Voye, downriver to meet the boat; they returned on September 15 after a futile wait for it on Cedar Island above the Ponca village.

Within a week of their return the French free trader Ménard arrived in the Arikara village to determine why Truteau had not proceeded to the Mandan villages as he had written he would do. After explaining that not only did he not have a large pirogue in which to travel but that the Arikaras would also oppose his departure, Truteau sent Généreux and La Voye back with Ménard on September 21, with the agreement that the two men would build two large pirogues for him during the winter, since trees were abundant in the Mandan country. They would descend in them in the spring so that Truteau could finally continue upriver.

In December 1795 hostilities broke out between the Arikaras and a visiting Sioux band, and in an ensuing attack on the Arikara village the Sioux, suffering numerous casualties, were forced to retreat but threatened to return in force to avenge their losses. Throughout the subsequent winter and early spring the Arikaras wished to abandon both of their villages and flee the expected Sioux onslaught, while Truteau tried to dissuade them from leaving him until his pirogues arrived. Finally, after learning that his men had actually failed to construct the boats during the winter and realizing that the Arikaras were going to depart, he had several buffalo hide canoes made for him and then removed to the riverbank his packets of peltries and robes as well as his remaining trade goods from the village, to await the anticipated pirogues.

On April 1, 1796, the Arikaras finally left him, and while Truteau waited on the bank a party of Sioux approached. They forced him to abandon his goods and flee across the river and ultimately downstream. When Truteau reached the Omaha village he found James Mackay and members of the third Upper Missouri Company expedition there; several days later the Québec–La Voye pirogues he had so anxiously but futilely awaited at the Arikara villages arrived at the Omaha village, along with some packets of buffalo robes that he had had to abandon at the Arikara villages and that the Sioux had not taken. They took Truteau and his remaining party downriver to St. Louis, where they arrived June 4, 1796, concluding an expedition that had failed economically—in fact, failed in most of its goals—but had succeeded in establishing friendly trading relations with the Arikaras and the nomadic tribes living south and west of them.

Other Company Expeditions

In July 1795, less than a year after Truteau's expedition left St. Louis, the Upper Missouri Company dispatched a second, much larger expedition upriver. Under the direction of one Lécuyer,[55] its mission was to join Truteau at the post that he was charged with building among the Mandans. Lécuyer would relieve him as agent of the Upper Missouri Company there and then, once the season permitted, part of the party was to proceed to the Rocky Mountains (Nasatir 1952,

1:338). The cost of this expedition was 96,779 pesos, almost twice that of the first expedition. It took merchandise valued at 25,251 pesos; other expenses included 14,000 pesos for salaries, 8,581 pesos for armaments and provisions, 1,200 pesos for equipment, and 5,000 pesos for additional salaries to pay the men who would remain among the Arikaras.[56]

Despite its greater size, this expedition was a total fiasco. Sometime after leaving St. Louis it met with difficulties, and Antoine (Antonio) Breda was dispatched to aid it. Before Breda could reach the party it was pillaged at the Ponca village. The utter failure of the expedition was certainly due as much to the misconduct of its leaders as to Indian misbehavior. Mackay described Lécuyer in a letter to Clamorgan from the Otoe village as someone "who has not had less than two wives since his arrival among the Poncas, has wasted a great deal of the Company's goods," and that Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, one of the *engagés* on the expedition, "not only should be deprived of his wages, but also severely punished, in order to serve as an example to the future. He is an infamous rascal" (Nasatir 1952, 1:353–54).

During the course of Lécuyer's expedition, Jacques d'Église returned to St. Louis, bringing with him two *engagés*, Juan Fotman and Chrysostome Joncquard, who had deserted the North West Company and had descended to the Arikara villages just before d'Église planned to depart for St. Louis. These men, once in St. Louis, provided Zenon Trudeau and other officials there with direct information on British trading activities with the Mandans and Hidatsas. This information, combined with news of the failure of Lécuyer's expedition and the imminent expiration of Truteau's term of service with the company, prompted the directors to mount still a third and even greater expedition.[57]

This grand undertaking, which was projected to take six years, comprised four pirogues carrying a total of 50,000 pesos' worth of merchandise; the contents of one were intended for the Sioux, those of another for the Arikaras, those of another for the Mandans, and those of the last for the trip to the Rocky Mountains and the Far West. Armaments for the four vessels cost 15,000 pesos, the salaries for the thirty men on the expedition amounted to 30,000 pesos, and other expenses were 9,000 pesos; the cost of the venture totaled 104,000 pesos (Nasatir 1952, 1:340).

"These expenses," wrote Trudeau to Carondelet, "are considerable, in relation to the means of those who compose it [the company], who are playing double or nothing" (Nasatir 1952, 1:346). But the members of the company felt that their investments in these expeditions would ultimately pay off with a large quantity of fine skins bringing great profits; for Trudeau and other Spanish

officials the company ventures promised to banish the English from Spanish territory.

Since no native of Upper Louisiana could be found with the requisite qualifications to manage this expedition, the company chose James Mackay, a Scot who had been employed previously by the British to explore the Northwest and to open communication with the Western Sea. Mackay had trading experience that included trips to the Qu'Appelle River—at that time the farthest western wintering post of Canadian traders—and at least one trip to the Mandan villages. About 1793 he switched his British allegiance and moved to the Spanish Illinois country, where he became a naturalized Spanish citizen noted for his ability, honesty, prudence, and intelligence.[58] To him were entrusted the dual goals of extending Spanish exploration to the Pacific Ocean and establishing forts wherever necessary along the route in order to protect Spanish territory and trade from British encroachment.[59]

Mackay's expedition set out from St. Louis at the end of August 1795 and stopped first for eleven days among the Otoes to cultivate their friendship and build near their village a wintering house at which Mackay left several traders.[60] Then, since it was so late in the year, the party proceeded only as far as the Omahas, where it established a post named St. Charles, located about six miles below Omadi, Nebraska; the group wintered there. In contrast to Truteau's contentious relationship with Blackbird, Mackay won Blackbird's loyalty and forged an alliance with the chief, who promised to avenge the Poncas' maltreatment of Spanish traders, to induce the Sioux and other Upper Missouri tribes to come to Fort Charles to discuss peace and free passage on the river, and to personally escort Mackay to the Arikaras.

During that winter Mackay dispatched John (Jean, Juan) Evans, a Welshman who was his lieutenant, to ascend the Missouri to verify a reported outbreak of violence between the Poncas and Arikaras as well as to determine relations between the Arikaras and the Sioux.[61] At a location some eighty leagues above the Omahas, however, Evans encountered a band of Sioux who pursued him and forced him back to Fort Charles, where he arrived on January 6. Mackay, meanwhile, had decided to send Evans and a party upriver to the source of the Missouri and from there to the Pacific Ocean. On January 28 he issued to Evans a set of instructions for the expedition that, like the instructions given to Truteau at the outset of his expedition, required him to keep one journal in which he would record daily events and another in which he would record information on the plant and animal life, minerals, and native inhabitants of the areas through which he passed. He also gave Evans a proclamation forbidding British traders entry into Spanish territory.

On June 8 Evans departed from Fort Charles and proceeded to the Arikara villages, where he met with the chiefs of several western tribes; he then continued to the Mandan villages, which he reached on September 23. There he distributed medals, flags, and other presents to the Mandans and spoke to them on behalf of the Spanish government. He took possession of the nearby (and at that time apparently unoccupied) post built by North West Company employees under the direction of René Jusseaume and raised the Spanish flag over it. Later he held meetings with British traders coming from the Souris River posts, several times outmaneuvering them, and also dispatched letters to the Hudson's Bay and North West Company posts at the mouth of the Souris to inform their personnel of the Upper Missouri Company's mission and to convey Mackay's proclamation prohibiting trade on Spanish soil. That prohibition, however, proved to be ineffectual, and after spending the winter among the Mandans, Evans left them on May 9, 1797, and eventually returned to St. Louis.

The date of Mackay's return to St. Louis is not recorded, but he apparently preceded Evans downriver (Nasatir 1952, 1:106). Thus the third Upper Missouri Company expedition, like its two predecessors, ended in failure and achieved neither its financial nor its exploratory goals. It did, however, establish good relations with the Otoes, Omahas, and other Upper Missouri tribes, including the Mandans, and paved the way for future trade. Evans produced a map of his trip from Fort Charles to the Mandan villages that extended accurate geographical knowledge northward along that segment of the river.[62] But the anticipated trade never developed fully for the Spaniards, in part because Governor Carondelet, fearing a political breach with England that would result in an invasion of Spanish Illinois, concentrated his efforts on the military defense of Spanish settlements below the Missouri and the patrolling of the Mississippi River rather than promoting further exploration up the Missouri.

Although there were no additional officially sponsored expeditions to reach the Western Sea during the closing years of the eighteenth century, traders regularly traveled among the Poncas, the Sioux, the Arikaras, and other tribes of the upper Missouri. Many of these traders were employed by the company, which, under Clamorgan, continued to hold its monopoly on the upper Missouri trade. Other traders included voyageurs and hunters taking merchandise on consignment for prominent St. Louis merchants and who obtained exclusive trading privileges for particular tribes. Clamorgan, ruined financially by the three expensive company expeditions, nevertheless conspired through various maneuvers to maintain control of the organization and continued trading operations on the upper Missouri, even extending its original concessions to

the upper Mississippi Valley. In 1796 he reorganized the company as Clamorgan, Loisel, and Company, with Andrew Todd, a wealthy Irish merchant from Montréal and long a supplier of the company, as his financial backer. This saving interest, however, lasted only until Todd's death that November. By 1797 all but one of the eight members of the original company, including Zenon Trudeau, had withdrawn from the venture, some having abandoned their shares outright and others having sold them to Clamorgan. Most were ruined by Clamorgan's reckless financial expenditures.[63]

Régis (or Régistre) Loisel,[64] a member of the reorganized company, made several trips up the Missouri as far as the Sioux. In 1802 he built Fort aux Cèdres on Cedar Island between the Grand Detour and the mouth of the Bad River, a post that served the Brule Sioux. In 1803 he and his employee Pierre-Antoine Tabeau,[65] his companion on their second and last voyage together, spent the winter at the fort; after Loisel returned to St. Louis in spring 1804, Tabeau, as his agent, went upstream to take up residence among the Arikaras. For approximately one year Tabeau lived in the Arikara village on modern Ashley Island,[66] and on May 20, 1805, he returned to St. Louis, only to learn that Loisel had died. The legacy of Tabeau's residence was a narrative of his sojourn among the Arikaras and his observations on the Indian peoples as well as the flora and fauna of the region—in short, a work not significantly different in scope and purpose from Truteau's journal and description—that had been written for Loisel. But Loisel's death meant there was no one to whom Tabeau could report and give the manuscript; hence it remained in his possession and, for over a century, was generally unknown.[67]

Throughout these final years of Spanish sovereignty over Louisiana, however, the problems and concerns of a half century of rule persisted. Although St. Louis traders frequented the upper Missouri region, British traders from the north, headquartered on the Souris and Assiniboine Rivers, and from the east, headquartered at Prairie du Chien, steadily increased their hold on the commerce there. They monopolized trade at the Mandan and Hidatsa villages as well as in the Iowa-Minnesota country and captured the Ponca and Omaha trade. Of equal concern, moreover, was the abiding Spanish fear of British and new American intrusions into New Mexico, particularly from the north at the source of the Missouri, an apprehension that was intensified when various traders did reach Santa Fe during the first years of the nineteenth century.[68] For Spain, however, these problems were ephemeral in the context of Louisiana, since on October 15, 1802, Carlos IV formally ceded Louisiana to Napoleon two years after a secret accord at San Ildefonso. By April 30, 1803, Napoleon in turn sold Louisiana to the United States. A year later President Thomas Jefferson ushered in a dramatic new era in the exploration and settlement of the territory when he dispatched

Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their famous exploratory expedition that ultimately took them to the Pacific Ocean, the destination that no Spanish expedition was ever successful in reaching.

Truteau's Later Life

After returning to St. Louis in 1796, Truteau abandoned the fur trade and undertook a career as a teacher. Whether he had taught school before 1796 is a matter of conjecture, since there is no record of it prior to his return.[69] In the last years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, Truteau's school for boys was the only one in St. Louis,[70] and the sons of most of the leading citizens of the town, including Zenon Trudeau's, were entrusted to his instruction (Houck 1908, 2:275).

Although Truteau never received a land grant for his service as did other important citizens in early St. Louis, in 1798 Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau did reward Truteau for the education of his children with a gift of $400, to be held in trust for the support and education of Truteau's own children. Truteau, however, apparently used this money to purchase a house on Main Street constructed in the creole post-on-sill style. Located just above Market Street, the house was originally built by François Bissonnet in 1768 and was sold to Truteau by Bissonnet's widow.[71] In addition to being his residence, Truteau conducted his boys' school there until 1810, when he sold the dwelling to Manuel Lisa. After the sale to Lisa, Truteau purchased another house on the south side of Pine Street, between Main and Second Streets, and continued to teach there for the remainder of his life.

Although Truteau was known as *Maitre* Truteau, the village schoolmaster, little is actually known about his life in St. Louis. On May 1, 1781, seven years after coming to the town, he married Madeleine Roy, the daughter of Julien Roy and Marie Barbe Saucier, the latter the widow of François Hebert, who had been killed during the British-Indian attack on St. Louis on May 26, 1780 (Collet 1918b:85). In that same year Truteau was recorded on the roster of St. Louis militia companies as an enlisted member of Capt. Eugenio Pourée's company; his age is given as thirty-five years and his occupation as rower (Collet 1918b:85). Together Truteau and his wife had at least five children; in the census of 1791 he is listed as already the head of a family of seven and having no property or crops (Nasatir 1966e:383).

Even though in 1799 Truteau was listed as one of the "well-to-do" citizens of St. Louis who made a voluntary patriotic gift of five pesos to Spain, he clearly was at the low end of that economic status since his gift was the smallest of the twenty-seven contributors.[72] Moreover, in an 1805 list of St. Louis landowners, the valuation of Truteau's property is given as $400, an amount that

contrasts with, for example, $32,650 for Auguste Chouteau's home, $3,500 for Jacques Clamorgan's, and $1,200 for J. M. Papin's (Missouri Historical Society, *Collections*, 3:185).

Because of his education, Truteau's name frequently appears in contemporary civic and religious documents, indicating prominence in the city. In 1804, for example, he was listed as a member of the first grand jury impaneled in St. Louis, but he was fined five dollars for absence (Billon 1888:9; Houck 1908, 2:383). Between 1804 and 1813, when there was no priest in St. Louis, Truteau recorded interments in the Catholic church register (Houck 1908, 2:314). His name also appears as a signatory on various public documents: on an 1805 memorial defending James Wilkinson that was sent to President Jefferson; on an 1806 petition sent to Jefferson expressing confidence in secretary Joseph Browne and suggesting his appointment as governor if the present one were transferred (Carter 1948, 13:329–34, 550–52); and on a request, dated 1819, in which Catholic property holders and inhabitants sought free use of a presbytery lot upon which to build a brick school or college (Billon 1888:420–23).

In his last years Truteau was apparently addicted to alcohol. One mid-nineteenth-century St. Louis newspaper article entitled "Old French Times," a collection of newspaper clippings from earlier in the century, depicts him thus:

> *Maitre* Trudeau, holding a birch, is standing in the centre, and, as he turns from one side to the other, narrowly watching the trembling crowd of literary victims that surround him, his deep set eye glancing fiercely from the enormous eyebrows that overhang them, you can tell by the deep glow of his countenance that he has just returned from a visit to the neighboring cafe. *Maitre* Trudeau visits the cafe frequently—too frequently indeed for his own good; for see him a few years after, and he has become degraded in the sight of his friends, and weak and contemptible even before his own pupils. Towards the end of his career he loses his sight, becomes a burthen upon the charity of a few good-hearted friends, and finally dies, regretted by the honest villagers for his good qualities, and pitied for his unfortunate vice. (*Weekly Reveille*, March 19, 1849)

Truteau died in St. Louis on January 30, 1827, at the age of seventy-nine (Collet 1918a:114). His wife, Madeleine, survived him by several years.

Versions of the Journal and the Description

The history of Truteau's manuscripts and their publication is a complex and convoluted one. Although partial versions of the journal and short selections from the description have been previously published, a complete edition of both works is published here for the first time both in the original French and

in English translation.[73] The sections that follow describe in chronological order the various published and unpublished versions(tables 1 and 2 summarize this discussion).

THE JOURNAL

National Archives Version

Not until the early twentieth century was a portion of the journal published, a forty-four-page manuscript that bears on a separate cover sheet the identification "Journal tenu par J Bte truteau, agent de la Compagnie du haut du Missouris adressé à M^{es} Clamorgan Et Reilli directeurs de la Compagnie commencé Le 1er juin 1795." At the bottom right is the notation "Seconde partie." Now faded, this second part of the journal is oriented horizontally on blue paper, formerly folded in two; the pages bear the original numbers 1–44, as well as a set of folio numbers 138–160 (the latter apparently added later when this document was bound with others). An endorsement in English on the reverse of the cover sheet reads "Journal of a Voyage on the Missouri." Most of page 22 and the first eight lines of page 23 have been blacked out; on the final page (44) the last three-plus lines have been blacked out.

This part of the diary covers the two-month period of May 24 to July 20, 1795, when Truteau was living in the Arikara village. It begins with a three-page account of events immediately following Jacques d'Église's departure downriver to St. Louis and Truteau's dispatch of four men to obtain timber for making pirogues to take him upriver to the Mandans. The narrative turns to a description of the character, population, and divisions of the Arikaras, followed by a short discussion of other tribes in the region and their potential as sources of trade. Next, after a heading "Suitte de mon journal," Truteau returns to an account of his life among the Arikaras that ends when a Sioux band, identified as the "Ta corpa," comes to join the Oglala band already settled near the Arikara village.[74]

The existence of this document was known throughout much of the nineteenth century, from at least as early as the 1840s. At that time Robert Greenhow, searching for early accounts of the Far West, noted that "the journal of one of these voyages, made by M. Trudeau, in 1794, has been preserved in the archives of the Department of State at Washington; it is, however, devoted chiefly to the numbers, manners, and customs, religion, &c., of the natives on the banks of the Missouri, particularly the Arickaras, inhabiting the country under the 46th parallel of latitude" (Greenhow 1844:265n). A similar reference to the journal occurs in *Life and Scenery in Missouri* by John O'Hanlon (1890:61).

When the Bureau of Rolls and Library was created within the U.S. State Department in 1874, the Truteau journal was included in volume 4 of "Gov. Claiborne's

Correspondence." This was correspondence received from Orleans (later Louisiana) Territory, whose first governor was William C. C. Claiborne (Van Tyne and Leland 1907:44). In 1921 the bureau was abolished and its archival collections were transferred to the National Archives, where today the journal is found within the records of the Department of State, Territorial Papers volume 1, Orléans, fols. 138–60.[75]

This document is in Truteau's own handwriting, with a minimum of crossouts and corrections, which suggests that it is likely the journal copy he sent downriver to the directors of the Upper Missouri Company in St. Louis.[76] How this original copy of the second part of the journal came to reside in the State Department archives is uncertain. It seems to have been among the papers relating to Louisiana solicited by Thomas Jefferson to provide information on those unknown lands that he proposed to purchase for the United States. Possibly it was one of the "modern manuscripts" written by an employee of the Missouri Fur Company, which General Wilkinson sent to Jefferson in 1800 (Allen 1975:68). Jefferson extracted information from the second part of Truteau's journal as well as from another, shorter document on Indian trade.[77] He sent with a copy of his notes, including a one-paragraph description of Truteau's expedition and a list of the tribes residing along the Missouri, with estimates of the number of men in each tribe and the number of skins they trade annually, to Meriwether Lewis on November 16, 1803, for use by the Corps of Discovery on their forthcoming expedition up the Missouri (Jackson 1962:136–40).

In another letter to Lewis dated January 22, 1804, Jefferson states that, after having sent extracts from Truteau's journal, he was enclosing "a translation of that journal in full for your information" as well as a copy of the map made by John Evans during his ascent of the Missouri in 1795 (Jackson 1962:165). No copy of Jefferson's translation has survived.

Early in the twentieth century an anonymous copyist in the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis) transcribed the National Archives manuscript. From that transcription H. T. Beauregard published a translation (1912) entitled "Journal of Jean-Baptiste Truteau among the Arikara Indians in 1795," which represents the first publication of any portion of Truteau's journal. In its introduction the editor, Judge Walter B. Douglas,[78] provided a brief biography of Truteau as well as a historical sketch of his expedition within the context of the Upper Missouri Company's exploration of the upriver region and identifies many of the men who either formed the company or were a part of Truteau's expedition.

Seville Manuscript

Not long after publication of the National Archives manuscript, Roscoe R. Hill discovered a copy of the "Première Partie" of Truteau's journal while he was

preparing a descriptive list of materials bearing on U.S. history for the Archives of the Indies in Seville, Spain. This manuscript, located in *legajo* 187 of the "Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba," is a forty-seven-page document on legal size paper, described only as "somewhat closely written, and somewhat damaged as to the first page" (Jameson 1914:299). Its title, which follows a short introduction by Truteau, is "Journal de l'agen de la Compagnie [du] haut Missouri dans sa route pour se rendre [chez] la nation mendane." Although not specified in the manuscript, this part of Truteau's diary covers the period from June 7, 1794, when he departed from St. Louis, to March 26, 1795, when he was living among the Poncas. The narrative abruptly breaks off on that date, without any closing signature.[79]

In 1914 the Seville version was transcribed and published in French but without an English translation (Jameson 1914:412–74). In a short introduction the manuscript and its history are briefly described; in copious footnotes, personal and geographical names are identified in English.

After its publication, the copy of the Seville Version became lost or misplaced in the Archives of the Indies and to date has not been found. Fortunately, however, a photostatic copy of the manuscript was made for the State Historical Society of North Dakota sometime before it disappeared; it is now in the Orin G. Libby Papers that are deposited in the archives of that society. An examination of the photostats shows that the Seville manuscript is in the handwriting of a copyist and not Truteau, indicating that it was not one of its author's original copies but rather one undoubtedly made for Lt.-Gov. Zenon Trudeau, who forwarded it from St. Louis on June 4, 1795, to Governor Carondelet.[80] The latter in turn would have forwarded the document to higher authorities in Cuba, where it was preserved in the Archives of the Indies, which were eventually sent to Spain.

Reprinted Versions

In 1914 Doane Robinson, the secretary of the South Dakota State Historical Society, edited and published in the *South Dakota Historical Collections* the two extant parts of Truteau's journal—an English translation of the Seville manuscript followed by a reprint of Beauregard's translation of the National Archives version. Together these provided the fullest sequence of the work then known, extending from August 25, 1794, to July 20, 1795.[81] Omitted from this version of the journal, however, is the beginning, from June 7 until June 24, when Truteau reached the Big Sioux River and entered within the present boundaries of South Dakota.

In his work Robinson also provided a historical introduction and annotations. The footnotes in the first part of the journal are his own; none of Jameson's were

retained. In the reprint of Beauregard's translation of the second part of the journal, however, he preserved some of Douglas's footnotes, reworded others, and added new ones of his own. In his translation of the first part he also gave the modern names of geographical landmarks and modern spellings of Indian tribal names, rather than retaining Truteau's own renditions.

At the same time as, or subsequent to, the publication of the first (Seville) and second (Beauregard) parts of the journal by Robinson, Orin G. Libby, superintendent of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, had prepared for publication diplomatic copies of the French versions of the two parts of the journal, along with a new English translation of both.[82] The transcription of the Seville manuscript was made from the photostatic copy of the original that Libby had acquired from the Spanish archive; this transcription, his translator noted, was necessary because the copy in the *American Historical Review,* when compared with the original, was found to be replete with typographical errors and contain omissions and questionable emendations. It could not be used as a true copy.[83] The translations of both manuscripts commissioned by Libby were intended to be literal, reflecting as closely as possible Truteau's writing style, despite the occasional awkwardnesses that resulted.

Although the Libby manuscript was completed in its typescript form, it was never published, perhaps because of the publication of Robinson's version by the rival South Dakota State Historical Society. Nevertheless, Libby's edition would have been preferable for scholars had it been published in both languages, as it is in the manuscript version. Its deficiency, unfortunately, was Libby's introduction, which dealt at length with the relationship of Truteau's journal to Victor Collot's description of the upper Missouri (Collot 1826, 1:271–301). Libby erroneously concluded that Truteau had plagiarized his account from Collot, an ironic misinterpretation, since Collot himself credits unnamed traders—doubtlessly primarily Truteau—as the source of his information about the upper Missouri (Collot 1826, 1:278).

Nearly a half-century later, the same two versions of Truteau's journal were again reprinted, this time as constituent pieces of a larger collection of primary documents from the period 1785 to 1804 that illuminate the exploration and history of the Missouri River region just prior to American purchase of the Louisiana Territory, when the Illinois country still belonged to the Spanish government (Nasatir 1952, 1:259–311). The documents include most of the contemporary accounts essential for understanding this period, which follow Abraham P. Nasatir's long, insightful introduction contextualizing them in the wider story of first French and then Spanish exploration. Among the longest of those are Truteau's, both his journal and a small portion of his description; also

included in the collection are translations of many documents bearing directly on the formation of the Upper Missouri Company and Truteau's expedition.

Nasatir's presentation of the journal is a complete reprint of the version in the *South Dakota Historical Collections*, though augmented with a translation of the first portion of the journal—from June 7 to August 24—that Robinson had omitted, as well as a translation that Nasatir himself made from the published transcription of the Seville Manuscript (Jameson 1914). Nasatir also states that he checked the translation of the remainder of the first part of the journal. He did omit the annotations from the earlier editions, since the Robinson and Beauregard versions were assumed to be available to scholars.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE UPPER MISSOURI

Unlike parts of his journal, which were not published until the early twentieth century, sections of Truteau's description were published just a decade after he returned to St. Louis. Then, a century later another version of the description appeared and was published. Both, however, were only fragments.

Boilvin Manuscript

In early 1806 Samuel L. Mitchill, a senator from New York and editor of the journal *Medical Repository*, obtained copies of two manuscripts emanating from the Upper Missouri Company's expeditions upriver in the 1790s.[84] That same year he published in English translation the first, which comprises extracts from the journals of James Mackay, the leader of the company's third expedition, and of his lieutenant, John Evans (Mitchill 1806a:27–36).[85] Who conveyed the copy of the extracts from Mackay's and Evans's journals to Mitchill is not stated in the article; nor is it clear what, if any, relationship Mitchill's copy bore to the one entitled "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal," which was among the Lewis and Clark documents found in the Biddle family papers in 1913–14 (Quaife 1916:187).

Later that year Mitchill published a short article on the other manuscript under the title "Trudeau's Description of the Upper Missouri" (1806c). In it he gives in English translation a one-page extract from Truteau's description,[86] following which he acknowledges receiving a copy of the manuscript from Nicholas Boilvin, then a resident of St. Louis, when Boilvin visited Mitchill in his home in Washington DC during the winter of 1805–6. After the acknowledgment, Mitchill lists the topical contents of the document. Subsequently he published a two-part article (a total of seven pages) in which more extracts from the description are given under the title "Remarks on the Manners of the Indians living high up the Missouri; Translated from a manuscript of Jean-Baptiste Trudeau."[87]

Although Mitchill published no more portions of the description, the list of contents that he gives for Truteau's manuscript matches the major sections of the description in the Québec manuscript, the fullest version known to exist at the time.[88] However, based on a comparison of Mitchill's translation with the Québec version, it also appears that the two documents represent different copies of the description, since not only do expressions and details differ sufficiently to suggest separate sources, but, even more tellingly, the two versions do not match sentence for sentence and in several instances one lacks a section that occurs in the other.

How or where Boilvin, who was subsequently an Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, obtained the copy that he had is not known. Furthermore, because the manuscript itself is no longer extant, it is impossible to say whether this version of the description was in Truteau's own hand or in that of a copyist.

Nicollet Manuscript

Between 1836 and 1839 Joseph N. Nicollet, a French scientist, undertook a series of expeditions through the Mississippi River basin under the sponsorship of the U.S. government to prepare an accurate map of the region. Many of his papers, including scientific notes and fragments of his journals, as well as a rich collection of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century documents written by others, were kept in a dull green wooden chest, presumably of European make and bearing on it the name Nicollet. The contents of this chest, like many documents pertaining to the early history of the United States, were stored in the office of the Chief of Engineers located in the State, War, and Navy building until 1921, at which point they were transferred to the Library of Congress.[89]

Among the manuscripts in the chest were copies of many of the most important documents written during the period of the early fur trade in the upper Missouri River region. When Dr. H. M. Hamblin, a clerk in the Mails and Files Division of the Office of Indian Affairs, discovered them, he brought the cache to the attention of the historian Annie Heloise Abel, who over the next two decades edited the documents for publication. Included among them are a "Table of Distances along the Missouri in Ascending from the Mouth up to the White River," prepared by James Mackay in 1797; the "Fort Clark Journal" of Francis A. Chardon; the narrative entitled "Voyage de Régis Loisel dans le haut Missouri," which is Tabeau's account of the upper Missouri River region and its Indian tribes during the years 1802–4 when he lived among the Arikaras; a document entitled "Ramsay Crook's notes," which is a brief history of the American fur trade; and, finally, the "Description du haut Missouri" by Jean-Baptiste Truteau (written "Trudeau" in the document).[90]

TABLE 1. Versions of the journal compared

Québec Manuscript	Fonds Viger-Verreau	Herein
June 7, 1794 to June 1796	Séminaire de Québec, Québec City	
"Extrait du journaux du voyage de J. Bte. trudeau sur le haut Missouris addressés à Messrs. les directeurs de la Compagnie, a S Louie des Illinois"		
[In copyists' hands]		
Seville Manuscript [Part 1]	Papeles de Cuba	In French
June 7, 1794 to March 26, 1795	Archives of the Indies, Seville	*American Historical Review*, 7:412–74 (1914), J. F. Jameson, editor
"Journal de l'agen de la compagnie du haut Missouri dans sa route pour se rendre [chez] la nation mendane. Premiere Partie."		
[In copyist's hand]		
		In English translation (South Dakota portion only)
		South Dakota Historical Collections 7:412–53 (1914), Doane Robinson, editor
		In English translation
		(Reprint of *SouthDakota Historical Collections*, with additional non-South Dakota portion) translated and edited by Abraham Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, vol 1:259–65 (1952)

National Archives Manuscript [Part 2]	U. S. National Archives,	In English translation
May 24, 1795 to July 20, 1795	Washington, D. C.	*Missouri Historical Society Collections* 4:9–48 (1912), H. T. Beauregard, translator and editor
"Journal tenu pa J. Bte. truteaux agent de la Compagnie du haut Missouris addressé a Mesr Clamorgan Et Reilli, directeurs de la Compagnie commencé Le 1er juin 1795. Seconde partie."		
[In Truteau's hand]		
		In English translation
		(Reprint of Beauregard)
		South Dakota Historical Collections 7:453–74 (1914), Doane Robinson, editor
		In English translation
		(Reprint of Beauregard)
		Before Lewis and Clark, Abraham Nasatir, editor, vol. 1:294–311 (1952)
		In French
		Comparative edition of the Québec, Seville, and National Archives versions
		Jean-Baptiste Trudeau sur le haut Missouri, Fernand Grenier and Nilma Saint-Gelais, editors (2006)

This copy of Truteau's description, here called the Nicollet Version, is an abbreviated rendition made sometime after 1795 and before 1840. Written in the script of an anonymous copyist on legal size white sheets, it is thirteen pages in length—which represents only twelve percent of the full Quebec Version.[91] In 1921 Abel published it in French transcription and English translation, together with copious annotations. In an historical introduction she dismisses the theory that this copy of the description may be the extracts that Jefferson made from Truteau's journal and leans to the conclusion that it may have been made for François-Marie Perrin du Lac and that Truteau was the "*ancien traiteur*" of Perrin du Lac's purported trading voyage up the Missouri to the White River. It is now recognized to be true that Truteau's description did indeed form the source for Perrin du Lac's information presented in his *Voyages dans les Deux Louisianes et chez les Nations Sauvages du Missouri* (1805), but the notion that Truteau accompanied him on an actual voyage up the Missouri is also now regarded as apocryphal (Grenier 1953).

A close comparison of the Nicollet and Quebec manuscripts indicates that where they correspond, the two represent different copies of the description and that the former is a slightly abridged version of the parallel text in the latter. Like the Boilvin Version, the Nicollet copy differs from the Quebec Version not only in expressions and details—different spellings of tribal names and varying enumerations of animals, for example—but also in its omission of the Cheyenne story of the giant beaver. The Nicollet Manuscript, moreover, lacks the break and subtitle "Continuation of the Description of the Upper Missouri" that is found in the Quebec Version, and it ends several pages before the end of this section and the beginning of the next one in the Quebec copy.

Reprinted Versions

Each of the preceding versions of the description has been reprinted, one in part and the other in its entirety. G. Hubert Smith (1936) reprinted the concluding portion of the Boilvin manuscript as a short article published by Mitchill (1808c:121–24), which describes marriage and childbirth among the Indians of the Upper Missouri. Later, as a part of his collection of primary documents illustrating the history of the Spanish Illinois country, Nasatir reprinted the English translation of the Nicollet versions of the description published by Abel, but retained neither the French transcription nor her annotations.[92]

The Québec Manuscripts

The fullest versions of Truteau's journal and description now known are in the Fonds Viger-Verreau in the archives of the Séminaire de Québec in Quebec City. There, in a collection of manuscripts compiled during the first half of the

TABLE 2. Versions of the description compared

Québec Manuscript	Fonds Viger-Verreau, Séminaire de Québec, Québec City	Herein
"Description abrégé du haut missouris addressé à Monsieur don Zenon trudeau lieutenant Gouverneur de la partie occidentale des illinois &c&c&c, par J Bts. trudeau voyageur"		
[In copyists' hands]		
Nicollet Manuscript	Nicollet Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	In French, with English *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 8:149–79 (1921–22), Annie Heloise Abel, translator and editor
"Description du haut Missouri"		
[In copyist's hand]		
Boilvin Manuscript	Unknown	Partial English translation
		(Translator unknown) *Medical Repository*, 2nd Hexade, 3:313–15 (1806); 4:52–56, 120–24 (1808), Samuel Mitchill, editor
		In English translation
		(Partial reprint of Mitchill), *American Anthropologist* 38:565–68 (1936), G. Hubert Smith, editor
		In French
		Comparative edition of the Québec and Nicollet versions
		Jean-Baptiste Trudeau sur le haut Missouri, Fernand Grenier and Nilma Saint-Gelais, editors (2006)

nineteenth century, is a complete version of the journal that includes not only the first two parts already known but the missing third part that ends with Truteau's return to St. Louis on June 4, 1796. Alongside it is a complete copy of the description, one that is vastly longer than the Nicollet version and that covers all of the topics enumerated in the Boilvin version.

All that is known of the history of these manuscripts is that they were obtained by Jacques Viger (1787–1858), a member of a prominent Montréal family. While Viger held various civic positions and was the first mayor of Montréal, during his lifetime he was most noted as a historian and collector. It was as a collector that he obtained the Truteau manuscripts. How they came into his possession is no longer known, but since Montréal in the early nineteenth century was home to several Truteau families related to Jean-Baptiste, it is possible that the documents were brought to Québec by a relative. At his death Viger was heavily indebted to his stepdaughters, who inherited his estate and then sold his substantial collection of books and manuscripts. The latter were purchased by friends, among whom was Hospice Anthelme Jean-Baptiste Verreau (Robert 1985).

Verreau (1828–1901), also born in Montréal, was educated at the Séminaire de Québec and ordained a Catholic priest in 1851. After teaching at the college of Ste. Thérèse, he served throughout most of his life as principal of the École Normale Jacques-Cartier de Montréal. In 1881, in recognition of his archival studies and historical publications, he was given the additional appointment of professor of Canadian history at Laval University (Hamel 1994). Father Verreau bequeathed his papers, including all of the manuscripts collected by Jacques Viger and himself, to the Séminaire de Québec.

Now held there, the Truteau manuscripts are in carton 50 of the Fonds Viger-Verreau, where they are the last of a miscellaneous collection of short documents relating to the Louisiana Territory and British activity in the Ohio country from approximately 1770 to 1820. Within carton 50 they comprise four documents, numbered in five parts, 70 through 74.

The journal, which is entitled "Extrait des journaux du voyage de J. Bte. trudeau sur le Haut-Missouris addressés à Messrs. les directeurs de la Compagnie, à S Louis des Illinois," is document 74. It consists of 187 pages, is 32½ cm (12¾ in.) long and 21 cm (8¼ in.) wide. With the exception of pages 13 and 14, which are a single inserted folio, pages 1 to 85 are folded forming one signature. Pages 86 to 117 are single folios, but pages 118 to 185 are folded and form another signature. Pages 186 and 187 are a single folio.

The description, entitled "Description abrégée du haut missouris addr[e]ssée à Monsieur don Zenon trudeau lieutenant Gouverneur de la partie occidentale des illinois &c&c&c, par J Bte. trudeau voyageur," comprises three parts

(*cahiers* or notebooks), the first of which is in two sections (*Premier cahier* and *Suite du premier cahier*). Together these four segments are manuscript numbers 70 through 73. The paper of number 70 is the same size as that of the journals, but numbers 71 through 73 is 31 cm (12¼ in.) long by 19½ cm (7 11/16 in.) wide. In number 71 some pages are trimmed slightly and some are 20 cm (7 7/8 in.) wide. In number 70, which is seventy pages long, pages 1 through 10 appear on separate folios, while pages 11 through 70 are folded together to form a signature. Number 71 is twenty pages, of which pages 1 and 2 are one folded folio, 3 through 17 are folded forming one signature, and 18 through 20 are folded. Number 72 is twenty-eight pages, of which pages 1 through 6 are three loose folios and 7 through 30 are folded forming one signature; the entirety is in a folded leaf entitled "Second Notebook." The entirety of number 73, which is thirty-five pages, is folded to form a signature.

All of the numbered parts of the manuscripts show evidence of previous binding but are now disbound. The paper throughout is laid in a cream or tan color. In numbers 70, 73, and 74 the sheets are lightly lined in pencil; the sheets are not lined in numbers 71 and 72. The sheets in numbers 70, 73, and 74 also bear the same watermark, "B. Dumas," whereas the watermark on the paper in number 71 is "JSOC" and on that in number 72 is "GR" with a crown over the letters and a base separating them. On the last page in number 72 there is a large seal with a crown above and the date 1794 below.

The writing in these documents belongs to several copyists, apparently students of Truteau, for on the cover of the first notebook of the description Truteau wrote: "Since these writings have been copied by some careless young people, I beg the people who read them to supply what is lacking and to correct what is contradictory." The task of making a copy, presumably from his own original version of the journals and the description, would appear, then, to have been an exercise that Truteau assigned his students, who would have certainly been in their teens to judge by the nature of the scripts and who would have been the sons of such St. Louis families as the Trudeaus, Chouteaus, and others.

For the first fifty years after being deposited in the Séminaire de Québec after Father Verreau's death, the manuscripts lay undisturbed in the archives. In 1952, however, when the publication of Nasatir's book *Before Lewis and Clark* was announced, Honorius Provost, an archivist at the seminary, wrote the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation to inform the organization of several early manuscripts in their collections—those of Truteau, Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, and Perrin du Lac—and to suggest that perhaps the foundation would be interested in a publication venture, particularly of the Truteau documents, which were deemed to be among the richest items in the archive.[93]

At the same time, the archivist approached the History Department at Laval University to arrange publication of a French edition of the Truteau manuscripts. Fernand Grenier, a professor of geography there, became interested in the project and supervised the transcription of the handwritten documents, which he, together with Fernand Ouellet, planned to publish. Their French edition, however, was abandoned once Grenier realized that most of the material in Truteau's description had already appeared in Perrin du Lac's *Voyages*. Instead, Grenier published an article in which he reproduced extracts from Truteau's manuscripts and compared them with the corresponding passages in Perrin du Lac's account (1953); he was content to demonstrate conclusively that the latter had plagiarized Truteau's writings.

During the period when Grenier was working with the Truteau manuscripts, Father Provost's letter to the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation attracted the interest of historian John Francis McDermott, who began negotiations for the purchase of a microfilm copy of the Truteau manuscripts and publication rights for an English edition of them—negotiations that extended over a decade. In 1960 the microfilm copy and publication rights to the documents were purchased by the American Philosophical Society.[94] Nevertheless, despite his interest in them and their importance, McDermott's subsequent work with the documents was intermittent and was never finished; when he passed away in 1981 he left behind only a draft translation of the journals and several partial drafts of an introduction.[95]

Grenier, after his retirement from teaching, returned to the Truteau manuscripts and in 2006, in collaboration with Nilma Saint-Gelais, published a version in modernized French accompanied by a CD-ROM that compares the original French language manuscript versions of the journal and the description.

The Québec version of Truteau's journals and description offered here is an entirely new translation—from a new transcription of the original French documents—presented with annotations that reflect contemporary knowledge of the history and ethnography of the Indian tribes of the northern Plains, and particularly the Arikaras who form the main focus of Truteau's observations and writing.

The previously published versions of the first two parts of Truteau's journal closely correspond to the version presented here, but where there are significant differences in either the Seville or National Archives manuscripts—where either a name or number is different, or a passage comprising a phrase to as much as a paragraph in either of them is lacking in the Québec version—those differences or additions are given in angled brackets to supplement the text of the Québec version. Thus this edition accounts for the significant discrepancies among the three known versions of the first and second parts of the journal.

The third part of the journal, which appears here in English for the first time, is not designated as a separate section in the Québec manuscript. It continues with Truteau's account, begun at the end of the National Archives manuscript, of the visit of the Tacowas Sioux to the Oglalas, who were residing near the Arikara village in which Truteau lived. In this continuation Truteau recounts his council with those Sioux and discusses both the character of the tribe and the problems that they pose for traders and other Indian groups.

He continues his journal with a critical comparison of the French and Spanish trading systems (both of which were based on grants of exclusive trading rights to certain favored individuals) with the free enterprise system of the English. Truteau concluded that if St. Louis merchants seriously desired the upper Missouri trade, the trade must be open to *all* voyageurs in order to allow and inspire the most capable to participate in it. By way of example, he explains that his expedition was doomed to failure because it was, typically, underfunded by penurious St. Louis merchants who wanted large profits but were unwilling to risk the necessary capital to achieve them.

Following this polemic, a frequent theme throughout the journal and description is the account of visits first of several Sioux villages and later four western nomadic tribes—Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Pitapahatos—who came to the Arikara villages to trade.

Subsequently Truteau records the visit of the French trader Ménard, who was for many years a resident among the Mandans and who visited the Arikara villages to determine why Truteau had not continued his voyage upriver to the Mandan villages. After explaining that he was unable to leave because of the opposition of his Arikara hosts—as well as the lack of a pirogue—Truteau sold Ménard some merchandise to take upriver to trade for beaver pelts, a commodity that Truteau could not obtain from the Arikaras, who were not beaver trappers, and which Ménard could secure for him without difficulty from the Mandans. Then Ménard, together with two men from Truteau's party, went back to the Mandan villages with the understanding that during the winter the men—Généreux and La Voye—would build two large pirogues for Truteau and descend with them to the Arikara villages, carrying the peltries that Ménard had meanwhile obtained in trade for the merchandise conveyed to him for that purpose.

During Ménard's visit Truteau questioned him for information on the Indians and the geography of the upper Missouri region beyond the Arikara villages. This was Truteau's one significant opportunity to obtain a firsthand account from someone who had lived among the Indians there and had traveled throughout the region. What Ménard related to him is mentioned in the journal and in the description, thus forming the source for Truteau's portrayal of the area

beyond the Cheyenne River to the Rocky Mountains, a region that he himself was never able to visit.

After brief descriptions of two Arikara fall and winter buffalo hunts and the tribe's winter villages, Truteau returns to the topic of the Sioux and their strained relations with the Arikaras, relations that vacillated between friendliness and hostility. After several incidents in which Arikaras were killed by Sioux, a group of young Arikara men shot up a Sioux camp in retaliation, killing five people. The Sioux moved off, swearing revenge, and there begins the theme that dominates most of the journal, from late December 1795 to April 2, 1796: mounting Arikara fear of a massive Sioux onslaught—a fear heightened by the Arikaras' lack of adequate gunpowder and fusils to fend off large-scale attacks and at the same time to kill sufficient game to allay their hunger. The unfolding drama is, then, one of competing desires and rising tensions: some Arikaras wanted Truteau to trade them gunpowder and fusils with which to protect themselves, others wanted to move off to safety, whether to join the Mandans, the Cheyennes, or the Skiri Pawnees. Truteau, meanwhile, refused—until the very end—to give them the trade goods that they wanted since they offered him only buffalo hides, not the beaver pelts that he demanded. Yet he was constantly imploring them not to abandon him. Besides the constant Sioux threat, there was also the interplay of visiting Skiri Pawnees, who counseled the Arikaras to make Truteau pay dearly for their loyalty to him when he finally did consent to trade them gunpowder, fusils, and other goods for their buffalo robes.

In the end the Arikaras did abandon Truteau by leaving him on the shore of the Missouri with two poorly constructed bullboats to take him, his small party, his robes, and his remaining merchandise downriver. After eight days alone on the riverbank, waiting futilely for the arrival of the pirogues he had commissioned in the fall, a group of Sioux approached the stranded party and forced Truteau and his men to flee in their bullboats. During their escape they lost most of their robes and goods, and Truteau nearly lost his life when he burned his face and hands with gunpowder.

Truteau's destitute party finally reached the Omahas' village, where they found the post newly established by James MacKay, leader of the third Upper Missouri Company expedition. While the weary, demoralized party rested, the pirogues that were belatedly constructed for Truteau among the Mandans finally arrived. But it was too late to save most of his peltries, robes, and trade goods and the failure of his expedition as a trading venture was ensured. Nevertheless, the boats were now able to take Truteau back to St. Louis, where he arrived on June 4, 1796, fully two years after his departure.

In contrast to the journal, most of the "Description of the Upper Missouri" has not been published in English, at least not under Truteau's name. The previously published Nicollet Manuscript parallels the Québec Version, though in a slightly abridged form. The latter, after an introductory section, begins with a synoptic description of the Missouri River from its mouth to its source, enumerating the major rivers that flow into it and the Indian tribes that live along its course. The Nicollet copy then ends with an appraisal that the Indians of the upper Missouri, who venerate white men, are the most gentle people in the world and that trade with them is conducted peacefully. This closing, however, is not a natural ending, for the Québec manuscript takes the narrative thread further, comparing the peoples of the upper Missouri with those lower downriver and to the east and west of the Mississippi and extolling the rich possibilities for trade with the former. Once again Truteau launches into an ardent polemic in which he vehemently criticizes the policy of granting exclusive trading monopolies to favored individuals rather than opening trade to all voyageurs.

After cynically acknowledging the futility of his complaints against government policy and of his recommendations for a more prosperous trade that would benefit the Spanish government as well as more individual citizens, Truteau returns to the description of the upper Missouri region, first enumerating the merchandise most highly esteemed by the Indians there, then listing the most common animals and birds found in the region, and finally characterizing the climate.

His summary of the natural history and tribal composition of the upper Missouri region constitutes only half of the "First Notebook" and serves as a backdrop for the remainder of the description, which is, in fact, one extended ethnographic discussion that covers a broad, albeit disparate, array of cultural topics. Some of this presentation is general in scope, depicting what was culturally common to tribes in the region that Truteau knew (primarily the Arikaras, Pawnees, Sioux, and Cheyennes) or that were described to him by Ménard and other voyageurs (the Mandans and Hidatsas). Other parts are comparative and contrast the beliefs and practices of different tribes.

Perhaps the most significant portion of the description, however, focuses on the Arikaras, whom Truteau came to know intimately after a one-year residence among them and who loomed large in his conception of the upper Missouri cultural landscape. The difficulty for the reader, though, is often knowing when a statement or description refers specifically to the Arikaras, since Truteau frequently does not identify tribal provenance in his descriptions or he facilely imputes his statements to the Indians of the upper Missouri region generally. Many generalizations clearly are not true for all tribes but refer to Arikaras specifically, as, for example, his description of burials; whereas in other passages,

like the description of the Sun Dance, which is not attributed to any one people, the tribal identification is ambiguous and must be inferred.

In the second half of the "First Notebook," Truteau's discussion ranges widely, although it concentrates primarily on religious beliefs. He describes, for example, Native concepts of a supreme being and beliefs in the origin of the world and humankind. It is clear that, although he imputes his depiction to all the tribes of the region, he is likely describing the Arikaras, since the sequence of his narrative moves directly into a description of the Arikaras' distinctive Medicine Lodge and summer doctors' ceremonies. Subsequently, however, the account becomes a concatenation of comparative descriptions: the Mandans' and Hidatsas' special veneration of white buffalo hides and their distinctive buffalo-calling rites; the self-torture and fasting practices of various tribes; and belief in an afterlife as well as burial and mourning practices. The burial discussion, again, is specific to the Arikaras, since they were the only tribe among those discussed who interred their dead in the ground; others practiced scaffolding.

After the presentation of those beliefs, the discussion turns to Arikara social relations and the norms regulating behavior, including such topics as attitudes toward wealth, conflict resolution, and ethics, as well as typical daily activities. Then, following an account of the unceasing public harangues of old men who are no longer able to go to war and who become the teachers of Arikara youth, Truteau takes up several miscellaneous culture topics: maps, calendric notions, laws and governance, social stratification, and the office of chief.

The section entitled "Continuation of the First Notebook" is a similar potpourri of comparative ethnographic descriptions, which begins with the topic of clothing, continues with detailed descriptions of tipis and earth lodges, and eating utensils, river craft, and weaponry. After covering those material culture items, the narrative moves into a long discussion of Indian notions of love and marriage practices, touching on such topics as berdaches, menstrual taboos, child delivery, division of labor, and male attitudes toward females. The last is an especially noteworthy topic that reappears later in the manuscript, when Truteau quotes at length a Kitkahahki Pawnee chief who marvels at white customs but utterly fails to understand white men's treatment of women, expressing astonishment that men, who are capable of so many wonders, would do all the work that Indian women do while allowing their wives to flirt with and enjoy the attentions of other men.

Following the wide-ranging descriptions in the first notebook and its continuation, the material in the two that follow focuses on specific topics. The "Second Notebook" contains a long account of how peace is established with the calumet between two tribes or villages after a period of hostility. It is followed

by a lengthy description of the Calumet Dance performed when people in one tribe or village wish to honor—and thereby bind relations even more closely with—people in another group, usually friends or allies of those sponsoring the dance. Truteau provides an account of a dance he took part in when his Arikara hosts traveled to a Cheyenne village to perform the dance for its chief and, by extension, the people of that village.

The same notebook contains a long description of the Sun Dance, which Truteau notes was practiced by the "Sioux of the prairies," or Western Sioux, as well as the Cheyennes, the Arapahos, and several other neighboring nomadic tribes. Although he does not attribute his account to any one of these peoples, it appears to be a description of the Sioux version of the dance, which he would have known best. It is then followed by a brief description of the Dance of the Bulls, a ritual of a secular men's society whose dancers imitated buffalo bulls. Again Truteau's account is not ascribed to one tribe, apparently because most tribes had a buffalo bull society, but the one portrayed here most plausibly fits the secular Bull society of the Arikaras.

Finally, the "Third Notebook," in contrast to the preceding two, is devoted exclusively to one topic: Indian warfare. It begins with observations on the motivations of Plains warfare and its maintenance generally. Then it proceeds to a detailed account of how and under what conditions war parties are organized, how they set out, what customs they observe while en route to enemy country, when they attack a village, and when they return home. The celebrations and customs following the return of a triumphant party are depicted in poignant detail. Although Truteau begins this lengthy description by situating it "among all the Indian peoples of the Missouri," most of the ethnographic portrayals throughout the account—particularly such specific customs as the distinctive attire of the war leader, the war bundle that he carries, and the rituals observed before, during, and after the war expedition—is clearly based on Arikara and Pawnee practices. Sometimes these practices are ascribed to those he calls the *Panis*; at other times the group referred to must be inferred by the reader, given such telltale references as those, for example, to the Medicine Lodge, which on the upper Missouri River was uniquely Arikara, and other martial traits that have been described elsewhere as distinctive of both the Pawnees and the Arikaras (Murie 1981, 1:40, 114–54).

Truteau's account of warfare continues with a discussion of the size of war expeditions, explaining why small war parties had generally a greater advantage over large armies of warriors, which were rarely successful. That assertion is illustrated by an account of one such large army, a two-thousand-strong expedition composed of three large Sioux villages and the entire Cheyenne and Arikara tribes, which marched on the Hidatsas in 1792 and unsuccessfully laid

siege to their three fortified villages. The attack and siege, in fact, resulted in more losses to the attackers than to the attacked.

Finally, after recounting differences in mourning customs among several upper Missouri tribes as well as the fate of unsuccessful war leaders—descriptions that again focus on Pawnees and Arikaras—Truteau concludes this notebook with two accounts of Indian valor. One is the story of a battle between Otoes and attacking Comanches that was ended by personal combat between two chiefs; the young Otoe leader, Blue Eyes, slashed to death the bravest warrior among the Comanches and put the attackers to flight. The other story illustrates how courage and presence of mind can produce triumph in the face of formidable odds: it tells of a Cheyenne war party that massacred a small Comanche camp, only to be quickly overwhelmed by a much larger Comanche force nearby. After sixty of the eighty-man Cheyenne party were killed and the Cheyenne war chief threw himself into the midst of the enemy, where he was killed, the remaining Cheyennes took refuge in a steep-banked ravine. There, through the bravery and marksmanship of a single man among them, the Cheyennes were able to repel all of the Comanches' assaults, a feat so shocking to the Comanche chief that he himself charged the Cheyenne marksman. When the marksman killed him, too, another Cheyenne rushed out to cut off the Comanche chief's head and throw it among the Comanche attackers, thereby humiliating them and impelling them to retreat and allowing the surviving Cheyennes to escape under cover of night.

Account of the Indian Trade

While studying the history of the French in the Mississippi Valley, John Francis McDermott came across a document of 11 pages (6 folios) lacking a title or introduction but endorsed as "Account of Indian trade by C——n." It seems reasonable to hypothesize that the illegible name is "Clamorgan," and comparison with other documents in the Missouri Historical Society known to be in Clamorgan's hand shows clearly that it was likely written by him. The document is in the State Department Territorial Papers, Orleans Series, 1764–1815, volume 2, 19 August 1803–17 December 1803. The first page bears the notation "6852 (Encl)," and the folios are numbered 7 through 12.[96]

The document presents data on the population and trade potential of the tribes of the upper Missouri. It also discusses business aspects of the fur trade and of the St. Louis–based Company of the Upper Missouri. In 1803 Thomas Jefferson abstracted information both from this document and from Truteau's journal, as two pages of notes found among his papers attest. He included a synopsis of this information in a letter to Meriwether Lewis on November 16, 1803. In the letter Jefferson attributed the information from both sources to

Truteau's journal. In his notes on the latter document, when mentioning "the company," Jefferson adds parenthetically, "(of which the writer is the agent)." It seems clear that Jefferson assumed Truteau was the author of the "Account of Indian Trade."[97]

Whether Truteau or Clamorgan was the actual author, the document nonetheless incorporates information that Truteau provided to Clamorgan and others of the Company of the Upper Missouri. The original document has not been published previously and is included here since it provides a considerable amount of additional data of direct relevance to the Truteau manuscripts in the Séminaire de Québec.

The Relationship of Truteau's Writings to Those of Others

Shortly after Truteau's return to St. Louis in 1796 and his subsequent completion of the description, copies of his writings began to circulate and apparently abstracts were occasionally made from them. As a consequence, parts of those writings appeared in print almost immediately. Some were under his own name—beginning with the snippets published by Mitchill—but, more conspicuously, large portions were under the names of two other writers, which for many years created a confused perception of their true authorship, since Truteau himself never attempted to publish the records of his expedition. Other travelers, moreover, made use of his documents in their own writing or travels, since they described a still relatively unknown region—for which, in fact, Truteau's was the first systematic account based largely on observation.

VICTOR COLLOT

The first author to make extensive use of Truteau's records was a French citizen, Gen. Victor Collot, who served on the staff of the French army during the American Revolution and later was governor of Guadeloupe.[98] After the English captured Guadeloupe in 1794, Collot was sent to Philadelphia, where he was immediately arrested when a suit was brought against him by a merchant whose vessel he had once confiscated. Although set free on bond, Collot was required to remain in the United States until the legal issue was settled. During this period the French minister plenipotentiary to the United States, Pierre A. Adet, commissioned Collot to undertake an exploratory expedition through what was then the remote western part of the United States and adjacent Spanish borderlands—the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri river valleys—to record political, commercial, geographical, and military information that would be useful to the French government, which anticipated regaining control of this region from the Spanish government and reestablishing a French presence on the continent—indeed, to control navigation on the Ohio-Mississippi river

system and to counterbalance English and Spanish dominion over the eastern and western regions.

Collot's reconnaissance through wild and politically antagonistic terrain began in New Orleans on March 21, 1796, and took him first through the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys and then up part of the Missouri River. It ended nine months later, on December 27, after the general had traveled some 7,600 miles. Despite the many problems he endured—including, among others, the death of his companion, M. Joseph Warin, who was shot by Indians; the surrender of five chapters of his book to Spanish Governor Carondelet in New Orleans, chapters that dealt with the Missouri region and were subsequently lost; and imprisonment upon his return to France—Collot produced an impressive manuscript description that was, in fact, the most detailed survey of the western interior up to that time. Although his work was printed in 1805, the year of his death, it was not circulated until 1826, when it was published simultaneously in two editions, one French and the other an English translation. Both editions comprised two volumes that were accompanied by an atlas containing maps, plans, and plates (Wagner and Camp 1982:106–9).

Collot's trip up the Missouri from St. Louis ended abruptly at the Osage River, so for information on the region beyond there he had to rely on others. In fact, his *A Journey in North America* contains a footnote to the effect that most of chapter 18, his description of the Upper Missouri, is based on "accounts given to us by different travelers, who traded to the Upper Missouri" (Collot 1826, 1:278). Although the identity of those traders is not given, it is clear that Truteau's manuscripts formed the primary source for Collot's description since most, but not all, of the narrative closely follows what Truteau wrote in both his journal and description. Typical of the parallel passages, which of course vary in translation, is the following example:

> The nation of the Poncas has its dwellings situated on this river two leagues above its mouth. Their lodges are built on a hill at the edge of a broad plain that is the most beautiful sight in the world, about a league from the Missouri. Although these Indians have their fixed lodges in this place, they do little gardening, living primarily by the hunt of bison bulls and cows which are found in great abundance in their country. They kill also many beaver, otter, and deer in the autumn and spring seasons. [Truteau, description, p. 249]
>
> Two leagues above its mouth is situated the village of the Poncas. Their huts are built on a small eminence about a league from the Missouri. Around this hill are fine meadows, watered by a small river which is extremely pure and limpid, and which gives to this site an agreeable aspect.

> Although these Indians have their fixed dwellings in this place, they are not sedentary, and do not cultivate the ground, but live by hunting wild bullocks, which abound in these vallies; they kill also great numbers of otters, beavers, and roebucks. [Collot 1826, 1:283]

Such close narrative parallelism, combined with generally identical spellings of geographical and tribal names, clearly demonstrate that Collot copied parts of Truteau's manuscripts—or at least took copious notes from them.[99] Where details differ and where Collot's chapter has information that does not appear in Truteau's works, it may be assumed that such discrepancies and additions came from interviews with either Truteau, who supplemented his own written accounts, or from other voyageurs and traders in St. Louis who had been up the Missouri.[100]

PERRIN DU LAC

Published in 1805, two decades before the release of Collot's *Journey*, François-Marie Perrin du Lac's *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes et chez les nations sauvages du Missouri* describes another trip through the new United States, its western territories, and Louisiana undertaken in the years 1801–3, shortly before Napoleon forced Spain, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, to retrocede New Orleans and the Louisiana Territory to France.[101] Perrin du Lac, a French colonial administrator in Sante-Domingue, came to the United States in 1801. At the conclusion of his trip to Louisiana he returned to France, where he held a variety of provincial administration posts until his death in 1824.[102]

Anticipating that France would regain control of upper and lower Louisiana, Perrin du Lac undertook his trip to the "two Louisianas" to gather information that would be useful to future French civil and military administrators. Commerce, he suggested, was the foundation of functioning states and the basis of their prosperity, and consequently it was commerce that he sought to observe. Because of the war underway between France and Spain, Perrin du Lac was forced to travel to Louisiana through the United States rather than through New Orleans. His narrative is in large part a description of the United States and its western territories, neighbors of Louisiana about whom he felt the French should be knowledgeable. Nevertheless, his book is primarily an account of Louisiana: of a reputed trading expedition up the Missouri as far as the White River, said to have occurred between May 18 and September 20, 1802; of the fur trade and French advantages over the English in it; and of the upper Missouri tribes and their customs. He stated that he was presenting the material not simply to satisfy his own curiosity but to inform future French administrators of Louisiana of the "proper means to civilize them [the Native peoples of the

upper Missouri] and to teach those who would have to trade with them to do so with advantage and sureness" (Perrin du Lac 1805:viii).

Perrin du Lac's detailed portrayal of the geography and, more particularly, the inhabitants of the upper Missouri, constitutes more than a third of the book and was at the time the first extensive published description of a little-known area of the continent; the map accompanying it was also the earliest published map of the trans-Mississippi region to demonstrate any real geographical knowledge and to bear at least some significant accuracy. For years, however, the authenticity of his account and its true authorship have been in question. Perrin du Lac claims to have made a trading trip up the Missouri, hiring an "*ancien traiteur de la rivière des Illinois*" (former trader of the river of the Illinois) to accompany him. This individual had been employed by the Upper Missouri Company, had traveled high up the river, had spent several years living with the Indians, and had learned various Indian "dialects." Perrin du Lac continues: "He communicated to me curious observations about their customs, their usages, and their ceremonies; and it is to him that I owe in large part the details that I will soon give" (1805:196). He notes, however, that this former trader and others deposited manuscripts about the Indians in "the archives," presumably in St. Louis, from which, Perrin du Lac says, "I withdrew them myself in order to extract the most essential parts" (1805:197).

Throughout the twentieth century, opinions on the identity of the *ancien traiteur* and the very reality of the trip have varied. Early in the century the historian Frederick J. Teggart thought James Mackay to be the trader who had accompanied Perrin du Lac on his voyage (1908:186–89), a conclusion probably derived from his observation that Perrin du Lac's "Carte du Missouri" published in the *Voyage* is substantially the same as Mackay's map. Subsequently, Annie Heloise Abel discovered that Perrin du Lac's description was borrowed largely and almost verbatim from the Nicollet version of Truteau's description (1921:153–57), and therefore concluded that Truteau was the *ancien traiteur*. Later, though, Abel equivocated on his identity and suggested that he could have been Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, if not Truteau (1939:15). Neither scholar questioned whether Perrin du Lac's Missouri River expedition actually occurred, unlike the bibliographer Wright Howes, who discounted it unequivocally with the judgment that Perrin du Lac "lied like a horse-thief" when claiming to have made the trip (1962:449). Nevertheless, Howes did not dispute the accuracy of Perrin du Lac's description and suggested that the material in it came from the free trader Ménard. At the same time, Nasatir agreed with Abel that the depiction came from Truteau (1952, 2:376–77), but he could not prove Truteau as a source in its entirety since so little of Truteau's description was known at that time—and

then Nasatir speculated that, alternatively, Perrin du Lac's information might have come from Jacques d'Église.

That Perrin du Lac's map is based upon Mackay's map rather than on his own travels, as first argued by Teggart, is now accepted, especially following the discovery of the Mackay map among the Nicollet papers, which shows that the two maps are in substantial agreement.[103]

Not until the Quebec version of Truteau's description was examined, however, was it possible to prove conclusively that Perrin du Lac's account of the upper Missouri River region and its inhabitants was not his own but Truteau's, since the Nicollet manuscript discovered much earlier in the century contained only a fragment of the original document. Finally, in the early 1950s, when the Canadian historian Fernand Grenier undertook a transcription of Truteau's manuscripts deposited in the Séminaire de Québec—becoming the first scholar to work with a full version of Truteau's documents—he discovered that the two men's accounts were the same and subsequently published a paper in which he conclusively demonstrated that Perrin du Lac's version is indeed a plagiarization (Grenier 1953).

Comparison of Truteau's material as presented by Perrin du Lac shows that the version of the description he found in St. Louis was not the same as the Quebec version in that there are additional paragraphs throughout the text that are not found in the Quebec version. These additions are included as footnotes in the text of the description presented herein.

OTHERS

Though no other author ever published so extensively from Truteau's writings as did Collot and Perrin du Lac, subsequent figures—government administrators as well as writers and travelers—certainly utilized them as a guide to the region. Soon after Truteau's return to St. Louis, for example, information from his expedition began to appear on maps of the Missouri drawn by others, and on January 8, 1796, information from his journal was incorporated into a report to the Spanish government detailing problems on the Missouri.[104]

Notable, too, was their use by Nicolas de Finiels, a French military engineer who worked for the Spanish regime in Louisiana during the final decade of France's rule there. In his *Account of Upper Louisiana* (ca. 1803), Finiels wrote:

> What I am recounting here about the Missouri is based upon reports of traders who travel it every year. Among them there are always some intelligent persons, observant persons, who can render an exact account of what they have seen. I have assembled as many of these reports as possible, carefully compared them, scrutinized them closely, rejected all those that

> seemed untrue, and accepted only those whose internal consistency gave me a clear opinion about what had been seen firsthand. (Finiels 1989:87)

His subsequent description of the Missouri River region as far as the Mandan villages—including the rivers that feed into it, the people living along their banks, and its commerce in furs—is indeed clearly a composite based on material from many sources; even though Finiels does not acknowledge any of them by name, Truteau's manuscripts were without doubt among them, since not only were they the single most extensive description available at that time, but Truteau also had an education exceeding that of most of the St. Louis voyageurs and traders. That Finiels was fully cognizant of Truteau's expedition up the Missouri and many of the incidents that occurred during it is also attested to in the short description that he provides of Truteau's and each of the other Upper Missouri Company's expeditions (Finiels 1989:102).

One of the few direct references to Truteau's writings—or at least to the journal—was Thomas Jefferson's, when in 1803 he wrote to Meriwether Lewis and included in his letter what he characterized as extracts from Truteau's journal, and when later in 1804 he again wrote Lewis that he was "inclosing a translation of that journal in full for your information" (Jackson 1962:138–40, 165). Although no copy of that translation has ever been found, there is good reason to assume that Truteau's journal provided useful information for Lewis and Clark and that some of it found its way into their charts of the Indian tribes living on the northern Plains (like the Kiowas and other western nomads whom the explorers themselves never visited). That they did consult Truteau's journal is, moreover, confirmed by Nicholas Biddle in his notes from a visit with Clark in Virginia in 1810, where he quoted Clark as saying that "Tru[t]eau saw the Poncars they were (1796 or 7) nearly 300 men they lived in village tended corn &c. now 50 wanderers," and then continued with Clarks's account of what he himself saw of them and of the Omahas on the expedition.[105]

TRUTEAU'S OWN "BORROWINGS"

At the beginning of the description Truteau apologizes for the "little of elegance" and "the lack of fine expressions and studied wording" in his writing. Perhaps to compensate, he borrowed nearly verbatim a number of passages from the writings of Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, who is even today renowned for the elegance of his prose. Lahontan's *Mémoires de l'Amerique septentrionale* (1703 [1702]) presents the baron's observations on the Indians of Canada a century before Truteau's travels. In writing his "Description abrégée du haut Missouris," Truteau mimicked Lahontan's title, "Description abbregée du Canada" (1990, 1:528), and followed the structure of Lahontan's

book. He organized the description first as a discussion of the geography and the Indian groups inhabiting the region, then as a discussion of Indian culture in thematic chapters whose organization closely follows that of Lahontan. It appears that when Truteau found in Lahontan an observation that coincided with his own he borrowed it directly, doubtless to improve the "elegance" of his manuscript. Footnotes in the text of the description identify these borrowings.

Truteau also borrowed one chapter wholesale from Louis Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane nouvellement decouverte au sud'Oüest de la Nouvelle-France,* part 2: *"Les moeurs des Sauvages"* (1683, 2:51–55). Entitled "*Manierre inciviles et grossières des sauvages*," the chapter presents a negative picture by cataloging Indian behaviors that Europeans found offensive. The fact that copies of this chapter are found at the end of both the second and third notebooks suggests the possibility that it was a favorite of Truteau's students. A more detailed account of Truteau's borrowings from Lahontan and Hennepin is given in "The Language of Truteau."

It seems appropriate to ask why Truteau felt the necessity to borrow from published sources and why he was so concerned with his literary style. Perrin du Lac may have given us the answer when he commented, in reference to the anonymous *"ancien traiteur"* (now known to have been Truteau):

> It was during his stay in the farthest distant posts that the king of Spain promised rewards to the traders who would give him the most interesting reports on the then unknown nations. He redoubled his activity and work to merit the confidence of superior authorities, presented his memoirs, which had real utility; but his troubles, as well as those of all others who imitated them, were entirely in vain. [Perrin du Lac 1805:197]

Thus Truteau's concern for style may have been linked to a hoped-for financial reward.

Significance of Truteau's Manuscripts

In contrast to many subsequent expeditions up the Missouri that carried scientific equipment and are largely noted for the important scientific information that they amassed for a newly explored region—to some extent the expeditions of James Mackay and John Evans, but more particularly of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, and, even later, of Alexander Philipp Maximilian, Prince of Wied—it is Truteau's that lacked technological equipment and relied simply on one individual's observations. Truteau's expedition had no scientific goals or methods—probably not even a compass. Its purpose, while charting a course through unknown parts, was to record geographical landmarks, to observe native

inhabitants, and to foster friendly relations with and among them in the course of establishing trading posts among the Arikaras and Mandans—all to promote Spanish commerce. To judge the success of Truteau's expedition and its results, then, is to evaluate the records that it produced and what they tell of a country only vaguely known to government officials and the outside world. The records of Truteau's expedition, his journal and description, must be evaluated on the basis of the information that they provide—geographical, commercial, and ethnographic—within the context of late eighteenth-century knowledge of the Missouri River valley and the wider drama of western exploration in the New World. It should not be viewed simply as a failed trading expedition, as so many historians in the past have blithely dismissed it.

GEOGRAPHY

Prior to Truteau's expedition no accurate, systematic description of the Missouri region beyond the Big Sioux River existed. There were depictions of areas traversed by French explorers—Bourgmont, La Vérendrye and his sons, and the Mallet brothers—who made their way through parts of the Missouri Valley in the early eighteenth century and reported landmarks and tribes visited, sometimes telling of others beyond their travels. Later in the century, after a sixteen-year residence in Louisiana, Antoine-Simon Le Page du Pratz wrote a three-volume summary of the geographical knowledge of the territory (1758, 1774, 1947) that, together with a map, provides a fairly accurate portrayal of Lower Louisiana and the lower Missouri region to the Kansas River. Beyond the Kansas, however, Le Page du Pratz's description lacks valid information and follows the common misconception of the period that the Missouri River flowed westward to a source near the headwaters of the Rio Grande and consequently served as the shortest route between the Illinois country and New Mexico. Also in 1758, before the end of the French régime in Louisiana, Governor Kerlérec gave a full descriptive list of the Indian tribes that had relations with the French in Louisiana and Illinois, comprising the names of only seven tribes living along the Missouri and none west of it (Nasatir 1952, 1:50–55).

Not until 1785, after the Spanish government had taken possession of Louisiana and the Illinois country, did the first extensive account of the geography of Louisiana, particularly Upper Louisiana, appear.[106] This is the description compiled by Gov. Éstevan Miró at the request of Antonio Rengel, the *Comandante-General* of the *Provincias Internas*, and apologetically submitted to him without an accompanying map (Nasatir 1930a; 1952, 1:119–27). The document, which reflected the extent of contemporary information and was derived from a variety of unnamed sources—presumably voyageurs who had traveled the region—lists the rivers entering the Mississippi from its mouth to the Missouri, and then,

proceeding up the latter river, enumerates the streams entering it from its mouth up to the "river of the Sius," or Big Sioux River, as well as some others reported to be north of it. In the course of the presentation the Indian tribes known to inhabit the country as far north as the Arikaras are also recorded, citing the names by which they were then known and sometimes also population figures and other comments.[107]

In many ways Miró's report was no advance over previous accounts. It exhibits, for example, a continuing belief that the Missouri River had its source in New Mexico and a knowledge of the Missouri valley that did not extend beyond the Big Sioux River. The distances shown between major streams, moreover, are often erroneous, making it difficult and sometimes impossible to determine which rivers Miró was actually describing. Similarly, references to Indian tribes are brief and general, often suggesting information based on nothing more than hearsay. The account is, nevertheless, a significant advance over any description of the Missouri River region ever to precede it, since it contains the most comprehensive depiction up to that time of tribes throughout much of the vast territory along the river as well as to the west of it and it records the contemporary names by which those tribes were known.

After Miró's summary report of 1785, Truteau's accounts of his expedition up the Missouri are the first of a series of more accurate descriptions primarily based upon personal observation and, later, scientific measurements that followed one on the other, as exploration and settlement of the country progressed. Although Truteau produced no maps of the areas he traversed, his journal provides the first enumeration of all the major streams entering the Missouri River and the major landmarks along its banks, from St. Louis to the mouth of Yellowstone, together with reasonably accurate distances between. For the region along its course up to the Arikara villages, just below the mouth of the Cheyenne River, he recorded what he himself had observed in the course of his journey; for lands beyond the Cheyenne to the Yellowstone he reported what Ménard and other voyageurs had told him. His records thus represent a milestone in western exploration and geographical knowledge.

Even more significant, however, is Truteau's depiction of the tribal composition of the Missouri valley and the country south and west of it at the close of the eighteenth century, since it is the first relatively comprehensive account of tribes and their locations after the devastating smallpox epidemics of 1780–81 swept over the central and northern Plains and altered tribal populations. His statements about Arikara divisions and populations before and after the epidemics are, for example, one of the few sources to illustrate not only the fundamental changes wrought on those people—wherein they lost well over half

their populations—but also the enormity of the changes on the native peoples of the Plains generally.

Like Miró's report, Truteau's accounts are an important source of contemporary tribal designations that, when compared with names in such other contemporary sources as Tabeau and Lewis and Clark, provide a clearer understanding of the social units on the central and northern plains during the period when Europeans were just beginning to move into the region. According to Truteau, for example, the Teton Sioux comprised four subdivisions. Truteau introduced for the first time in the written record the names of two of those subdivisions: the Tacowas (or Takorpa) and the Saones (written Chaony), both of which were usages at the end of the eighteenth and during the early part of the nineteenth centuries that fell into disuse by the mid-nineteenth century, when they were replaced by other names (see endnotes 99 and 123). Similarly, the names of the three major divisions of the Cheyennes at the end of the eighteenth century—the Cheyennes proper, the Ohmesehese, and the Sutaios—are also given.

Table 3 summarizes the tribal names and locations recorded by Truteau. When names cited by him differ from their modern equivalents, the latter are given as well. The identification of three designations—Pitapahato, Tokiwako, and Chioutoumes—is still uncertain (Parks 2001, 2:965–73).

ETHNOGRAPHY

More than a geographical account of the Missouri River or a chronicle of the fur trade, however, the Truteau manuscripts are foremost an ethnography, both general and specific, of primarily the Arikara Indians but also of other tribes residing on the Missouri at the close of the eighteenth century. Based on personal observation and the testimony of other traders, Truteau's is the first overview and, in parts, comprehensive description of northern Plains societies before they had begun to change significantly under the influences of Europeans and the incorporation of European trade items into their cultures. When Truteau reached the Arikaras he found a people who had been occasionally visited by whites—Jacques d'Église, Garreau, and apparently other hunters and voyageurs whose names are not recorded—so that white men were no longer unknown to them; but trade goods of European manufacture were still a rare commodity—indeed, in many instances a novelty—among not only the Arikaras but even more so the nomadic tribes living west and south of them.[108] The Arikaras were still living in what Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, the trader who resided among them from 1802–4, characterized as the age of gold, the first of three stages that he posited for Indian tribes as their familiarity with, and dependence upon, Europeans increased:

TABLE 3. Tribal names used by Truteau

TRIBAL NAME	MODERN NAME	LOCATION
Petits Osages	Little Osages	Upper part of the Osage River
Kansés, Kans	Kansas	80 leagues from the mouth of the Kansas River
Otoctatas, Autos	Otos	12 leagues from the mouth of the Platte River; a summer camp north of Tarkio River
Pani Républicains	Kitkahahki Pawnees	10 leagues above the Kansas, on the Republican River
Grands Panis	Chawi Pawnees	25 leagues above the Otos on the Platte River
Panis Mahas, Loups	Skiri Pawnees	30 leagues above the Grand Pawnees on the Loup River
Mahas	Omahas	280 leagues from St. Louis, 2 leagues from the edge of the Missouri River; 5 leagues below the mouth of the Big Sioux River
Ancien village du petit arc	Former village of Little Bow	40 leagues above the Omaha village; 4–5 leagues below the mouth of the James River
Poncas	Poncas	One league above the mouth of the Niobrara River
Hanctons Sioux	Yankton Sioux	On the Des Moines River
Hanctonnants	Yanktonai Sioux	The upper reaches of the Minnesota River is their usual location
Titons, Tithons	Teton Sioux [Lakota]	Eastern and northern region of the Missouri river, from the White River to Beaver Creek; this group comprises four divisions
1. Tacowas, Takorpa, Otacorpa	Minneconjou Sioux	Roam country northeast of the Missouri; often forced to the area west of the Missouri; winter 15 leagues above the Arikaras on the Missouri

(continued)

TABLE 3. Tribal names used by Truteau *(continued)*

TRIBAL NAME	MODERN NAME	LOCATION
2. Chaony, Chahony	Saone Sioux	Roam country northeast of the Missouri; often forced to the area west of the Missouri; the upper reaches of the Minnesota River is their usual location
3. Occononas	Oglala Sioux	Near the Arikara villages; formerly roamed along the Bad River
4. [not named]	[Brule Sioux]	
Mandannes, Mendannes	Mandans	They were living in three villages, one on the west bank and two on the east bank of the Missouri River, 100 leagues above the Cheyenne River
Gros Ventres	Hidatsas	They were living in two villages, 2 leagues above the Mandans on the west bank of the Missouri River
Ricaras, Arricaras, Panis Ricaras, Panis, Ris	Arikaras	At the mouth of the Cheyenne River
Pado	Plains Apaches	(A) On a fork of the Platte River, 7 days overland on foot, or 80 leagues, south of the Arikara villages (B) On the borders of the Platte River, 10 days overland, or 60–80 leagues, from the Arikara villages
Cayouas	Kiowas	Southwest of the Arikara villages, on branches of the Cheyenne River
Caminanbiche, Tocaminanbiche	Arapahos	Southwest of the Arikara villages, on branches of the Cheyenne River
Pitapahato	[Identification uncertain; Pawnee *piitapahaatu'*, Arikara *wiitapahaátu'*, literally 'red man']	Southwest of the Arikara villages, on branches of the Cheyenne River

TRIBAL NAME	MODERN NAME	LOCATION
Chaquiennes	Cheyennes	
1. Chaguiennes	1. Cheynnes	1. Descending on the Cheyenne River from the Arikara villages
2. Wuisy	2. *Ohmesehese* (Eaters)	2. Divisions wander from the upper to the lower reaches of Cherry Creek; have built earth lodges
3. Chouta	3. Sutaios	3. 30 leagues above the mouth of Cherry Creek
Nation du Corbeau	Crows	50 leagues above the Mandans and Hidatsas along the Missouri River at the mouth of the Yellowstone River; on the banks of the Yellowstone River
Chioutoumes	Atsinas [identidication uncertain]	On the Missouri River above the Crows
Serpent	Shoshones	"Here and there" in the Rocky Mountains, always in the country on the west side of the Missouri River
Assiboine	Assiniboines	(A) western lands of the Missouri River above the Mandans; (B) roam the region north of the Missouri River
Halitannes, Têtes Pelées	Comanches	Occupy all the country beyond the Platte River to the border of the Arkansas River, extending along the Rocky Mountains
Tokiwako, Torkirwaco, Tokiouco	[Identification uncertain; an Arikara name, *tuhkiwáku*, literally 'fox villagė]	[Not given]

> Intercourse with the Savages has three ages: — the age of gold, that of the first meeting; the age of iron, that of the beginning of their insight; and that of brass, when a very long intercourse has mitigated their ferocity a little and our trade has become indispensable to them. [Abel 1939:154]

Although the Arikaras were more enlightened about Europeans than peoples in the remote western regions — and were thus right at the end of the age of gold — they still perceived unfamiliar European material objects like medals, flags, and written documents to be *waaruxti*, or holy, and consequently to be venerated, illustrating how, for Native peoples who were just coming into contact with Europeans, the strange, often inexplicable phenomena of that new, technologically marvelous culture were conceived and treated as Native sacred objects. No different were the Cheyennes, wrote Truteau, who apprehended these same objects as "great spirits" that caused misfortune. White men themselves, in fact, were still perceived as spirits, although the apparently recent dissolute activities of d'Église and Garreau among the Arikaras, as well as the long residence of Truteau himself (which bred too much familiarity) had begun to disabuse Arikaras of this notion. Truteau's is, then, a firsthand account of cultural encounters when the Arikaras and other upper Missouri tribes were at the beginning of a technological and cultural revolution.

Truteau's accounts thus form a baseline for viewing Arikara and, more generally, upper Missouri Valley cultures at the very advent of Europeans to the area. Their detail and breadth of coverage exceed anything written previously and provide a wealth of data on topics ranging from daily behavior to social structure, social relations to material culture. Most important among the specific ethnographic contributions are the topics discussed in the description. There the portrayal of Arikara religious beliefs and world view, including the conceptions of a supreme being, surpasses anything ever written on the topic. Likewise, the description of warfare among the Missouri River tribes, and in particular the martial customs of the Arikaras and the Pawnees, is not only the first but also one of the most detailed accounts ever written.[109] So, too, is the description of the Sun Dance the first ever written.

The cultural details and longer accounts recorded by Truteau are, moreover, important not only as contemporary ethnographic description; they are equally significant for gauging cultural change during the nineteenth century when the Missouri River tribes experienced the radical transformation brought on by an ever-expanding Euro-American population throughout the region. Truteau's description of Arikara medical practices and the Medicine Lodge illustrates, for example, how the summer ceremonies of the doctors changed over the succeeding century, developing from a two- to three-week event in the

late eighteenth century to one that lasted from one to two months in the second half of the nineteenth century. Also exemplifying one of the many specific changes in the Medicine Lodge ceremonies is the comic relief provided by two young dancers who imitated kit foxes in the performances observed by Truteau but not reported for performances in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—although Kit Fox as a comic character was preserved in Arikara oral traditions into the twentieth century (Parks 1991, 3:53, 4:558–62). Still another example of change over time is the purpose of the Calumet ceremony: formerly performed to cement relations between two social groups, such as villages or tribes, it later was performed to honor children and families within the tribe after its original function in intertribal diplomacy was no longer necessary.

Of all the topics discussed by Truteau, however, none permeates his accounts more thoroughly than intertribal relations. How Arikaras related to other tribes of the region as well as how those other tribes related to one another was a matter of no little concern to Truteau and to the directors of the Upper Missouri Company, since the establishment of a profitable trade between Indians and St. Louis merchants depended upon the maintenance of peaceful relations among all peoples. Given this concern, Truteau portrays in great detail the complexity of Arikara-Sioux relations, which varied in part with specific Sioux groups but which also varied with the season of the year. Some groups, like the Oglalas, were friends of the Arikaras; they lived near their villages and even planted corn. Other Sioux groups vacillated between friendliness and belligerency, depending in part upon their immediate wants—whether they needed horticultural produce from Arikara gardens or other items of trade—and in part upon the current state of affairs—whether feuds had erupted between parties in either group or whether the tribes had aligned themselves with one another against a common foe. Relations between the Arikaras and Sioux were always changing. For example, in 1792 the Arikaras and Cheyennes, who were frequently at war with and generally fearful of the Sioux, joined three large Sioux villages in a military expedition against the Hidatsas. Yet by the end of Truteau's stay among the Arikaras, hostilities had broken out between the Arikaras and the Sioux, precipitated first by some Sioux killing several Arikaras and then a group of Arikara youths killing several Sioux in reprisal. At the end of the journal the scenario seemed headed toward a major war between the two tribes.

Despite tensions and frequent hostilities, Arikara-Sioux relations were symbiotic and each group, no matter how wary, depended upon the other for certain trade goods. Arikaras raised a surplus of horticultural products for trade, and in exchange obtained horses and hide clothing from nomadic western tribes. Arikaras traded horses and garden produce to the Sioux, who gave them guns,

ammunition, and other European articles of trade that the western Sioux had obtained from the eastern Sioux in exchange for peltries, which the latter in turn exchanged with English traders on the Mississippi. Truteau thoroughly discusses the intricacies of this intertribal trading network and the movement of Native and later European goods across the northern Plains. At the center of this nexus were the Arikaras, who, like the Sioux, were opposed to European traders going to other tribes—the nomadic groups to the west and the Mandans and Hidatsas to the north—where their commercial enterprises would upset old trade patterns and displace the advantages each group perceived itself to have, just as, in fact, Blackbird and the Omahas tried to prevent Truteau's expedition from proceeding upriver to the Arikaras for the very same reason. Serving as similar centers for intertribal trade were the Mandan and Hidatsa villages farther up the Missouri, at the mouth of the Knife River.[110]

THE FUR TRADE

Truteau's expedition, at the vanguard of an expanding commercial enterprise, provides in its records a historical account of the dynamics of the fur trade moving into new terrain, where Native trading patterns already existed and the intrusive foreign system not only introduced new access to European goods in exchange for the peltries that St. Louis merchants wanted but also disrupted old cultural patterns and social balances. As a leader of this forward mercantile movement, Truteau presented his employers with knowledge essential to establishing a successful trade within the upper Missouri context.

One important topic that he addressed was the potential value to a trading enterprise of the region and the tribes living there. Truteau assures the directors of the Upper Missouri Company that the country is so replete with beaver and other fur-bearing animals that great commercial advantage could be derived from it and that the establishment of trade would be facilitated by the "gentle and simple character of the numerous peoples" living there. Some tribes, like the Arikaras, the Mandans, and the Hidatsas, however, were not given to hunting beaver to the extent that the Cheyennes, Sioux, and other nomadic groups farther upriver were. In the last part of the journal and in the description, for example, Truteau states that of all the people living on the upper Missouri, the Sioux "make the most extensive hunt for beaver." But he also discusses the various problems that would be encountered in dealing with this tribe, given their warlike character and the problems of river passage for voyageurs: the difficulties of passing safely by the Omahas and Poncas, who were determined to prevent traders from ascending the river; and the potential difficulties of bypassing the Arikaras, who were accustomed to being middlemen themselves. Despite his

own disastrous experience with them, Truteau notes that encounters with the Sioux, in contrast, took place only by chance.

For the commercial endeavors of St. Louis merchants to succeed, however, Truteau notes the problems that had to be overcome in establishing and maintaining a fruitful trading relationship with different tribes, as well as critically evaluating the role that traders had to maintain in the commercial enterprise. Among the issues are the relations that a trader must bear to a chief and the occasional need to give gifts to chiefs and other people in order to persuade them to do what is in the best interests of the trade.[111] A fundamental problem downriver, and to date the beginning of what could be the same problem on the upper Missouri, was the behavior of the traders and voyageurs themselves. Here Truteau discusses the consequences of the dissolute behavior of previous voyageurs like d'Église, Garreau, and apparently others who had already traded among the Arikaras and whose behavior had left the Indians with ambivalent impressions of white traders. Given the still gentle and favorable attitudes of the upper Missouri peoples toward Europeans, Truteau argues that it was essential to develop a trade in which the behavior of traders is above reproach.

A more pernicious influence on the trade during his stay on the upper Missouri, however—and one that would prove to be detrimental to the future trading success of St. Louis merchants—was that of the English traders from Canada, who were able to provide better quality merchandise for lower prices than were the voyageurs coming from St. Louis and farther downriver. This theme, and a comparison of English versus French and Spanish trading practices, recurs throughout Truteau's writings, in part because of difficulties that he experienced in trading with the Sioux, who were able to obtain better advantage from the English traders on the St. Peter's (now Minnesota) River. Like many writers before and after him—Collot and Perrin du Lac, for example—Truteau was an outspoken advocate of a free trade system like that of the English and bitterly opposed the Spanish policy of granting exclusive trading licenses to certain favored individuals.[112] St. Louis merchants, he contended, lacked the entrepreneurial daring of the English and attracted only the worst elements in society to work as voyageurs; they were avaricious and their only concern was to enrich themselves as cheaply as possible at the expense of others' toil.

Conclusion

Although the goals of the Upper Missouri Company were to explore the unknown northern interior of Louisiana and open a route to the western sea, the goal of Truteau's expedition, the first of three that the company mounted, was "only to open a way for our discoveries" and to take them as far as the Mandan villages and

win the friendship of the Indian tribes through whose territory he passed—and not, as it has so frequently been judged historically, to seek profit through trade. The least expensive of the company's three voyages, Truteau's actually accomplished more than the others since he was able to establish trade not only with his hosts, the Arikaras, but also with the nomadic tribes to the southwest—the Cheyennes, the Arapahos, the Kiowas, and others—who came annually to the Arikara villages to trade. More important for posterity, however, were the records that this experienced, educated voyageur made of his trip—his journal and his description—for they represent the first detailed description of the native peoples of the upper Missouri and preserve a record of life there at the very advent of European movement into the region.

For the Arikaras in particular, Truteau's description is priceless, not only for its wealth of cultural description—frequently providing detail that no subsequent visitor to this tribe ever recorded—but also for the perspective that his depiction offers within the wider context of northern Plains culture history. Truteau provides the only numerical estimate of the Arikara population before the devastating smallpox epidemics of the 1780s—actually the only population estimate for any of the tribes of the region—which documents just how drastic the effects of that disease were on northern Plains tribes before experiencing sustained contact with Euroamericans. Equally important is the general characterization of the Arikaras themselves, whom Truteau portrays as "one of the gentlest people on earth" who were generally well disposed to the French traders. It is, significantly, different from the reputation consigned to Arikaras throughout most of the nineteenth century, when fur traders beginning with Tabeau and his successors vilified them as treacherous and hostile to Euroamericans, a reputation that is neither supported by Truteau's experience with the tribe nor by the Arikaras' military service to the U.S. government in the late nineteenth century. That they were friendly toward whites during the early contact period and later during the nineteenth century attests to the extent to which that negative portrayal reflected not an inherent Arikara hostility to outsiders but the opinion of Euroamerican traders bent on usurping the trading privileges of Native middlemen.

Within the context of the nearly two-century period of French and Spanish dominion over Louisiana, moreover, Truteau's accounts rank as one of the great documentary legacies of that era, equaled in scope and detail of description only by Pierre-Antoine Tabeau's narrative written seven years after Truteau's expedition. For Spain, which eschewed exploration and settlement of its vast northern territory and left so little an intellectual imprint on Louisiana history generally, Truteau's record of his explorations looms as one of the remarkable accomplishments during its rule; and for the French population that continued

to dominate Louisiana socially and economically under Spanish rule and formed the bedrock of the trading community in Upper Louisiana—a population little given to intellectual pursuits—Truteau's writings stand out as an exceptional achievement. The journal and description now deserve to be recognized as one of the great cultural documents of early Western exploration.

{folio 1} Pascal Vincent

Extrait des journaux du voyage de J Bte Trudeau sur le haut Missouris.

Addresses a Messrs les directeurs de la Compagnie; a St Louis des Illinois

<Premiere Partie>

<Cette premiere partie de mon jou[r]nal vo[us inf]ormera avec verité de tout [ce] qui mest arrivés depuis mon dep[art] des Illinois jusqu'a celui des Poncas pour me rendre aux nations p[lu]s haute. J'y ai marque ma route avec êxactitude, la quantité de rivieres remarquables depuis lembouchure du Missourie jusqua la nation ricaras, et leur distance. Au lieu dy voire un commenceme[nt] heureux et favorable a votre entreprise, vous n'y trouverez que des ev[e]nement et des circonstances au detruiment de la compagnie.

<La perte d'une partie de vos marc[han]dises par la main des Poncas et des Scioux, les rap[i]nes et les violances que jai essuy[ées] de la part des chef[s] [ma]has et poncas, la dépense excessive que jay été obligé de faire [p]our la nour[riture] de neuf hommes, parmi une nation la plus dure de tout cette [rivie]re, [a]pportent un domage considerable a vos interest. Jay join[t] a la fin de ce journal letat des peleteries, [a]grés et ustanciles que je vous envoye.

<Vous [. . . jo]urnal, ecrit [. . .]recteme[nt . . .] et malpropre. Accablé p[ar le]s sauvages tout l'hivers [q]ui se tiennent [e]n foule du matin au [soir] dans notre cabane, je [ne] puis ecrire que la nuit ou[. . .]ss[. . .]tte.

<Il v[ou]s sera facile de jugér, Messieurs, [que les] projet[s] concertés et [m]ême [. . .] [. . .]ais[san]ce et en suretée des or[d]res et instructions d[e] condui[t]e[d]onnés pour leur[s ex]éc[utions], [sont] plus facile a dicter sur le p[ap]ier qu'a exécuter.

<Journal de l'agen[t] de la Compagnie du haut Missouri dans sa route pour se rendre [chez] la nation mendane>

[JUNE 7, 1794]

Jembarquai le septieme du mois de juin, mil sept cent quatre vingt quatorze, a la ville de St Louis des Illinois, dans une voiture <pirogue> armée de huit hommes <rameur> pour me rendre chez la nation mendanne situés sur le haut Missouris et y faire un établissement propice pour le commerce des pelleteries avec toutes

Pascal Vincent[1]

Extract from the Journals of the Voyage of J-Bte Trudeau [Truteau] on the Upper Missouri

Addressed to Messieurs the Directors of the Company at St. Louis of the Illinois

<Part 1>[2]

<This first part of my journal will inform you truthfully about all that happened to me after my departure from the Illinois[3] until I left the Poncas to go to the nations farther up the river. In it I have recorded my route exactly, the number of noteworthy rivers from the mouth of the Missouri as far up as the Arikara nation, and their distance. Instead of seeing a fortunate and favorable beginning for your enterprise, you will find in it only events and circumstances detrimental to the Company.

<The loss of part of your merchandise at the hands of the Poncas and Sioux, the insults and violence that I have endured from the Omaha and Ponca chiefs, the excessive expense that I have been compelled to incur for the sustenance of nine men in the midst of the harshest nation on this whole river, bring about a considerable loss to your interests. I have added at the end of this journal an inventory of the furs, food supplies, and utensils that I am sending you.[4]

<You [. . .] journal, written [. . . incor]rectly [. . .] and dirty. Beset all winter by Indians who crowded into our lodge from morning to night, I can write only at night or [. . .].

<It will be easy for you to judge, Messieurs, [that the] projects agreed upon and [even . . .] and in accordance with the orders and instructions for conduct given for their execution [are] easier to dictate on paper than to carry out.>

<Journal of the Agent of the Company of the Upper Missouri on His Journey to the Mandan Nation>

JUNE 7, 1794

I embarked on the 7th of June, 1794, from the village of St. Louis of the Illinois in a boat <pirogue>[5] equipped with eight men <oarsmen> to go to the Mandan nation situated on the upper Missouri and to make an establishment there suitable for trade in peltries with all the nations <that might be discovered>

les nations <que pourrois découvrir> situées aude[ssus]* de la nation poncas, étant chargé des interest de la Compagnie du Haut Missouris représentée par les sieurs Clamorgan et Reillie, ses directeurs, avec la permission de monsieur don Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant gouverneur de la province des Illinois.

Le huitieme, je suis arrivé a St Charles sur le Missouris. Quelques affaires nous y ont retardé, le neuvieme, la journé entierre.

Le 10eme, jen suis partis et ai été campé quelques lieues plus haut.

[JUNE 11, 1794]

<Le onze, douse, treise et quatorsieme, peu de route par les vents contraires et les pluyes.

<Le quinsieme du mois, jai campé a la riviere de la Gasconnade, le seize, a cinq lieux plus haut, le dix sept, a la rivierre [à] lOurs. Nous y avons arrétés le dix huit par la plui et le vent. Le dix neuf, campé a quelques lieux plus haut que la rivierre des Grands Osages. Les eaux commencerent a montées avec rapiditée.>

Je ne ferai point mention de la route de chaque journée; jai si fréquemment été arrêté par la force des eaux et les pluyes continuelles ne que qui [*sic*] le détail en seroit trop long. Je ne {2} marquerai simplement que la quantitee de <le nom des> rivierres remarquable et leur distance depuis l'embouchure du Missouris jusqu'à la rivierre des Kans <[Can]sés>, que jai passé le 12eme juillet: la rivierre de la Gasconnade a 30 lieuës de lembouchure du Missouris, la rivierre des Grands Osages a quarante lieuës, toutes deux a la gauche en remontant; 20 lieuës plus haut se décharge la rivierre a la Mine du même cote; a cinq lieues plus haut on trouve la rivierrre de Charaton, et a 9 lieuës plus haut se decharge la Grande rivierre, toutes deux a la droite en montant. A six lieuës <plus haut> de celle cy habitoient il y a quelques années les nations missouris et petits osages. Les premiers ont presquentierrement été détruits par les nations situées sur le Mississipy; les deuxieme se sont refugiés sur <le haut de> la rivierre des Grands Osages.

A vingt lieuës plus haut se trouve une vaste prairie a la gauche nommée la prairie du Feu, estimée a cent lieues de lentrée du Missouris. A dix lieues de cette prairie en montant, du même bord, se décharge la rivierre des Kans à cent dix lieues des Illinois. Cette rivierre dans la saison du primtems est navigable jusqu'à plus de cent lieuës de son embouchure; elle est abondante en castors, loutres, et autres bêtes fauves de toutes espêce. {3} A quatre vingt lieuës de l'entrée est situé le village des Kansés, bons guerriers et bons chasseurs.

A dix lieuës plus haut sort une rivierre sur laquelle habitent les Panis Republicains.

Je passai donc la rivierre des Kans le 12eme juillet et fus campé plus haut.

* Marginal damage to folio.

located above the Ponca nation, having been entrusted with the interests of the Company of the Upper Missouri represented by Messieurs Clamorgan and Reillie, its Directors, with the permission of Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant-governor of the province of the Illinois.

On the 8th I arrived at St. Charles[6] on the Missouri. Some business delayed us there on the 9th for the entire day.

On the 10th I departed and camped several leagues higher.[7]

JUNE 11, 1794

<On the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th we made little progress on account of adverse winds and rain.

<On the 15th of the month I camped at the Gasconnade River, on the 16th five leagues farther up, and on the 17th at Bear Creek. We were detained there on the 18th by rain and wind. On the 19th we camped a few leagues above the Great Osage River.[8] The water began to rise rapidly.>

I will not mention the route of each day; I have been stopped so frequently by the force of the waters and the continual rain that the details would be too long. I will simply record the number of <the names of the> noteworthy rivers and their distance from the mouth of the Missouri up to the Kansas River, which I passed on the 12th of July: the Gasconnade River at thirty leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, the River of the Great Osages at forty leagues, both on the left going upstream; twenty leagues higher the La Mine River enters on the same side; five leagues higher is found the Chariton River, and at nine leagues higher the Grand River enters, both on the right going upstream. At six leagues <higher> from the latter there lived several years ago the Missouria and Little Osage nations. The first have been almost entirely destroyed by the nations located on the Mississippi; the second have fled to the <upper part> of the River of the Great Osages.[9]

At twenty leagues higher a vast prairie is found on the left, called Fire Prairie, estimated to be one hundred leagues from the mouth of the Missouri. At ten leagues from this prairie in ascending, on the same side, the Kansas River enters at one hundred ten leagues from the Illinois. This river is navigable in the spring for more than one hundred leagues from its mouth; it abounds in beaver, otter, and other wild animals of all kinds. At eighty leagues from its mouth is situated the village of the Kansas, good warriors and good hunters.[10]

At ten leagues higher is a river [the Republican River] on which live the Republican Pawnees.[11]

I then passed the Kansas River on the 12th of July and made camp higher upstream.

Le 13eme, a la petitte rivierre Platte cinq lieues plus haut a la droite.

Le 14eme, au parc.

Le 15eme, au premier village des Kans a 12 lieuës de l'entrée de leur rivierre.

Le 16, 17, 18eme, arrête au même endroit par une grose pluye qui n'at cessé que le 19eme au matin. Je croyois périr cette fois par l'eau. Je passai cette journée pour faire sécher nos couvertures de peaux, déja bien endommagés par les pluyes et les chaleurs excessives que nous essuyons.

Je dirai en passant que toutes personnes qui s'embarquent pour des longs voyages dans la saison d'étée doivent se précautionner de bons prélats pour couvrir leurs effets et non pas des peaux de cerf ni de boeuf qui, malgré tout le soin possible et le tems que l'on perd a les faire sécher, pourrissent promptement dans les chaleurs et exposent les marchandises a être endommagées par les injures du tems, ce a quoi M^{r} le directeur de la Compagnie n'avoit pas bien pourvû, m'ayant fait partir, {4} quelques représentations que je lui fisse a ce sujet, avec de méchantes peaux a demi gatés, et de vieux petits prélats tout déchirés.

Le 20eme du mois, je partis de ce lieu et j'ai fait route la journée entierre.

Le 21, jai campé au deuxieme village ancien des Kans a douze lieuës du premier. Les eaux montant toujours avec rapiditée, mes rameurs sont accablés de l'assitude étant contraints du matin au soir de ramer de toutes forces sans aucun d'élai, les eaux étant venus a demi ecorre.

Le 22eme, jai campé au grand détour.

Le 23eme, jai été arrêté par la pluye.

Le 24, 25, 26, en marche. Jai campé a la rivierre de Tacoyos, petitte rivierre de peu de conséquense.

Le 27eme, jai été arrêté par la pluye.

Le 28, 29, et 30eme, jai fait route.

[AUGUST 1, 1794]

Le 31e, jai découvert un campement de chasse d'étée le long du Missouris, de la nation otoctatas, nouvellement laissé. Je craignois fort de les rencontrer <sur ma route> car il est certain quil mauroit arrêté. Leur grand chef nommé le Sac de Médecine étant aux Illinois et n'étant pas encore de retour, ses gens m'auroit retenu jusqua son arrivée. Ce chef m'auroit absolument empécher d'aller plus loin, car jai sçu depuis qu'a son rétour il avoit envoyé des courriers aux Mahas et ceux cy au Poncas pour me faire {5} poursuivre et me ramener a leur village, les exhortant fort de ne point me laisser parvenir chez les nations du haut Missouris. Le retardement que jai eu dans la route par les montages d'eau,*

* "Crües" added in Truteau's hand above the word "montage."

On the 13th at the Little Platte River, five leagues higher on the right.

On the 14th at the Park.[12]

On the 15th at the first village of the Kansas at twelve leagues from the mouth of their river.[13]

On the 16th, 17th, and 18th detained in the same place by a heavy rain that did not stop until the morning of the 19th. This time I thought to perish by water. I spent the day drying our hide coverings, already much damaged by the rains and the excessive heat that we endure.

I will say in passing that anyone embarking on long voyages in the summer ought to take the precaution of good tarpaulins for covering their belongings and not elk or buffalo hides that, despite all possible care and the time that one wastes in drying them, rot quickly in the heat and expose the merchandise to damage from the adversities of the weather, for which Monsieur the Director of the Company had not provided well, having sent me off, despite the protests that I made to him on the subject, with bad hides, half-rotted, and old, small tarpaulins, all torn.

On the 20th of the month I left this place and traveled all day.

On the 21st I camped at the second old village of the Kansas at twelve leagues from the first.[14] The waters still rising rapidly, my oarsmen were overwhelmed with weariness, being required to row vigorously from morning to evening without stopping, the waters having reached halfway up the bluffs.

On the 22nd I camped at the Big Bend.[15]

On the 23rd I was stopped by rain.

On the 24th, 25th, and 26th <I> traveled. I camped at the river of the Tacoyos, a small river of little consequence.

On the 27th I was stopped by rain.

On the 28th, 29th, and 30th I traveled.

AUGUST 1, 1794

On the 31st I discovered along the Missouri a summer hunting camp of the Otoe nation, recently abandoned. I feared much to meet them <on my journey> because it is certain that they would have stopped me. Their head chief named The Medicine Bag being at the Illinois and not having returned yet, his people would have kept me until his arrival. Unquestionably, the chief would have prevented me from going farther, for I learned that, since his return, he had sent messengers to the Omahas and the latter to the Poncas to pursue me and bring me to their village, strongly urging them not to let me reach the nations of the upper Missouri. The delay that I had along the route, due to

les pluyes, et les vents contraires m'ont empéché de tomber entre les mains de cette nation qui avoit passé tout le mois de juin et de juillet a la chasse sur le bord du Missouris.

Le l^{er} daoust, voulant laisser éloigner ces sauvages que je craignois de trouver, et ayant plusieurs rames de rompues. nous passames ce jour la au même lieu a faire des rames.

Le 2^{me}, 3^{me}, 4eme du mois, en marche; un homme malade.

Le 5eme, arrêté par la pluyë.

Le 6eme, employé a faire sécher les peaux de couvertures. Ce jour la le S^{r} Jacques dÉglise est arrivé a nous venant des Illinois. Il m'at remis les paroles de M^{r} le commandant <des Illinois> composées de quatre lettres pour deux chefs ricaras, un chef sioux, et un chef chaguienne, trois médailles, un pavillon, quatre carotte de tabac, un petit baril de poudre, un petit sac de balle pour chaque chef, le tout pour joindre aux trois pavillons et a une {6} médaille dont jétois déja chargé. Il ma aussi remit les lettres, et les nouvelles instructions que messieurs les directeurs de la Compagnie m'envoyoient, dans lesquelles il métoit enjoint de remettre au sieur Quenneville, a l'entrée de la rivierre des Kans, vingt six fusils <de traitte> dont jétois chargé. Je ne pouvois le faire, étant éloigné près de cent lieuës de lui. Je les ai offert au sieur Jean Munier ainsi qu'il me l'étoit ordonné; il n'en a point voulû.

Je proposai au S^{r} Jacques dÉglise de faire route de compagnie. Il me répondit que la saison étant avançée, il ne pouvoit souffrir aucun retardement sans se faire un grand tort; qu'il sétoit muni de quatre homme, lui cinquième, dans une petitte voiture peu chargée, pour se rendre promptement dans les androits de chasse aux castors; quétant pourvu de bons prélats <pour couvertures> il pouvoit marcher en tems de pluye, ce que je ne pouvois faire; qu'avec sa petitte pirogue il passeroit facilement et même de nuit les villages et les passages dangéreux <qui sont sur la route>; qu'enfin il métoit impossible de le suivre et a lui de m'attendre; que lorsqu'il seroit arrivé au village des Ricaras, ou il s'attendait bien dêtre retenu jusqu'a mon arrivée, il envoyeroit des François et des sauvages {7} au devant de moi avec des vivres.

Le lendemain, septieme du mois, nous fimes route ensemble; il retarda sa marche <le [*sic*, ce] jour la> par rapport a moi <pour moy>. Je vis bien par la legeretee de sa voiture, pouvant éviter les grands detours que jetois obligé de pratiquer, que je ne pourrois le suivre.

Je le priai sur les trois heures après midy d'arreter, méditant par quel moyen je pourrois sauver mes fusils des mains soit des Otos <Autos>, des Mahas, ou des Poncas. (Le mois d'aoust est le mois ordinaire ou ces nations reviennent a leur villages après la chasse d'étée.) Je doutois fort que je pus les passer avant leur retour; ainsi la prise des fusils soit par les uns ou les autres, me parroissoit <étoit>

high water, rain, and contrary winds, prevented me from falling into the hands of this nation, which had spent the entire months of June and July hunting along the bank of the Missouri.

On the 1st of August, wishing to let these Indians whom I feared to encounter get farther away, and having had several broken oars, we spent the day at the same place making oars.

On the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of the month traveling; one man sick.

On the 5th stopped by rain.

On the 6th engaged in drying the hide coverings. This day Sieur Jacques d'Église arrived among us, coming from the Illinois. He brought me communications from Monsieur the Commandant <of the Illinois>[16] consisting of four letters for two Arikara chiefs, a Sioux chief, and a Cheyenne chief, three medals, a flag, four carrots of tobacco,[17] a little barrel of powder, a little sack of balls[18] for each chief, all to add to the three flags and one medal with which I had been previously entrusted. He also gave me letters and new instructions that Messieurs, the Directors of the Company, had sent me, in which they ordered me to give to Sieur Quenneville,[19] at the mouth of the Kansas River, twenty-six <trade> fusils[20] with which I had been entrusted. I was not able to do this, being nearly one hundred leagues beyond him. I offered them to Sieur Jean Munier just as I had been instructed to do; he did not want them.

I proposed to Sieur Jacques d'Église to travel in company with us. He replied that the season being advanced, he could not suffer any delay without it causing great harm; that he had brought four men, he being the fifth, in a little boat lightly loaded in order to go speedily to the places for hunting beaver; that being provided with good tarpaulins <for coverings> he could travel in rainy weather, which I could not do; that with his little pirogue he would pass easily, even at night, the villages and dangerous passages <that were along the route>; that finally it would be impossible for me to follow him and for him to wait for me; that when he arrived at the village of the Arikaras, where he expected to be detained until my arrival, he would send some Frenchmen and Indians to meet me with provisions.

The next day, the 7th of the month, we traveled together; he slowed his progress <that day> out of regard for me. I saw readily that due to the lightness of his boat, which could avoid the long detours that I was obliged to take, I would not be able to follow him.[21]

I asked him at 3 p.m. to stop, pondering by what means I would be able to keep my fusils out of the hands of the Otoes, Omahas, or Poncas. (August is the usual month when these nations return to their villages after the summer hunt.) I strongly doubted that I would be able to pass by them before their return; thus the seizure of the fusils by one or the other of them appeared to me inevitable.

inévitable. Le sieur Jacques dÉglise avoit beaucoup plus desperance que moi de les éviter. <Je le consultait a ce sujet.> Je lui demandai s'il vouloit les embarquer dans sa voiture jusqu'au Ricaras et qu'il me les remettroit a la premierre vuë.

Le sieur Jacques dÉglise me dit que pour rendre service a la Compagnie, il les prendroit volontiers, mais sans en courir aucun risque; quil les porteroit au village des Ricaras, et même plus haut s'il étoit nécessaire, sans exiger aucun payement pour son port et service; que s'il les rendoit heureusement {8} il les vendroit pour le compte de la Compagnie au cas que je ne pus me rendre cet automne soit aux Ricaras ou aux Mendannes; et quil m'en remettroit le produit ou à la Compagnie <a la premierre vüe, mayant dit que les fusils n'etoient pas de grand valeur cher [*sic,* chez] les nations du haut du Missouri. Je luy ai recommandé de ne pas les vendre a moins de dix grand castors ou loutres, ce qu'il m'at promis. Ainsi, messieurs, jai crû bien faire par toutes les raisons que jay citée plus haut, de déposer ces fusils entre les mains dun homme dont vous avés vous même reconnu le merite.>

Le 8eme <jour daoust, nous avons fait route>, jai campé a lentrée de la rivierre Platte a deux cent lieuës des Illinois. <Le Sr. Jacques d'Eglise nous a laissé; je ne lai plus revû.>

De la rivierre des Kans a la rivierre Platte, on trouve trois rivierres qui ne sont navigables que le printems a la fonte des neiges peu loin de leur embouchure. La premierre, nommée le Grand Nimahas, se trouve a cinquante lieues plus haut que la rivierre des Kans; a dix lieues de celle cy le Petit Nimahas, toutes deux a la gauche en montant. A quinze lieuës plus haut a la droite se décharge une rivierre nommée Nichenanbatonois.

La rivierre Platte <[qui] se décharge dans le Missouri a deux cent lieux des Illinois> <a la gauche en montans> est fort large mais peu profonde. Elle coule avec rapidité; son fond est remplie de sable roulants; elle nest navigables qu'avec de fort petit canots <de chasse>. Sur le haut de cette rivierre a 12 lieuës de son embouchure habite la nation otoctatas, bons guerriers et bons chasseurs. A 25 lieuës plus haut est situé le village des Grands Panis, laches et peu chasseurs. A trente lieuës plus haut sur une rivierre {9} qui se décharge dans la rivierre Platte habitent les Panis Mahas, bons guerriers et non chasseurs.

Les traiteurs qui font la troque des pelleteries avec ces nations <panis> sont obligés d'y faire transporter leurs marchandises de traite sur des cheveaux depuis lembouchure de la rivierre Platte <jusqu'a leur village> et de descendre au primtems a la fonte des glaçes les pelleteries dans des canots de peaux de boeuf jusqu'au Missouri où ils ont ordinairement des pirogues en reserve. Les pelleteries que l'on tirent de ces deux nations <en échange des marchandises> sont des robes des vaches, des castors, des loutres, des loups, des chats <des peaux de castors, de loutres, de loups, renards et chats, des robes et des peaux des vaches passés en quantitée>.

Sieur Jacques d'Église had much greater hope than I of avoiding them. <I consulted him about this.> I asked him if he would carry them in his boat up to the Arikaras and return them to me at the first opportunity.

Sieur Jacques d'Église told me that to be of service to the Company, he would gladly take them, but without running any risk; that he would carry them to the village of the Arikaras, and even farther upriver if it were necessary, without exacting any payment for his transport and service; that if he delivered them successfully he would sell them on behalf of the Company in case I was not able to go this autumn to either the Arikaras or the Mandans; and that he would remit the proceeds to me or to the Company <at our first meeting, saying to me that the fusils were not of great worth among the nations of the upper Missouri. I advised him not to sell them for less than ten large beaver or otter, which he promised me to do. Thus, Messieurs, for all the reasons that I cited above, I thought it advisable to place these fusils in the hands of a man whose merit you yourself had recognized.>

On the 8th <day of August we traveled;> I camped at the entrance of the Platte River at two hundred leagues from the Illinois. <Sieur Jacques d'Eglise left us; I have not seen him since.>

From the Kansas River to the Platte River are found three rivers that are navigable for a short distance from their mouths only in the spring at the melting of the snows. The first, called the Great Nemaha River, is located at fifty leagues above the Kansas River; at ten leagues upstream from this one is the Little Nemaha River, both on the left going upstream. At fifteen leagues higher on the right a river enters named Nishnabotna.[22]

The Platte River <which flows into the Missouri on the left, heading upstream,> is very wide but shallow. It flows rapidly; its bottom is filled with roiling sand; it is only navigable with very small <hunting> canoes.[23] On the upper part of this river 12 leagues from its mouth lives the Otoe nation,[24] good warriors and good hunters. At 25 leagues higher is situated the village of the Grand Pawnees,[25] lazy and not much inclined to hunt. At thirty leagues higher on a river[26] that enters the Platte River live the Skiri Pawnees,[27] good warriors and not hunters.

The traders who traffic in peltries with these <Pawnee> nations are forced to have their trade merchandise transported on horses from the mouth of the Platte River <to their village> and in the spring at the melting of the snows to bring down the peltries in skin boats[28] to the Missouri, where they usually have pirogues in reserve. The peltries that they take from these two nations <in exchange for merchandise> are buffalo robes, beaver, otter, wolves, and racoons <skins of beaver, otter, wolves, foxes, and racoons, and robes and dressed hides of buffalo in quantity>.

Le 9eme du mois, jai passé la rivierre Platte avec bien de la peine. Cette rivierre se décharge avec tant de rapiditée dans le Missouris que ses eaux traversent celui cy d'un bord a l'autre et forment plusieurs chutes dangereuses a franchir.

Le 10eme, 11eme, en marche.

Le 12eme, arreté par la pluye.

Le 13eme, gros vent; peu de chemin.

Le 14eme, 15eme, 16eme, en marche par un beau tems.

Le 17eme, arrêté par la pluye.

Le 18eme, jai campé a la petitte rivierre des Sioux a cinquante lieues plus haut que la rivierre Platte. Nous trouvons icy les eaux plus basses et par conséquent le courant moins fort.

Le 19eme, en marche jusqua midi; quelques orages {10} jointes au vent contraire nous ont arrêté le reste de la journée.

J'ai fait route le 20 et 21.

Le 22 et 23, peu de route par le vent contraire.

Le 24, jai approché le village des Mahas avec précaution, craignant dêtre découvert par quelqu'un de cette nation, qui mauroit infailliblement empéché daller plus loin, étant ennemis des nations situés plus haut. La politique des sauvages de cette rivierre est telle quils veulent absolument empécher la communication entre nous et les nations du haut Missouris, les privant des munitions de guerre et autres secours quils recevroit <de nous> si nous y parvenions facilement. Ils tiennent ces peuples éloignés dans une crainte continuelle de leurs armes a feu, de sorte quils les tuent sans aucune cause, les massacrent, les rendent esclaves, les chassent de leurs païs <leur propre territoire>, sans qu'ils osent se venger ni meme a peine se défendre, n'ayant que la fuitte pour toute ressource tant ils craignent les nations qui sont munis d'armes a feu—avantage dont les premiers sçavent très bien profiter et conserver en nous fermant le chemin autant quils peuvent.

Jai donc passé ce village au commencement de la nuit; jai campé environ deux {11} lieues plus haut, l'obscurité m'empechant daller plus loin. Nous avons vû sur le rivage vis a vis ce village un grand nombre de pistes d'hommes qui y avoient traversés quelques jours auparavant. Jai sçu depuis que cétoient des Sakis <Sacques> qui y étoient venu en parole.

Le village des Mahas est situé dans une belle prairie environ a deux lieues <une lieux de distance> du bord du Missouris, éloignés de deux cent quatre-vingt lieues des Illinois. Depuis la rivierre Platte jusqu'icy le Missouris coule avec moins de rapiditée que dans le bas de cette rivierre. Les détours sont longs et fréquents de sorte qu'un homme de pied peut dans une journée par terre faire le chemin qu'une pirogue bien armée ne pourroit faire en cinq a six <quatre et

On the 9th of the month I passed the Platte River with much difficulty. This river enters the Missouri so rapidly that the waters cross the latter from one side to the other and form several rapids that are dangerous to cross.[29]

On the 10th and 11th traveled.

On the 12th stopped by rain.

On the 13th heavy wind; little progress.

On the 14th, 15th, and 16th traveled in fine weather.

On the 17th stopped by rain.

On the 18th I camped at the Little Sioux River, fifty leagues above the Platte River. We found the waters lower here and consequently the current less strong.

On the 19th traveled until noon; thunderstorms along with head winds stopped us for the rest of the day.

I traveled on the 20th and 21st.

On the 22nd and 23rd little progress due to head winds.

On the 24th I approached the village of the Omahas[30] cautiously, fearing to be discovered by anyone of this nation, who would surely have prevented me from going farther, since they are enemies of the nations located higher upstream. The policy of the Indians of this river is such that they are absolutely determined to prevent communication between us and the nations of the upper Missouri, depriving the latter of munitions of war and other assistance that they would receive <from us> if we could reach them easily. They keep distant peoples in continual fear of their firearms, so that they kill them without any cause, massacre them, enslave them, chase them from their land <their own territory>, without their daring to seek revenge and even scarcely daring to defend themselves, having flight as their only recourse, so much do they fear the nations that are provided with firearms—an advantage from which the first know very well how to profit and to maintain by closing the route to us as much as they can.

I therefore passed the village at nightfall; I camped about two leagues higher, darkness preventing my going farther. We saw on the bank opposite the village a large number of tracks of men who had crossed some days before. I learned since then that they were Sauks who had come there to parley.[31]

The village of the Omahas is located in a beautiful prairie about two leagues <one league> from the bank of the Missouri, two hundred eighty leagues distant from the Illinois. From the Platte River up to here the Missouri flows less rapidly than in the lower course of this river. The bends are long and frequent so that a man on foot is able in a day going overland to cover the distance that a well-equipped pirogue could not cover in five or six <four to five> days

cinq> jours <par eaux>. Il ny a aucune rivierre remarquable depuis la rivierre Platte jusqu'au <villages des> Mahas.

Le 25eme, jai embarqué a l'aube du jour. Jai éte campé a la grande rivierre des Sioux, a cinq lieues des Mahas <a la droite du Missourie six lieux plus haut que le villages des Mahas>. Cette rivierre ne peut porter que de fort petits canots de chasse. Nous avons trouvés cette journée là de forts courants et plusieurs mauvais passages par les battures coupées.

Le 26, jai fait peu de chemin, ayant {12} commencé a pleuvoir avec force sur les neuf a dix heures du matin.

Le 27eme, jai campé plus haut que le grand détour, estimé a douze lieues des Mahas.

Le 28, jai marché jusqu'a midy. La pluye nous a arrêté le reste de la journée et a continué toute la nuit.

Le 29, nous avons fait sécher nos couvertures une partie de la journée.

Le 30, 31 <d'aoust>, et 1er septembre, en marche par un beau tems. Jai campé a l'ancien village du Petit Arc, chef mahas, estimé a quarante lieues de leur grand village.

Le 2eme, 3eme, peu de route par le vent et la pluye. Jai embarqué et campé trois fois la même journée.

Le 4eme <au matin>, notre chasseur, Noël Charron, tua un cerf a l'entrée de la rivierre a Jacques qui se décharge <a la droite du Missourie> a environ quatre a cinq lieuës plus haut que le village du Petit Arc <a quarante cinq lieux plus haut que le village des Mahas>. Cette rivierre nest navigable qu'au primtems avec des petits canots de chasse. Jai employé une partie de cette journée a faire secher au feu la viande de ce cerf, qui se seroit corrompue, précaution nécessaire non seulement pour éviter le jeune mais pour nêtre point obligé de tirer du fusils pour vivre dans les passages dangereux. {13} Depuis plus dix lieuës plus bas que le village des Mahas nous éteignons soigneusement nos feux et jetons les bois de nos berceaux de nuit a leau <au feu>. Je prens <grand> soin de ne point faire <paroite> des vestiges <le moins qu'il est possible> sur le rivage dans la route de ne point tirer du fusïls sans une grande nécessité. <Le quatre jai marché jusqu'a deux ou trois heures après midy.>

Le 5eme, jai embarqué de grand matin. Jai été contrains <la pluye m'at obligé> de camper sur les deux ou trois heures apres midy par la pluye a lisle au Chicots, 4 lieues plus haut que la rivierre a Jacques.

Le 6eme, jai embarqué et jai été faire secher nos couvertures a lisle a Bon Homme, trois lieuës plus haut que lisle aux Chicots.

Le 7eme, jai marché la journée entierre.

Le 8eme, 9eme, 10eme, peu de route par les vents contraires.

<by water>. There is no noteworthy river from the Platte River to the Omaha <village>.

On the 25th I embarked at the break of day. I camped at the Big Sioux River, five leagues from the Omahas <on the right of the Missouri six leagues upstream from the Omaha village>. This river is able to take only very small hunting canoes. We encountered this day strong currents and several bad passages due to cut sandbars.[32]

On the 26th I progressed little, since it began to rain hard between nine and ten a.m.

On the 27th I camped above the Big Bend,[33] estimated to be twelve leagues from the Omahas.

On the 28th I traveled until noon. Rain stopped us for the rest of the day and continued all night.

On the 29th we dried our covers for part of the day.

On the 30th, 31st <of August>, and 1st of September traveled in fine weather. I camped at the former village of Little Bow, a chief of the Omahas, estimated to be forty leagues from their big village.[34]

On the 2nd and 3rd little progress due to wind and rain. I embarked and camped three times during the same day.

On the 4th <in the morning> our hunter, Noël Charron, killed an elk at the mouth of the James River, which enters <on the right of the Missouri> about four to five leagues above the village of Little Bow <at forty-five leagues above the Omaha village>. This river is navigable only in the spring with small hunting canoes. I used part of the day to dry over a fire the elk meat, which otherwise would have spoiled, a necessary precaution not only to avoid fasting but to avoid being obliged to fire our fusils for provisions in the dangerous passages. For more than ten leagues below the village of the Omahas we have carefully put out our fires and thrown the wood from our night shelters into the water <fire>. I take <great> care not to leave any <to leave the fewest possible> signs on the bank along the route and not to fire fusils except in great necessity. <On the 4th I moved on until two or three o'clock in the afternoon.>

On the 5th I embarked early in the morning. I was forced <by rain> to camp at two or three o'clock in the afternoon at Chicot Island,[35] four leagues above the James River.

On the 6th I embarked and dried our coverings on Bon Homme Island,[36] three leagues above Chicot Island.

On the 7th I traveled the entire day.

On the 8th, 9th, and 10th little progress due to head winds.

Le 11eme, jai embarqué de grand matin. Nous avons <notre chasseurs nous a> tué cette journée la un cerf, qui nous a été dun grand secours, n'ayant pour toutes vivres qu'environ un minot et demy de blee d'Inde <de maillis> et cinquante livres de farine pour neuf hommes. Javois encore plus de quatre vingt <cent> lieues de chemin pour me rendre aux Ricaras, continuellement arretés par les mauvais tems depuis trente lieues plus bas que la rivierre Platte. Nous trouvames frequemment le long du Missouris des campements de chasse de cette étée de sauvages, {14} de sorte que nous ne trouvions aucuns animaux. Nous étions réduit a manger du maÿs non lessivé, sans graisse.

Jai campé cette journée là a deux lieues plus bas que la rivierre Qui Court. Cette rivierre est estimé a soixante et dix lieuës du <grand> village des Mahas, a la gauche du Missouris, et par conséquent a trois cent cinquante [lieux] de l'embouchurre du Missouris; elle se décharge a une lieuë plus bas que le village des Poncas. Cette rivierre, selon le rapport des sauvages, est la plus abondante en castors et loutres de ce continent, mais elle coule avec tant de <force et de> rapiditée et elle est si rempli de cataractes que l'on ne peut<, soit disant,> y naviguer ni en montant ni en descendant, même avec de tres petits canots.

La nuit du onzieme au douzieme <de septembre>, nous avons étés surpris d'une furieuse tempête de vent, de pluye, de grêle qui nous a contraint de décharger notre pirogue <voitures> dans l'obscurité de la nuit. La pluye a continué le 12eme la journée entierre. Le 13eme, le tems sétant éclaircy par un gros vent d'ouest, jai fait sécher quelques marchandises qui avoient mouillées la veille en les déchargeant de nuit.

Le 14eme, jai approché {15} le village des Poncas avec méfiance. A trois heures <sur les trois a quatre heures> après midy, je me suis caché jusqu'au soir derrière une isle qui aboutit a ce village. Jai embarqué a l'entrée de la nuit. Jai marché le plus tard quil ma été possible, mais ayant échoué sur une batture <des battures plattes>, nous y avons passé la nuit <sur une dicelle,> sans feu.

Le 15eme, jai partis de grand matin et je fus campé <je suis venu campé> a <une endroit appellé> la Toure six lieues plus haut que les Poncas. Ce village est situé très proche du Missouris. Auprès de leur cabane <leurs càbânes> sélêvent des côtes extrêmement hautes, du sommet des quelles ils découvent facilement a trois et quatre lieuës en bas et en haut de la rivierre, nétant que prairies de toute part. Ainsi il est très difficile d'y passer sans être vus.

Le commerce des pelleteries avec cette nation poncas seroit fort avantageux si les Mahas, quoi que leurs alliez, ni [=n'y] portoient obstacle, empêchant les traiteurs dy parvenir l'automne, ne les souffrant que très rarrement y aller le primtems y faire la troque du peu de marchandises qu'ils leur restent après en avoir tirés eux mêmes la majore partie. Ils ne manquent jamais de vouloir persuader aux traiteurs qui veulent y aller que cest pour la conservation de leurs

On the 11th I embarked early in the morning. We <our hunter> killed an elk this day, which was a great relief to us, not having any provisions except for a *minot* and a half of corn and fifty *livres* of flour for nine men.[37] I had yet more than eighty <one hundred> leagues to travel to reach the Arikaras, having been continually stopped by bad weather ever since thirty leagues below the Platte River. Along the Missouri River we frequently found Indian hunting camps from this summer so that we found no animals. We were reduced to eating dried corn, without fat.[38]

I camped this day two leagues below the Niobrara River. This river is estimated to be seventy leagues from the <big> village of the Omahas, on the left of the Missouri, and consequently at three hundred fifty leagues from the mouth of the Missouri; it enters a league below the village of the Poncas.[39] This river, according to the report of the Indians, is the most abundant in beaver and otter in this region, but it flows with such <force and> rapidity and is so filled with cataracts that it <supposedly> cannot be navigated, either going upstream or downstream, even with very small canoes.

The night of the 11th to the 12th <of September> we were surprised by a furious tempest of wind, rain, and hail that forced us to unload our pirogue in the darkness of the night. Rain continued on the 12th for the entire day. On the 13th, the weather having cleared due to a strong west wind, I dried some merchandise that had gotten wet while we unloaded it in the dark the previous night.

On the 14th I cautiously approached the village of the Poncas. I hid from 3 <or 4> in the afternoon until evening behind an island adjacent to the village. I embarked at nightfall. I traveled as late as possible, but having run aground on a sandbar <flat sandbars>, we spent the night there <on one of the sandbars>, without a fire.

On the 15th I left in the early morning and <came to> and camped at <a place called> the Tower,[40] six leagues above the Poncas. This village is situated very close to the Missouri. Near their dwellings rise some extremely high hills, from the summit of which they easily discern three to four leagues up and down the river, there being only prairies on all sides. Thus it is very difficult to pass without being seen.

The trade in peltries with the Ponca nation would be very advantageous if the Omahas, although their allies, did not pose an obstacle, preventing the traders from reaching them in the autumn, allowing them only rarely to go there in the spring to trade the small amount of merchandise they have left after they themselves have taken most of it. They never fail to try to persuade traders who want to go there that it is for the protection of their merchandise and

marchandises et la sureté {16} de leur vie, qui leur est chere comme la leur propre, s'ils les retiennent, disant que ce peuple appellé Poncas n'est point humanisé, quil ne parle sans cesse que de piller, frapper et tuer celui qui entreroit chez lui, et que par la grande amitié qu'ils portent aux Français, ils ne veulent pas quil leur arrive du mal (discours faux qu'ils nous tiennent). Les véritables motifs qui les fait agir est leur propre interest, car en privant cette nation dune communication directe avec nous, ils en tirent eux mêmes toutes les pelleteries, castors, et loutres pour des bagatelles qu'ils leurs vendent bien cher; et font eux mêmes la troque de ces pelleteries soit avec nous, soit avec les nations situés sur le Mississipy, dépendantes des Anglais, pour de belles marchandises a tres bon compte que ceux cy leurs apportent touts les primtemps.

Le 16eme, jai campé <lisle a Basque> a cinq lieues plus haut que la Toure.

Le 17eme, jai marché jusqu'a vers midy; le vent d'ouest s'est élevé avec tant de force qu'il ne ma plus été impossible <possible> d'avançer. Nos vivres diminuent; nous ne tuons rien. Dans le bas Missouris les pluys et les {17} montages [ou] crües d'eau* <montages d'eau> nous ont beaucoup retardé; icy les vents fougueux et fréquents par la proximitée des prairies nous empêche d'avancer. Je suis dans une crainte continuelle de quelques événements malheureux, soit par le manque de vivres, soit par la rencontre de quelques nations qui nous soient contraires.

Le 18eme, jai campé a lisle aux Cedres, a vingt lieues des Poncas <de la riviere Qui Court>.

Le 19eme, jai été arrêté un peu plus haut par le vent contraire. Notre chasseur nous a tués ce jour la une biche.

Le 20eme, peu de route par le vent contraire et les mauvaises battures.

Le 21, en marche <nous avons fait route>. Nous avons tué cette journée la une biche <un cerf> et un chevreuil, qui nous ont donné une petitte abondance de vivres.

Le 22, jai campé a deux lieuës plus bas que la rivierre Blanche <a la gauche du Missourie>, estimée a quinze lieues plus haut que lisle aux Cedres. De lisle aux Cedres a la rivierre Blanche ils se trouvent quantitée disle, bien fournies en bois et abondantes en bête fauve: cerf, chervreuils [*sic*], et dIndes. Les jours de dégrads, nous en tuons suffisamment pour vivre.

Le 23 et 24, jai été arrêté par un gros vent melé de pluye.

Le vingt cinq, en marche.

{17}** Le 26, tems de pluye; peu de route.

Le 27, jai reçu quelques orages la matinée. Jai marché depuis midi jusquau soir. Nous avons apperçu des fumées plus haut que nous qui selevoient sur le bord

* "Crües d'eau" added above the line in Truteau's hand.

** In numbering the folios of the journal, 16 was inadvertently repeated.

the security of their lives, which is as precious to them as their own, that they detain them, saying that those people called Poncas are not civilized, that they talk unceasingly of pillaging, striking, and killing whoever would enter their village, and that because of the great friendship that they bear the French, they do not wish for harm to come to them (a false discourse that they give us). The true motive behind their actions is their own interest, because in depriving this nation of direct communication with us, they themselves obtain all the peltries, beaver, and otter, for small items that they sell at very high prices; and they themselves trade these peltries either with us or with the nations located on the Mississippi, dependents of the English, at a very good rate of exchange for the fine merchandise that the latter bring them every spring.[41]

On the 16th I camped <(on the Island of the Basque,)>[42] five leagues above the Tower.

On the 17th I traveled until nearly noon; the west wind came up with so much force that it was no longer possible for me to advance. Our provisions are diminishing; we are killing nothing. On the lower Missouri the rains and rising waters delayed us considerably; here the winds, fierce and frequent because of the proximity of the prairies, prevent us from proceeding. I am in continual fear of some unfortunate occurrence, due either to the lack of provisions or to an encounter with nations that are opposed to us.

On the 18th I camped on Cedar Island,[43] twenty leagues from the Poncas <from the Niobrara>.

On the 19th I was stopped a little higher upstream by a head wind. Our hunter killed a cow elk this day.

On the 20th little progress due to a head wind and bad sandbars.

On the 21st <we> traveled. We killed a cow elk <buck elk> and a deer this day, which gave us a small surplus of provisions.

On the 22nd I camped two leagues below the White River, <on the left of the Missouri,> estimated to be fifteen leagues above Cedar Island. From Cedar Island to the White River a great many islands are found, well-wooded and abounding in wild animals: buck elk, deer, and turkeys. On the days when we are stopped by bad weather, we kill a sufficient number of them for provisions.

On the 23rd and 24th I was stopped by a strong wind mixed with rain.

On the 25th traveled.

On the 26th rainy weather; little progress.

On the 27th I encountered several thunderstorms in the morning. I traveled from noon until evening. We saw smoke upstream from us arising from the bank

du Missouris. Mes gens opinoient que ce pouvoit être des Ricaras qui étoient a la chasse plus bas que leur village <les Fra[n]çais et les Ricaras qui venoient au devant [de] nous qui mettoit ces feux> et qu'il seroit bon de mettre les feux pour les faire venir a nous, ce que, bien a propos, je nai pas voulu faire.

Le 28 <vingt neuf>, jai été arrêté par le vent contraire. Un de mes hommes, étant allé a la chasse, me rapporta qu'il avoit vu la piste d'un homme passé de la veille. Jai moi même été a la découverte étant parvenu a lendroit ou les feux avoient été allumés. Jai trouvé le chemin d'une bande de Sioux qui marchoit devant nous. Il ma parut etre de plus de dix loges <au nomble [*sic,* nombre] de dix a douze cabane>. Jai été fort content quils ne nous eussent pas découvert.

Le 29 <trente>, jai embarqué, et ayant traversé sur lautre rive jai arrêté a trois lieues plus haut pour donner le tems a ces sauvages de séloigner. Les vivres me manquoient absolument; depuis la rivierre Blanche nous ne trouvions rien a tuer, les Sioux y ayant passé {18} nouvellement. Cette bande qui marchoit devant nous me méttoit dans un embaras extrême. Je craignois avec juste raison de tomber entre leurs mains. Jetois imformé du mauvais traitement qu'ils avoient reçu chez les Ris <Ricaras> par les nommés Garaut et Lauson, qui les avoient fusillés. Je sçai que la plus grande satisfaction des sauvages est la vengeance. Je craignois d'en être la victime, et malgré toute ma méfiance et mes précautions, je nai pu éviter de létre en partie, et peu sen fallut tout a fait.

Me croyant peu éloigné du village des Ricaras, selon les indices que les nommés Queneville et Jacques dÉglise mavoient donnés, je me déterminai d'envoyer deux hommes par terre chez cette nation, tant pour quérir des vivres que pour les inviter de venir au devant de moi pour me garantir des insustes [*sic,* insultes] des Sioux. Les nommés Joseph Ladéroute et Pierre Bergér, que j'envoyois aux Ris, sétant munitionnés de souliers et de quelques galettes pour leur voyage, se levoient pour partir lorsque nous entendimes crier sur l'autre bord du Missouris. Japperçu plusieurs sauvages qui descendoient les cotes vis a vis de nous; {19} ils nous avoient découvert. Ils nous crierent en Sioux qui nous étions, d'ou nous venions, et ou nous allions. Je leur repondis <en la même langue qu'il voyoient bien> que nous étions François. Ils le crierent aussitôt a quantitée dautres de leurs gens qui arrivoient sur le rivage de distance en distance plus bas. (Dans cette occasion mon embaras nétoit pas petite.)

La fuitte étoit dangereuse et difficile dans ce lieu: les battures spaçieuses dont le Missouris est couvert, les eaux basses en cette saison, un chenail fort étroit qu'il falloit chercher parmis les bancs de sable et qui se trouvoit positivement a l'endroit ou ces sauvages étoient postés m'enpèchoient de le faire avec suretée. Continuer route en montant ils m'auroient rejoint bien vîte. M'embusquer dans ce lieu pour leurs resister par les armes, ce ne pouvoit être que pour un tres petit moment, dont les suittes ne pouvoient être que malheureuses, car nous étions

of the Missouri. My men were of the opinion that this might be some Arikaras who were hunting below their village <the Frenchmen and some Arikaras who were coming to meet us who had set these fires> and that it would be wise to light fires to guide them to us, which, luckily, I did not agree to do.

On the 28th <29th> I was stopped by a head wind. One of my men, having gone hunting, reported to me that he had seen the tracks of a man who had passed the day before. I myself reconnoitered the place where the fires had been lit. I found the trail of a band of Sioux who traveled ahead of us. It seemed to me there were more than ten <ten to twelve> lodges. I was very pleased that they had not discovered us.

On the 29th <30th> I embarked, and having crossed to the other bank I stopped three leagues above to give the Indians time to distance themselves. Provisions were completely gone; after the White River we had found nothing to kill, the Sioux having recently passed there. The band that traveled ahead of us caused me extreme anxiety. With good reason I dreaded falling into their hands. I had been informed of the bad treatment they had received at the Rees <Arikaras> from the men named Garaut and Lauson, who had fired at them.[44] I know that the Indians' greatest satisfaction is vengeance. I feared being a victim of it, and in spite of all my distrust and my precautions, I was not able to avoid being so in part, and nearly so completely.

Believing myself not far from the village of the Arikaras, according to the information that the men named Quineville [Quenneville] and Jacques d'Église had given me, I decided to send two men overland to this nation, as much to bring back provisions as to invite them to come to meet me to protect me from the abuse of the Sioux. The men named Joseph Ladéroute and Pierre Berger, whom I was sending to the Rees, being supplied with footwear and some flatbread[45] for their trip, were getting up to leave when we heard cries from the other bank of the Missouri. I perceived several Indians who were descending the hills opposite us; they had discovered us. They called out to us in Sioux asking who we were, where we came from, and where we were going. I answered them <in the same language that they could plainly see> we were Frenchmen. They shouted this immediately to a great many more of their people who arrived on the bank at different places below. (On this occasion I had no little distress.)

Flight was dangerous and difficult in this place: the broad sandbars with which the Missouri is filled, the low waters of this season, and a very narrow channel that we had to find among the sandbars and that was located exactly in the area where the Indians were stationed, prevented me from being able to do so safely. To continue the route upstream, they would catch up to me very quickly. To lie in wait at this place to resist them with firearms would be possible only for a very short time, the aftermath of which could only be unfortunate,

dénués de vivres, et d'ailleurs ils nous auroient accablé par le nombre et nous y auroient tout [=tous] fait perir. Dans cette extrêmitée je réflechis quelques tems sur le parti que je devois prendre. Mes gens nétoient pas peu déconcertés. Ils se rassuroient {20} un peu sur la connoissance que jai de ces nations et de leur langue, que je possede passablement, ressource heureuse dans les événéments dangereux pour un voyageur qui entend la langue de différentes nations.

Je pris donc partis de leur parler, mais avant de les aborder je fis mettre nos armes a feu en bon état. J'arborai sur le derriere de ma pirogue un pavillon. Je fis tirer deux coup despingoles et une décharge de coup de fusils. Le bruit de nos espingoles les surpris beaucoup. Pendant ces préparatifs ils me crioient sans cesse d'aller a eux. Je ne voulus pas le faire sans m'assurer auparavant de quelle nation siouse ils étoient, s'ils étoient en partie de guerre ou de chasse, s'il y avoient quelques chefs notables parmi eux. Je leur fis donc ces demandes en leur langue d'un bord a l'autre de la rivierre. Ils ne furent pas peu surpris de mentendre parler de [*sic*, dans] leur langue <de la sorte>. Celui qui avoit toujours porté la parole se leva. Il me cria qu'il étoit de la nation des Hanctons Sioux qui habitent les bords de la rivierre des Moins, qu'il nétoit point en guerre mais a la chasse, que leurs femmes et leurs enfants ne tarderoient pas darriver, que je pouvois aller a eux sans aucune crainte <en seuretée>.

Je lui répondis que j'avois peine a le croire et quil me trompoit. {21} Alors il leva les mains vers le soleil et les baissa vers la terre, les prenant <touts deux> a témoins quil me disoit la véritée. De plus, il cita tous les chefs de son village <sa nation par leurs noms>. Il me rapporta plusieurs faits dont j'avois connaissance <dans le temps que je fréquentois ce peuple>, ayant été moi même témoins de ce qu'il me disoit. Il me nomma aussi <tous> les Français, tant anciens que nouveau, qui ont fréquenté le plus son village, et sans sçavoir qu'il me parloit, il me nomma du nom que je portois chez eux autrefois. Toutes ces citations j'ustes qu'il me faisoit me donna a penser quil pouvoit dire la vérité quant a son village. Étant bien connu de cette nation siouse appelés Hanctons, sauvages assez humanisés, j'avois lieu desperer que je me retirerois de leurs mains avec un peu plus de facilitée qu'avec tout autre village sioux, mais pour mieux encore m'assurer de la vérité jéxigeai d'eux qu'ils traversassent trois <deux seulement> a la nage sur une grande batture qui nous séparoient. <Ils ont traversés trois a la nage.> Je fus au devant d'eux accompagnés de trois hommes armés. Je les reconnus pour tels qu'ils sétoient dit, et ils me reconnurent aussi; ils me présenterent la main en signe damitié. Je les fis fumer, ce quils firent de bonne grace. Enfin, ils me donnerent toutes {22} les marques et assurances qu'il ne m'arriveroit aucun mal, me disant quils étoient très contents de me voir, qu'ayant resté fort

for we were short of provisions, and besides they would have overpowered us by their number and caused us all to perish. In this extremity I considered for some time what course I should take. My men were more than a little disturbed. They were somewhat reassured by the knowledge I had of these nations and their language, which I knew passably well, a fortunate advantage in dangerous situations for a voyageur who understands the language of various nations.

I therefore resolved to speak to them, but before addressing them I had our firearms put in good order. I hoisted a flag at the stern of my pirogue. I had my men fire two blunderbuss[46] shots and one volley of fusil shots. The sound of our blunderbusses surprised them a great deal. During these preparations they called out to me unceasingly to come to them. I did not want to do so without making sure in advance to which Sioux nation they belonged, whether they were a war or hunting party, and whether there were any notable chiefs among them. I put these questions to them in their language from one bank of the river to the other. They were more than a little suprised to hear me speak their language <in this way>. The one who had always been the spokesman arose. He called out to me that he was of the Yankton Sioux nation that lived on the banks of the Des Moines River,[47] that he was not at war but on the hunt, that their women and children would not be long in arriving, that I could approach them without any fear <in safety>.

I answered that I could scarcely believe him and that he was deceiving me. Then he raised his hands toward the sun and lowered them toward the earth, calling <both of them> to witness that he was telling me the truth.[48] Moreover, he named all the chiefs of his village <nation>. He reported to me several facts of which I was aware <at the time when I used to visit this people>, having myself been witness to what he said. He also named for me <all> the Frenchmen, of past and recent times, who had most often visited his village, and without knowing that he was speaking to me, he mentioned me using the name that I formerly went by among them. All these correct citations that he gave made me think that he could be telling the truth about his village. Since I was well-known to this Sioux nation called Yanktons, fairly civilized Indians, I had cause to hope that I could withdraw from their hands with a little more ease than from any other Sioux village, but in order better yet to assure myself of the truth I demanded that they send three <only two> men to swim across onto a large sandbar that separated us. <Three of them swam across.> I met them accompanied by three armed men. I recognized them as those they said they were, and they recognized me also; they offered me their hands as a sign of friendship.[49] I had them smoke, which they did willingly. In short, they gave me every sign and assurance that no harm would be done to me, telling me that they were very happy to see me,

longtems dans leur village sur la rivierre des Moins,* ils me regardoient comme un homme de leur propre nation ainsi que je n'avois rien a craindre d'eux. Nous les menâmes a notre pirogue, ou je leur donnai a manger.

Nous vîmes alors arriver sur l'autre bord les femmes avec touts leurs bagages, ce qui me fit juger qu'ils n'étoient point en guerre mais a la chasse <étoient en village et non en guerres>. J'embarquai donc ces trois coquins sur ma voiture. Ils voulurent me faire descendre plus bas dans un endroit ou ils vouloient dresser leurs loges, mais n'ayant point d'abri pour ma pirogue <en cas de vent>, je ne le voulu pas. Je fis route en montant pour gagner une pointe de bois qui paroissoit plus haut. Nous eûmes beaucoup de peine a y arriver. Tous ces coquins suivoient le long du rivage telle qu'une troupe de loups affamés qui attendent un chevreuil au debarquement pour le dévorer. Avant d'arriver a cette fatale pointe il se trouva un petit chenail, dont l'entrée ne se trouva pas assez profond pour passer notre pirogue qui étoit tres grande et fort lourde; tous ces tigres se prirent apres ma voiture et la tirerent presque a sec aupres de leur camp.

Tous les discours flatteurs qu'ils mavoient tenu {23} cy devant ne m'avoient pas persuadé de leurs sincérité et honnetetée. Je connois trop bien les ruses et fourberies des sauvages pour y ajouter aucune confiance. L'occasion ou je me trouvois me forcoit de leur faire paroitre du contentement de les avoir rencontré, quoi que dans mon ame j'en détestois le moment.

Les ordres que Monsieur le directeur <Mes les directeurs> de la Compagnie ma <m[']ont> donné portent de faire alliance, donner parole, ouvrir commerce avec toutes les nations que je pourrois voir ou découvrir au dessus de la nation poncas. Je devois donc les recherchér plutôt que de les fuire, mais je proteste que touts voyageurs qui entreprendront de parvenir chez les nations du haut Missouris feront tres bien deviter leur rencontre pour la suretée de leurs marchandises et de leurs vie même. On pourra le juger par ce qui m'arrive icy.

Me voila donc entre leurs mains dans un chenail presque sec, sans pouvoir ni reculer ni avancer. Mes prétendu amis de la rivierre des Moins mavoient bien dit quelques vérités, mais ils m'avoient caché qu'ils nétoient que trois loges de leur village <nation>, et que le reste de cette bande étoient tous du village des Titons, peuple féroce, peu humanisé, qui erre sans cesse pour vivre, rempli de meurs et de coutumes barbares. Les vastes prairies quils parcourent au nord du Missouris étant présentement denuées d'animaux, {24} les obligent de venir faire la chasse des boeufs <de beuf et vaches> sauvages sur les bords du Missouris et même de le traverser pour chasser sur la partie occidentale de cette rivierre. Ceux cy étoient maigres et décharnés. Ils ne vivoient que de racines et de quelque peu de folles avoines qu'ils avoient recueillis au bord de certains marais ou ils avoient

* The manuscript has a final -e added in, in pencil.

that since I had remained a very long time in their village on the Des Moines River, they regarded me as a man of their own nation so that I had nothing to fear from them. We led them to our pirogue, where I gave them something to eat.

We then saw arriving on the other bank the women with all their baggage, which caused me to believe that they were not at war but on the hunt <with their village and not at war>. Then I embarked the three rascals in my boat. They wanted me to go downstream to a place where they wished to set up their lodges, but not having shelter for my pirogue <in case of wind>, I refused. I traveled upriver in order to reach a wooded point that appeared higher up. We had much difficulty getting there. All these rascals were following along the bank like a pack of famished wolves waiting for a deer to come ashore to devour it. Before arriving at this fatal point there was a narrow channel, the entrance to which was not deep enough for our pirogue, which was very large and extremely heavy, to pass through; all these tigers took hold of my boat and dragged it almost to dry land near their camp.

All the flattering speeches that they had addressed to me before had not persuaded me of their sincerity and honesty. I know too well the tricks and deceits of Indians to justify having any confidence in them. The situation in which I found myself forced me to appear content to have met them, although in my soul I detested that moment.

The orders that Monsieur the Director <Messieurs the Directors> of the Company gave me were to make alliances, to parley, and to open trade with all the nations that I should see or discover above the Ponca nation. I should therefore seek them out rather than flee from them, but I protest that all voyageurs who undertake to reach the nations of the upper Missouri would do very well to avoid meeting them [the Sioux] for the safety of their merchandise and even of their very lives. One will be able to judge the accuracy of this by what happened to me here.

There I was, then, in their hands in a nearly dry channel, unable to withdraw or advance. My supposed friends of the Des Moines River had told me certain truths, but they had concealed from me that they comprised only three lodges in their village <nation>, and that the rest of this band were all of the village of the Tetons, a fierce, uncivilized people who wander unceasingly in order to live, practicing many barbaric habits and customs. The vast prairies that they roam to the north of the Missouri being presently devoid of animals, they were compelled to come hunt buffalo <bulls and cows> on the banks of the Missouri and even to cross it to hunt on the western side of the river. The latter [people] were thin and emaciated. They were subsisting only on roots and a little wild rice that they had gathered at the edges of certain marshes that they had passed.

passés. Voila l'espèce d'hommes avec qui jétois tombé. Ainsi je ne pouvois espérer d'avoir aucuns secours de ces gens la pour les nourritures. Ils arriverent touts en général avec leurs bagages et plantèrent leurs loges dans la pointe de bois.

Ils allumerent un grand feu aupres de notre pirogue, et si [=s'y] rassemblerent tous. Je débutai par leurs distribuer quelques morceaux de tabac avec grand soin de les faire fumer, ce que plusieurs accepterent, et beaucoup qui ne voulurent pas fumer dans mon calumet ni me donner la main. J'augurai mal de ces refus car chez tous les peuples sauvages, et en particulier chez les Sioux, le calumet est le simbole de paix et damitié. Ils me demanderent ou jallois; je leur répondis que je montois chez les Ricaras. Je ne pouvois le cacher. Ils voyoient bien que j'étois chargé de marchandises de traite. Il séleva pami eux de grands murmures a ce sujet. Je népargnai rien pour addoucir l'esprit de ces brutes <bêtes feroces>; paroles flateuses, bonne maniere, air content, tout fut employé {25} dans cette occasion.

Le reste de la journée se passa en quelques festins de mauvaise folle avoine que les Hanctons nous firent. Ils me demanderent quelques coups de poudre et des balles pour aller a la chasse le lendemain, promettant de nous donner de la viande. Je leur en donnai. Ils voulurent emprumter tous les fusils de mes gens, qui leur en préterent trois; je m'opposai a leur en donner davantage. Mes pretendus amis [de la nation] des Hanctons faisoient les demandes. Je prévoyois que javois absolument besoin d[']eux pour me tirer du mauvais pas ou j'étois embarqué. Il étoit nécessaire de ne point les rebuter par des manieres dures. Aussi, jemployois toute l'éloquence sauvage, accompagné de bien des caresses, pour les maintenir dans mes intérest. Le soir ils sassemblerent autour de notre feu. Mes gens se coucherent dans la pirogue et y firent bonne garde.

Je dressai une petite tente aupres du feu afin d'examiner plus facilement dans le cours de la nuit leurs dessins et entendre leurs discours, bons et mauvais. Je leur avois demandé sil ny avoit pas dans cette bande quelques grands chef <chefs notables> de leur nation. Il me dirent que non. Je leur dis donc que le grand chef espagnol, leur pere, m'envoyoit aux Ricaras pour leur {26} porter sa parole, ainsy qu'au chef de[s] Titons que je ferois venir aussitot que je serois arrivé a ce village; que leur pere espagnol, connoissant leur misere par le manque de poudre, balles, couteaux, et autres marchandises si nécessaire a la vie, <il> avoit eu pitiée d'eux en m'envoyant leur en porter en échange des pelleteries quils pourroient apporter chez les Ricaras, ou je les recevrois bien; <qu'aussitot que je serois arrivé aux Ris, je ferois venir les chefs titons pour écouter la parole de leur pere espagnol et fumer dans son calumet; qu'ils pouvoit estre assurés qu'ils trouveroient tout leurs besoins au village des Ricaras en échange des pelleteries qu'ils apporteroient.>

That was the kind of men into whose hands I had fallen. Thus I could not hope to receive any help from these people in regard to food supplies. They all arrived with their baggage and set up their lodges on the wooded point.

They lit a great fire near our pirogue, and all assembled there. I began by handing out several pieces of tobacco to them, taking great care to have them smoke, which several accepted, but many would not smoke my calumet or give me their hand. I foresaw trouble from those refusals because among all Indian peoples, and in particular among the Sioux, the calumet is the symbol of peace and friendship.[50] They asked me where I was going; I responded that I was heading up to the Arikaras. I could not conceal this. They plainly saw that I was loaded with trade merchandise. There rose among them loud murmurs on this subject. I spared nothing to calm the feelings of these brutes <wild beasts>: flattering words, pleasing manner, a cheerful expression, all were used on this occasion.

The rest of the day was spent in several feasts of bad wild rice that the Yanktons gave for us. They asked me for some charges of powder and balls with which to go hunting the next day, promising to give us some of the meat. I gave them some. They wished to borrow all the fusils of my men, who loaned them three; I was against giving them more. My supposed friends of the Yankton nation were the ones making the requests. I foresaw that I definitely needed them to extricate myself from the bad situation into which I had been drawn. It was also necessary to avoid antagonizing them with harsh behavior. Likewise, I used all the Indian eloquence, accompanied by much flattery, to keep them in my interest. In the evening they assembled around our fire. My men lay down in the pirogue and kept close watch.

I pitched a little tent near the fire in order to investigate their intentions more easily during the course of the night and to hear their speeches, good and bad. I had asked them if there were any great <notable> chiefs of their nation in this band. They told me no. I said to them then that the Great Spanish Chief, their father,[51] had sent me to the Arikaras to bring his message to them, as well as to the chief of the Tetons whom I would send for as soon as I arrived at the village; that their Spanish Father, knowing their distress due to the lack of powder, balls, knives, and other merchandise so necessary to life, had taken pity on them by sending me to bring some in exchange for the peltries that they would bring to the Arikaras, where I would welcome them; <that as soon as I should arrive among the Rees, I would have the Teton chiefs come to listen to the words of their Spanish Father and smoke his calumet; that they could be assured that at the village of the Arikaras they would find all their necessities provided for in exchange for the peltries that they might bring>.

Ils me repondirent effrontement quils ne connoissoient point ce pere espagnol donc je leur parlois; que les Titons n'avoient point de chefs plus grands les uns que les autres, que chaque homme étoit chef de sa loge; que nous autres Français nous faisions tres mal de porter des poudres et balles aux Ricaras, avec qui ils avoient souvent la guerre; que cette poudre ne serviroit qu'a tuer les Sioux; que les Français qui étoient déja chez les Ris étoient de mauvais gens, parlant toujours mal contre eux et exitant cette nation a les tuer lorsqu'ils y alloient en parole pour avoir du tabac, et que nous en ferions de même; que dailleur, les Ricaras que nous cherchions avec tant d'empressement avoient été attaqués cette étée par des nations du nord; qu'ils sétoient enfui, ayant abandonné leur village, ne sétant pas donné le tems de faire la récolte de leur maillis. Je ne les cru pas, connaissant les sauvages {27} fertils en mensonges et en détours, surtout lorsquils sagit de détourner les Francais de quelques desseins contraires a leurs intérest. Ils me disoient cependant la vérité, comme on le verra cy après.

Je les lessai se disputer ensemble pour et contre, et je passai la nuit sans dormir a les écouter. Les Hanctons approuvoient le discours que je leur avois tenus, disant que leur chef avoit été en différentes fois aux pays des Français; qu'il y avoit été bien reçu du grand chef espagnol, le pere de toutes les nations paux rouges; que depuis ce tems ils avoient toujours étés dans labondance des marchandises si utiles a la vie; que les Francais parcouroient toute la terre; qu'ils rendoient toutes les nations qui les recevoient bien heureuses en leur apportant fusils, poudre, balle, couteaux, &c.; et qu'au contraire, les peuples que les Français ne fréquentoient pas étoient misérables, exposés a la faim et a être vaincus par leurs ennemies fautes des armes défensives que les hommes blancs seuls pouvoient leur procurer.

Tous ces discours ne touchoient guere lesprit de ces bêtes féroces. Ils voyoient une grande pirogue remplis de butins qu'il leurs étoit facile d'envahir par la violence. Ainsi ils persistoient dans leurs mauvais desseins. Les Hanctons, les voyant obstiné {28} a nous vouloir maltraiter, leur dirent qu'ils ne vouloient pas qu'ils me fissent de mal a moi particulierement, que j'avois longtems fréquenté leur nation, que j'étois leur allié et leur parent; que leurs chefs, leurs vieillards, et leurs jeunes gens leur en feroient reproche s'ils souffroient qu'ils me tuassent en leur présence; qu'ils m'avoient promis par le serment du soleil et de la terre pour me faire venir a eux, que je ne seroit point maltraité; que j'avois fumé et mangé avec eux. Enfin la nuit se passa en de semblables contestations de part et d'autres.

Le lendemain, ils se retirerent; les seuls Hanctons resterent avec nous. Quelques uns féignirent daller a la chasse et revinrent sans avoir rien tué. Je m'apperçevois bien que mes garants etoient foibles. Celui qui m'avoit toujours porté la parole m'enmena dans sa cabane me fit manger et me dit que les Titons étoient de mauvais gens, qu'il craignois beaucoup pour moi et mes gens, qu'ils

They answered me insolently that they did not know the Spanish Father of whom I spoke; that the Tetons did not have any chiefs who were greater than others, that each man was chief of his own lodge;[52] that we Frenchmen were doing great wrong by carrying powder and balls to the Arikaras, against whom they were often at war; that this powder would only be used to kill the Sioux; that the Frenchmen who were already among the Rees were bad men, always speaking ill against them and urging that nation to kill them when they went there to parley in order to obtain tobacco,[53] and that we would do the same; that besides, the Arikaras whom we were seeking with so much haste had been attacked this summer by nations from the north;[54] that they had fled, abandoning their village, without taking the time to harvest their corn. I did not believe them, knowing Indians to be prolific in lies and evasions, especially when it is a matter of deterring Frenchmen from plans contrary to their interest. They were, however, telling me the truth, as we will see later.

I left them to argue the pros and cons among themselves, and I spent a sleepless night listening to them. The Yanktons approved the speech that I had given them, saying that their chief had gone at various times to the country of the French; that he had been well received by the Great Spanish Chief, the father of all Indian nations; that since that time they had always had an abundance of the merchandise so useful to life; that the French traveled throughout all the world; that they gladdened all the nations who received them well by bringing them fusils, powder, balls, knives, &c.; and that, on the contrary, the peoples whom the French do not visit are poor, exposed to hunger and to being vanquished by their enemies due to the lack of defensive firearms that the white men alone were able to procure for them.

All these speeches scarcely affected the disposition of these ferocious beasts. They saw a large pirogue filled with goods that would be easy for them to seize by force. Therefore they persisted in their evil designs. The Yanktons, seeing them determined to mistreat us, said that they did not want them to do harm to me in particular, that I had for a long time visited their nation, that I was their ally and their kinsman;[55] that their chiefs, old men, and young men would reproach them if they allowed me to be killed in their presence; that they had promised me under oath, by the sun and the earth, in order to make me come to them, that I would not be mistreated; that I had smoked and eaten with them. Finally the night passed with similar debate on all sides.

The next day they withdrew; only the Yanktons remained with us. Some pretended to go hunting and returned without having killed anything. I clearly perceived that my protectors were weak. The one who had always conversed with me led me into his lodge to feed me and said that the Tetons were bad people, that he greatly feared for me and my men, that there were so few of his

étoient si peu de sa nation qu'il les redoutoit eux mêmes. Je lui fis reproche qu'il m'avoit caché que cette bande étoit toute des Titons. Je lui rappellai son serment; je fis milles louanges de lui et de sa nation pour le bon traitement quelle a coutume de faire aux Français. Je l'encourageai a me tenir la main dans cette occasion. Il me promit qu'il {29} feroit son possible. Mais il me dit que les hommes blanc <les Fra[n]çais> souvroient les mauvais chemins par de gros présents de marchandises; quil ny avoit que ce moyen la d'adoucir les Titons, qui avoient touts de mauvais coeur; et qu'il pensoit que je délibérerois bien, c'est a dire, qu'il ne falloit bien [*sic,* rien] épargner pour avoir notre liberté. Je lui dis que lorsque quelques principaux coquins qui étoient a la chasse seroient revenus, je leur parlerois définitivement.

Il me conduisit a la pirogue et pour lors en attendant le retour des chasseurs, ils appellerent touts les hommes jeunes et vieux, les femmes, et enfants de tout age, des deux sexes, et m'obligerent de donner a chaque individû couteaux grands et petits, aleines, peignes, vermillon, et autres ménuités de toutes espêces. On peut juger que la dépense ne fut pas modique. Jetois au désespoire d'une telle profusion; elle nétoit pas a son dernier point. Que faire dans une conjoncture si dangereuses? Que pouvois-je leur opposer pour défences? Que de simples paroles dont ils faisoient peu de cas.

Après cette distribution ils apporterent {30} quelques peaux de castors et de chevreuil et me demanderent a les troquer pour des poudres, bals, et drap &c. Ils embarquerent sur ma voiture <en foule>; mes gens avoient toutes les peines possibles a garantir les vols. Ils massaillirent en foule. Enfin, ils m'enleverent poudre, bals, draps, couverte <blanche>, haches, pioches, vermillon, rassades, couteaux, sans me donner le tems de compter leurs pelleteries, encore moins de convenir de prix avec eux, quelqu[e] effort que je fis pour leur résister. Ce fut un vrai pillage. Mes sauf-gardes de la rivierre des Moins ne furent pas les moins partagés. L'avidité du butin chez touts les peuples sauvages est la passion dominante. Ceux cy oublierent là leur serment et leur bien veillance pour moi.

Apres cet assaut, ils se retirerent ne restant que quelques jeunes coquins qui nous faisoient enrager. Un d'entre eux m'appella a sa cabane; pendant que jetois absent ils enlevèrent nos deux chaudières de services et prirent deux fusils a mes gens. Je revins promptement a eux. Je pestai, je priai, je suppliai, mais inutilement. {31} Ils me dirent qu'un mechant vieillard, soutenu par plusieurs garçons, ses enfants et autres parents, avoit fait cette action, et qu'il faisoit touts ces efforts pour me faire arréter et piller.

Mon embarras et ma peine étoit sans égale. Je jugeai que le plutôt que je pourrois méloigner d'eux seroit le mieux. Quelques vieilles femmes m'avoient avertis qu'ils avoient envoyés des couriers avertir d'autres bandes qui étoient aux environs afin quils se rendissent promptement dans ce lieu. S'ils arrivoient

nation that they themselves feared them. I reproached him for keeping from me that this band was all Tetons. I reminded him of his oath; I made thousands of complimentary remarks about him and his nation for the good treatment that they ordinarily gave the French. I encouraged him to help me on this occasion. He promised me that he would do his best. But he told me that the white men <the French> would open up the bad roads by means of large presents of merchandise; that this was the only way to soothe the Tetons, all of whom had bad hearts; and that he thought I would deliberate carefully, that is to say, that it was necessary to spare nothing to gain our freedom. I said to him that when some of the principal rascals who were on the hunt returned, I would talk with them definitively.

He led me to the pirogue and while awaiting the return of the hunters, they called all the men, young and old, the women, and children of all ages and of both sexes, and compelled me to give to each individual large and small knives, awls, combs, vermillion,[56] and other small articles of all kinds. It may be judged that the expense was not small. I was in despair over such lavishness; it was not at its final extent. What was I to do in so dangerous a predicament? What excuses could I offer in our defense? Only simple words to which they paid little attention.

After this distribution they brought some beaver and deerskins and asked me to trade with them for powder, balls, cloth, &c. They came aboard my boat<en masse>; my men had every possible difficulty protecting against thefts. The crowd pressed upon me. Finally they took from me powder, balls, cloth, <white> blankets,[57] hatchets, pickaxes, vermillion, glass beads, and knives, without giving me time to count their peltries, even less to agree with them on a price, no matter what effort I made to resist them. This was genuine plunder. My protectors from the Des Moines River took more than a small share for themselves. The desire for goods among all Indian peoples is the dominant passion. They forgot their oath and their goodwill toward me.

After this assault, they withdrew with only some young rascals remaining to harass us. One of them called me to his lodge; while I was absent they stole our two cooking kettles and took two fusils from my men. I returned promptly to them. I raged, I entreated, I begged, but to no avail. They told me that an evil old man, supported by several young men, his children and other relatives, had done this deed, and that he was making every effort to have me stopped and pillaged.

My distress and my anguish were without equal. I decided that the sooner I was able to distance myself from them the better. Some old women warned me that they [the Tetons] had sent messengers to inform other bands that were nearby so they would come quickly to this place. If they arrived before my

avant mon départ, c'en étoit fait de toutes les marchandises. Pour partir il falloit leur parler, avoir non seulement leur consentement mais encore leur aide pour sortir notre pirogue, sans la décharger, du maudit chenail ou ils nous avoient trainés presque a sec.

J'arrangeai donc sur le sable promtement le présent que jétois forcé de leur faire, qui consistat en un baril de poudre, neuf a dix <sept a huit> aunes de draps, les balles proportionnellement, <quatre carottes de> tabac, <deux paquets de couteaux contenant deux dousaines chacun,> <quatre> pioches, <quatre> haches, quatre couvertes blanche et autre ménuitées <deux sac de vermillon, pierres a feu, tireboures, battefeux, etc.>. Je navois ny le tems propice ni laisance {32} d'en calculer le nombre et la valeur. Je fis venir les principaux; une partie y vint et plusieurs refuserent, du nombre des quelles fut cet infernal vieillard dont jai parlé.

J'étendis sur la grève ce drap bleü, simbole du beau chemin que je leur demandois. Je leur dis que je voulois partir ce jour même quoi que tard, alléguant que les eaux baissant toutes les nuits, ce qui étoit véritable. Je ne pourrois sortir de ce chenail si je tardois plus tard. Je leur reiterai la parole que le grand chef espagnol, leur pere, m'avoit chargé de leur porter ainsi qu'aux Ricaras <aux chefs titons, ses enfants>; qu'il falloit absolument que je my rendisses pour suivre sa volonté. Je les exhortai d'envoyer quelques jeunes gens auprès des chefs de leur nation les avertir de mon arrivée aux Ricaras; que je les attendois au primtems prochain au plus tard; qu'il vinssent a chasser des castors, loutres, et autres pelleteries, que je leur donnerois en échange des besoins que touts les peuples sauvages de l'univers trouvent si bons et si utils; qu'ils pouvoient être assurés qu'ils seroient bien {33} reçu des Ricaras et de moi; que mon coeur nétoit pas semblable a celui des Francais dont ils se plaignoient. Jen prenois les Hanctons <qui me connoissoient bien> qui étoient présent a témoins. Ces derniers m'approuverent, mais ces démons de Titons me répondirent les mêmes insolence que la veille, et davantage. Ils me dirent <qu'ils n'avoit point de pére espagnol,> quils avoient envoyé ce jour la des couriers a toutes les bandes de Sioux qui étoient aux environs plus haut et plus bas, les avertir quils avoient trouvés une grande pirogue chargé de marchandises pour les Ricaras; que jétois insensé de vouloir me rendre chez cette nation fugitive <qui s'etoit enfuis au millieu de l'été, ayant été attaqué par les sauvages du nord, avoit abandonnée ses cabanes sans sestre donnée le temps de récolter les maillis>; que le Missouris jusqu'au village des Ris et même plus haut étoit bordé <des deux côtés> de Sioux qui, étant avertis, me guêteroient de toute part, me pilleroient et peut etre me tueroient moi et mes gens, car, disoient-ils, les Titons n'ont point desprit; et qu'ils me conseilloient de rester avec eux et de bâtir une cabane d'hivernement; que touts les Titons viendroient trafiquer beaucoup de pelleteries avec moi. <Quant

departure, that would be it for all the merchandise. In order to leave I had to speak to them, to get not only their consent but also their help to move our pirogue, without unloading it, out of the accursed channel where they had nearly dragged us onto dry land.

I therefore promptly spread out on the sand the present that I was forced to make to them, which consisted of a barrel of powder, nine to ten <seven to eight> ells of cloth,[58] a proportionate number of balls, <four carrots of> tobacco, <two packets of knives containing two dozen each,> <four> pickaxes, <four> axes, four white blankets, and other small things <two sacks of vermillion, flints, gun worms, fire steels, etc.>. I had neither the necessary time nor the freedom to compute the number and the value. I asked the leading men to come; some came, and several refused, among whom was that diabolical old man of whom I have spoken.

I spread out on the shore a blue cloth, symbol of the good road that I was asking of them. I said to them that I wished to leave this very day even though it was late, arguing that the waters were becoming lower every night, which was true. I would not be able to leave this channel if I delayed longer. I reiterated to them the message that the Great Spanish Chief, their father, had charged me to bring to them and to the Arikaras <and to the Teton chiefs, his children>, that it was absolutely necessary that I go on to carry out his wishes. I urged them to send some young men to the chiefs of their nation nearby to advise them of my arrival among the Arikaras; that I would await them until the following spring at the latest; that if they were to go to hunt beaver, otter, and other peltries that I would give them in exchange the necessities that all the Indian peoples of the universe find so good and useful; that they might be assured they would be well received by the Arikaras and by me; that my heart was not like that of the Frenchmen about whom they complained. I called on the Yanktons who were present <who knew me well> as witnesses. The latter approved, but those Teton demons responded to me with the same insolence as the day before, and more. They told me <that they had no Spanish father>, that they had sent messengers that day to all the Sioux bands who were nearby, upstream and downstream, to inform them that they had found a large pirogue loaded with merchandise for the Arikaras; that I was senseless to want to go to this fugitive nation <that had fled in the middle of the summer, having been attacked by the Indians of the north, and had abandoned their lodges without taking the time to harvest the corn>; that the Missouri River up to the Ree village and even higher was bordered <on both sides> by Sioux who, once alerted, would be on the lookout for me everywhere, would pillage me, and perhaps kill me and my men, because, they said, the Tetons have no sense; and that they advised me to remain with them and build a wintering lodge; that all the Tetons would come

a la désertion des Ricaras, je ne voulus pas les croire, les voyageurs nouvellement revenus de cette nations m'ayant assuré qu'ils étoient fixés dans leur habitations, allant alternativement par bande a la chasse des beuf sauvages, et connoissant les sauvages fertils en ruses et en mensonges, je jugeai que ceux cy avoient inventés cette nouvelle pour me détourné de la résolutions que jetois de my rendre.>

{34} Je navois gardé d'accepter leur demande après les mauvais traitements que jen avois recus, et quils étoient encore prets a récidiver. J'avois plus lieu de craindre l'arrivée de quelqu'autre brigade de cette maudite nation qui m'auroit entierrement pillé que de consentir a faire résidence avec eux. Par quel moyen aurois-je pu résister une hiver entierre avec un peuple qui avouoit lui même sa férocité; gens qui nont aucune union, qui errent sans cesse par peloton, ne pouvant se rassembler dans un seul village sans se vôler, se piller, se massacrer, soit par un[e] envie, soit par jalousie, de la possession de quelques chevaux ou effets que les uns possédent plus que les autres; qui se querellent journellement pour les femmes, pour le jeu, et leurs querelles ne finissant jamais que par des combats sanglants ou il en reste toujours plusieurs sur la place, et font toujours rejaillir leur colere sur les étrangérs; peuples remplis de mauvais préjugés, attribuant ordinairement les accidents funestes qui leur arrivent, les maladies, les mortalitées, aux marchandises ou aux nourritures quils reçoivent des nations policées; gens avides du butin quils voyent sans jamais {35} en vouloir payer la valeur; suspec, violents, toujours pret a frapper a la moindre contradiction quils reçoivent; qui ne connoissent aucune subordination et ne craignent aucun étranger; qui violent aisement, sans aucun scrupule, les paroles et assurances de paix ou dalliance quils donnent ou reçoivent de leurs voisins.

Quelle tyrannye nauroient-ils pas exercés contre des François que le hasard avoit mis entre leurs mains, et quils savoient tres bien n'estre pas destinés pour eux, mais pour leurs ennemis? A quel excès la jalousie ne les auroit elle pas portée? Les Sioux insultés chez les Ris par les nommés Garaut et L'Auson <Lauson> n'auroient ils pas eu la plus belle occasion de se venger? Ils nous auroient dépouillés entierrement, non seulement de touts nos effets, mais encore de nos armes a feu, et nous auroient laissé périr par la faim sils ne nous eussent pas oté la vie eux mêmes.

Les Hanctons me faisoient signe de ne pas accepter cette proposition, n'osant pas le dire hautement crainte de leurs déplaire. Je refusai donc fermement ce quils me proposoient. {36} Je leur dis que je voulois partir incontinent, qu'ils vinssent a prendre ce que je leur donnois pour faire vivre leurs femmes et leurs enfants. Je les priai de me faire rendre les deux fusils et les deux chaudierres que leurs gens avoient pris; que je navois rien pour faire cuire notre manger. Ils me répondirent que cétoit impossible; que je pouvois partir, puisque moi

to trade many peltries with me. <As for the desertion of the Arikaras, I refused to believe them, the voyageurs who had recently returned from that nation having assured me that they were settled in their dwellings, going alternately by bands on the buffalo hunt, and knowing that the Indians were full of lies and trickery, I decided that they [the Tetons] had fabricated this information to dissuade me from my determination to go there.>

I took care not to accept their proposal after the bad treatment that I had received from them, and that they were still prepared to repeat. I had more reason to fear the arrival of some other brigade of this accursed nation that would have pillaged me entirely rather than agree to my taking up residence with them. By what means would I have been able to hold out for an entire winter against a people who themselves acknowledged their ferocity; people who are not united, who wander unceasingly in groups, unable to gather into a single village without stealing from one another, pillaging, and massacring each other, either from a desire for, or jealousy of, the possession of horses or goods that certain ones possess more than others; who quarrel daily over women, over gambling, and whose quarrels never end except in bloody combat in which several are always killed, and who always vent their anger on those of other nations; a people filled with evil prejudices, ordinarily blaming disastrous accidents that befall them, illnesses and deaths, on the merchandise or provisions that they receive from civilized nations; a people eager for the goods that they see without ever wishing to pay their worth; suspicious, violent, always ready to strike back at the least opposition that they receive; who know no subordination and fear no other nation; who easily and unscrupulously violate the words and assurances of peace or alliance that they give to or receive from their neighbors.

What tyranny would they not exercise against Frenchmen whom chance had placed in their hands, and who they knew very well were not headed for them, but for their enemies? To what excesses would jealousy carry them? Would not the Sioux who were insulted among the Rees by the men named Garaut and Lauson have had the most opportune occasion to avenge themselves? They would have stripped us entirely, not only of all our goods, but moreover of our firearms, and we would have been left to perish from hunger if they themselves had not taken our lives.

The Yanktons gave me a sign not to accept this proposal, not daring to say it aloud for fear of their [the Tetons'] displeasure. I therefore firmly refused what they proposed. I said to them that I wished to leave immediately, that they should come to take what I would give them to support their women and children. I begged them to give me back the two fusils and the two kettles that their men had taken; that I had nothing in which to cook our food. They answered me that it was impossible; that I could leave, seeing that my men and I were seeking

et mes gens, nous cherchions la mort. Ils se leverent touts et emporterent de mauvaises grace le présent que je leur faisoit, n'en trouvant pas assez.

Je fus pour lors quelques moments seuls. Je ne pouvois sortir de ce lieu sans aide, comme j'ai déja dit. De décharger ma pirogue pour l'alleger cétoit m'exposer derechef aux vols et au pillages. <Le temps me pressoit.> Je ne revoyois plus mes hommes de la nation des Hanctons; ils m'avoient abandonnés. Ils survint quelques vieilles femmes de cette nation qui mavoient connus sur la rivierre des Moins, qui me réiterent touts les mauvais desseins que les Titons avoient eus, et avoient encore, contre nous; que leurs hommes si [=s'y] étoient opposés paraport [=par rapport] a moi. Elles massurerent quils étoient cinq bandes de cette nation qui marchoient devent nous sur les bords du Missouris de chaque côté; {37} que vingt deux loges des mêmes devoient présentement être sorties en bas, aux environs de la rivierre Blanche. Elles me conseilloient avec de grandes démonstrations de ne marcher que la nuit et de me cacher le jour; que sils nous voyoient nous étions perdus. Je leur promis de le faire. Je les remerciai de leur avertissement. Mais je nétois pas sortis de ce lieu. Dans ce moment d'autres femmes rappellérent avec force et précipitation celle[s] cy et firent retirer leurs enfants qui étoient aupres de nous. Je préjugai, et non faussement, quils se tramoit quelques mauvais coups contre nous.

Je montai promptement la côte. Je marchai droit a la cabane de celui qui m'avoit donné le premier la main sur la batture. Je lui demandai ce qui se passoit. Il ne me répondit point. Je lui reprochai de m'avoir abbandonné contre ses promesses. Il me dit qu'il n'avoit pas le coeur content; que les Titons avoient partagés le présent entre eux; que ny lui ny ses gens n'avoient eu aucune part; que le vieillard dont jai parlé et ses jeunes gens n'avoient pas voulus se trouver au {38} partage; enfin, quils vouloient frapper sur nous. Je le pressai si fort par les louanges que je donnai a lui et a tout son village <en lui faisant promesse de le récompemces [*sic*] de venir avec ses gens m'aider a sortir de ce lieu>, les vieilles femmes de sa cabanne m'aidant de leur part, qu'il sortit de sa loge et vint avec moy accompagné de cinq de ses gens.

A peine fumes nous arrivé au bord de leau <a la voiture> que nous entendimes un grand bruit dans le camp, des pleurs, des hurlements de femmes qui crioient, «Ils vont tirer sur les Français.» Elles paraissoient touttes s'interesser a notre conservation. Cétoit peut être en reconnoissance des couteaux et aleines que javois été forcé de leur distribuer <la veille>. Nous apperçûmes plusieurs hommes, les armes a la main, qui couroient de çà de là au travers du bois, d'autres qui les poursuivoient pour s'opposer a leur dessein. Ceux qui m'accompagnoient, au nombre de six seulement, me pressoient de partir. Je les priai encore de m'aider a rendre notre voiture a la grande eau, leur promettant de leur donner a chaqu'un une couverte blanche <et, au plus considérable d'eux, une

death. They all arose and with bad grace carried away the presents that I made to them, finding them insufficient.

I was then alone for a few moments. I was not able to leave this place without aid, as I have already said. To unload my pirogue to lighten it was to expose myself once again to theft and pillage. <Time was pressing me.> I no longer saw my men of the Yankton nation; they had abandoned me. Unexpectedly, there arrived some old women of that nation who had known me on the Des Moines River, who reiterated all the bad intentions that the Tetons had had, and had still, against us; that their men [the Yanktons] had opposed them out of regard for me. They assured me that there were five bands of that nation that journeyed ahead of us along the Missouri on both sides; that twenty-two lodges of the same would presently be below, in the vicinity of White River. They advised me with great displays of feeling to travel only at night and to hide during the day; that if they [the Tetons] saw us, we were lost. I promised them to do so. I thanked them for their warning. But I had not left this place. At that moment some other women called to them loudly and hurriedly and made their children who were near us return. I concluded, and not erroneously, that they [the Tetons] were plotting some evil deed against us.

I promptly climbed the bank. I walked straight to the lodge of the one who had first given me his hand on the sandbar. I asked him what was happening. He did not answer me. I reproached him for having abandoned me contrary to his promises. He told me that his heart was not pleased; that the Tetons had divided the presents among themselves; that neither he nor his people had received any part; that the old man of whom I have spoken and his young men had refused to be in on the division; finally, that they intended to attack us. I pressed him so hard with words of praise that I bestowed on him and all his village <promising him recompense to come with his men to help me leave this place>, the old women of his lodge assisting me on their part, that he left his lodge and came with me accompanied by five of his men.

Scarcely had we arrived at the water's edge <at the boat> than we heard a great noise in the camp caused by the weeping and yelling of women who cried out, "They are going to fire on the Frenchmen!" They all appeared to be interested in our preservation. This was perhaps in acknowledgment of the knives and awls that I had been forced to distribute to them <the day before>. We perceived several men, weapons in hand, who were running here and there through the woods, and others who were following them to oppose their plan. Those who accompanied me, only six in number, urged me to leave. I begged them again to help me get our boat into deeper water, promising to give them each a white blanket <to the most important of them, a fathom of cloth >. All

brasse de drap>. Ils se prirent tous six avec nous après les bords de la pirogue. Nous la rendimes au grand chenail avec plus de facilitée <céleritée> que nous n'avions eu pour entrer, quoi que nous fusions beaucoup {39} plus de monde, tant les approches du péril donnent des forces et du courage pour se sauver. Je leur tins parole en leur donnant ce que je leur avois promis.

Je traversai aussitot sur lautre rive. Le soleil étoit pret a se coucher. Je fis route en montant, toujours a la vue de ces coquins, et méditant de quelle manierre je pourrois échapper des mains de ces tigres et de leurs semblables.

La rivierre dans cette endroit forme un détour de dix <quatre a cinq> lieues de long <de la rivierre Blanche au Grand Détour, vingt lieux; du Grand Détour au Petit Missourie, vingt cinq lieux; du Petit Missourie au villages des Ricaras, quinze lieux> de sorte que les sauvages que je laissois pouvoit en deux ou trois <trois [ou] quatre> heures par terre me rejoindre apres deux journée <une journée> entierre de marche par eau. J'avois tout lieu de craindre quils me poursuivroient le lendemain dans la disposition ou je les avois laissé. Jétois assuré quil y en avoit d'autre en haut et en bas de nous que je ne pouvois éviter, métant impossible de naviguer de nuit sur une rivierre qui est si peu profonde dans cette saison que nous étions souvent obligés d'alléger notre voiture des plombs et autres charges pésantes, faisant de petits portages de distance en distance pour passer. D'ailleurs, selon les indices que <S^{r} Jacques dÉglise et> Quenneville m'avoit {40} donné, nouvellement revenus des Ricaras, et que javois tracé sur une feuille de papier, de la quantitée des rivierres qui se déchargent dans le Missouris depuis l'entrée de la rivierre Platte jusque au village des Ricaras et autres endroits remarquables, je jugeai que nous pouvions être environ a quarante lieues des Ricaras. Cétoit bien facheux, apres avoir fait tant de chemin, pour y parvenir, de reculer. Nous mettre en cache nous et nos effets, ce ne pouvoit être. Les sauvages que je craignois parroissoient vouloir chasser toute l'automne dans ce lieu; de plus nous étions sans aucunes vivres. La faim nous tourmentoit. Il me restoit pour toute provisions environ trente livres de farine <et un quart de minot de maillir [*sic,* maillis]>. C'etoit peu pour neuf hommes affamés.

Dans cette extremitée je ne trouvai d'autres partis a prendre que de mettre les marchandises qui me restoient, ainsi que notre pirogue, en cache et de nous en aller tous par terre aux Ricaras que, l'on m'avoit assuré, être fixés dans leurs habitations, et de revenir avec une bonne escorte chercher la pirogue et les effets. J'éxécutai cette résolution, qui n'étoit pas toute fois sans risque car les Sioux pouvoient découvrir notre cache et l'enlever entierrement. Mais je doutois bien qu'ils ne traverseroient pas {41} la rivierre en cette endroit, croyant que nous aurions fait route en montant toute la nuit et le lendemain. Ils nous auroient poursuivis par l'autre coté du Missouris, qui étoient <sans doute> le chemin le

six of them with us took hold along the sides of the pirogue. We returned it to the main channel with more ease <speed> than we had experienced on entering, although we then had many more people, so much does the approach of peril give the strength and courage to escape. I kept my word by giving them what I had promised.

I crossed immediately to the other bank. The sun had nearly set. I traveled upstream, always in sight of these rascals, and pondering in what way I would be able to escape from the hands of these tigers and those like them.

The river in this place forms a bend of ten <four to five> leagues in length[59] <from the White River to the Great Bend, twenty leagues; from the Great Bend to the Little Missouri,[60] twenty-five leagues; from the Little Missouri to the villages of the Arikaras, fifteen leagues> so that the Indians I left would be able in two or three <three or four> hours overland to catch up with me after two entire days <one day> of travel by water. I had every reason to fear that they would pursue me the next day in the frame of mind in which I had left them. I was certain that there were others upstream and downstream from us whom I would not be able to avoid, it being impossible for me to navigate at night on a river that is so shallow in this season that we were often obliged to lighten our boat of lead shot and other heavy articles, making little portages at various points in order to pass through. Besides, according to the indications that <Sieur Jacques d'Eglise and> Quenneville, who had recently returned from the Arikaras, had given me, and that I had drawn on a sheet of paper, of the number of rivers that enter the Missouri from the mouth of the Platte River up to the village of the Arikaras and other prominent places, I judged that we must be about forty leagues from the Arikaras. It would have been very unfortunate to turn back after having traveled so far to reach them. To put ourselves and our goods in hiding was impossible. The Indians whom I feared seemed intent on hunting all through the autumn in this region; moreover, we were without any provisions. We were tormented by hunger. There remained as our entire provisions about thirty *livres* of flour <and a quarter of a *minot* of corn>. This was not much for nine famished men.

In this extremity I did not find any other course to take than to hide my remaining merchandise, as well as our pirogue, and for us all to go overland to the Arikaras who, I was assured, were settled in their dwellings, and to return with a good escort to get the pirogue and the goods. I carried out this resolution, which was not altogether without risk, for the Sioux might discover our cache and carry everything away. But I really doubted that they would cross the river at this place, thinking that we would have traveled upriver all night and the next day. They would have followed us on the other side of the Missouri, which was <no doubt> the shortest and easiest way, for on the western side of

plus court et le plus beau, car sur la partie occidentale du Missouris a l'endroit ou je voulois faire cache, sélêvent des côtes et des rochérs si escarpées que le chemin en est impratiquable.

Nous marchâmes donc l'espace de deux lieuës le long de ces côtes, la rivierre se trouvant assez profonde pour ne pas échouer. Nous arrêtames et nous fumes a la recherche d'un endroit propice a notre dessein. La lune, qui arrivoient a son plein, nous en facilitoit le moyen. Ce fut dans ce moment qu'il sembla que la nature voulut nous secourir, car étant entré dans une ravine profonde par un sentier fort étroit et croche, nous trouvâmes un demi souterain, le plus propre du monde pour faire cache. Nous y transportâmes promptement tous nos effets. Les ayant mis en bon ordre, nous retournâmes a notre pirogue. Il falloit aussi la cacher, ce qui n'étoit pas peu difficile, elle étoit si grande et si lourde que nous ne pouvions la tirer a sec dans aucun endroit. Nous la montâmes une lieuë plus haut. {42} Nous l'enfonçâmes au fond de leau par le moyen de plusieurs trou de terriere [=tarière] que mes gens perçerent dans la solle et de quantitée de pierre que nous jettames dedans.

Toutes ces ouvrages finies, le jour approchoit. Il falloit fuire crainte destre vû. Nous traversâmes plusieurs côtes escarpées, nous descendions dans les ravines profondes remplies de futayes épaisses, qui nous fatiguerent le reste de la nuit. Au soleil levant nous nous trouvames dans de vaste prairies ou on ne voyoit que le ciel et la terre. Nous restâmes la journée entierre cachés dans un trou, sans boire ni manger. C'étoit le troisième jour du mois d'octobre. Le soir, préssés par la soif, nous gagnames un petit ruisseau ou nous fimes cuire des galettes de la farine que javois emporté pour notre voyage.

Le quatre du mois <cetoit le troisiême jour dû mois d'octobre, dans la nuit> nous nous éloignâmes a plus de deux lieuës de la rivierre dans les grandes prairies, et nous marchâmes <le quatre> la journée entierre sans trouver d'eau. Le cinquième nous approchames du Missouris vers midy, poussés par la faim et la soif a tout hasard dêtre découvert. Nous eûmes le bonheur de tuer une biche. Nous passâmes le reste de la journée et la nuit a faire secher la viande au feu <aprés nous être bien rassasier>. Nous apperçumes des feux <des Scioux> qui sélevoient de toutes parts, en haut et en bas, et sur la partie même où nous étions.

Aucun de nous ne connoissoit ce païs. Nous ne {43} pouvions suivre de près la rivierre, crainte d'être découvert par les Sioux. Il falloit faire route a deux et trois lieuës au large <prenant bien garde de ne pas montes [=monter]* sur les haut[eu]r>. Nous ne trouvions dans le cours de la journée aucun ruisseau où il y eut de leau pour étancher notre soif. Le soir il falloit nécessairement détourner notre chemin de plus de deux lieuës pour trouver leau, encore ne trouvâmes

* The scribe for the Seville version frequently wrote the -er endings as -es. Subsequent occurrences are not corrected editorially.

the Missouri at the place where I wished to make the cache, there rose ridges and rock formations so steep that the way was impassable.

We advanced then a distance of two leagues along these hills, the river being sufficiently deep that we did not run aground. We stopped and sought a place suitable for our plan. The moon, which was nearly full, aided us in our purpose. At this moment it seemed that nature wished to help us, for after having entered a deep ravine by a very narrow and crooked path, we found a shallow cave, the most suitable place in the world for making a cache. We promptly carried all our goods there. Having put them in good order, we returned to our pirogue. It was necessary to hide it also, which was more than a bit difficult, it being so large and so heavy that we were not able to pull it onto dry land anywhere. We took it a league farther upstream. We sank it to the bottom of the water by means of several auger-holes that my men drilled into the bottom of the boat and a large quantity of stones that we threw into it.

When all these tasks were finished, day was approaching. We had to flee for fear of being seen. We crossed several steep hills and we descended into deep gullies filled with tall trees, which tired us the rest of the night. At sunrise we found ourselves on vast prairies where one could see only the sky and the earth. We spent the entire day hidden in a hole, neither drinking nor eating. It was the 3rd of October. In the evening, driven by thirst, we found a little stream where we cooked some flatbread from the flour I had carried along for our journey.

On the 4th of the month <it was the 3rd of October, during the night> we withdrew more than two leagues from the river onto the vast prairies, and we traveled <on the fourth> the entire day without finding water. On the 5th, impelled by hunger and thirst, we approached the Missouri toward noon at the risk of being discovered. We had the good luck to kill a cow elk. We spent the rest of the day and the night drying the meat over the fire <after we had eaten our fill>. We perceived the fires <of the Sioux> that burned on all sides, above and below, and even in the locality where we were.

None of us knew this country. We could not follow along near the river for fear of being discovered by the Sioux. We had to travel two to three leagues inland <taking great care not to go up on the hills>. We found no stream in the course of the day that had water to quench our thirst. In the evening we had to take a detour of more than two leagues to find water, yet more than once we found very bad saline waters. In short, having the sun as a guide during the

nous plus d'une fois que de très mauvaise eaux salées. Enfin, le jour ayant le soleil pour guide et la nuit les étoiles, nous marchâmes cinq jours avec la peur, la faim, la soif, les pieds toujours remplis de piquants, que les voyageurs nomment pommes de raquettes, dont la surface de ces prairies est couverte.

La sixieme journée au matin, neuvieme du mois, nous découvrimes le village des Ricaras. Touts satisfaits, nous croyons notre misere finie et notre vie en suretée. Mais notre joye ne dura pas longtems, car ayant éxaminé avec attention de dessus une cote élevé la place ou nous paroissoient ces cabanes, je ne voyois personne aux environs ni aucune fumée sortir du sommet de leurs demeures. Je presentis tout aussitot qu'elles étoient vides, et que les Sioux ne m'avoient que trop dit la véritée.

{44} Nous continuames notre chemin, et entrâmes dans ces habitations, abandonnés depuis plus de deux mois. Toutes ces cabanes étoient délabrées et a demy brulées par les ennemis. Nous y trouvâmes quantitée de soulier, des peaux de boeuf en parchemin, et toutes sortes d'ustanciles de leur usage, qu'ils ne s'étoient pas donné le tems de cacher <ou d'emporter> dans leurs fuitte.

Les champs étoient couverts de méchantes citrouilles que mes gens firent cuire dans un grand feu pour assouvir leur faim. Nous y passâmes la nuit, touts chagrins et inquiets de l'avenir. Nos espérances étoient trompées, notre seule ressource évanouie par la désertion des Ricaras. Que faire? Que devenir? Quelqu'uns de mes gens opinoient quils falloient suivre leur chemin jusqu'au lieu ou ils pourroient être arrêtés pour l'hivernement. D'autres disoient qu'ils seroient mieux de poursuivre route jusqu'à la nation mandanne située a plus de cent lieues de celle cy.

Je ne reçu aucuns de ces avis. Il étoit extravagant d'entreprendre de si longues routes dans un pays inconnus sans vivres; plus encore imprudent d'abandonner au hazard les marchandises mises en cache, sans savoir en quel tems nous pourrions y revenir. Elles pouvoient etre trouvés par les sauvages ou {45} endommagés par les injures du tems. Je résolus d'y retourner promptement, de descendre le Missouris avec méfiances jusques au delà des passages ordinaire des Sioux, étant touts déterminés de nous battre jusques a la mort plutot que de nous laisser prendre ni par eau ni par terre par ces démons.

Le lendemain, dixieme du mois d'octobre, apres nous être bien munis de souliers de cuire de boeuf a semelle, nous retournâmes sur nos pas. J'arrêtai environ a trois lieuës de la pour chasser <en decá dans un lieux ou il nous parut y avoir des chevreuil>. Un de mes gens trouva un chevreuil que les loups sortoient détrangler, qui nous fit faire un bon repas.

Le onzieme et le douzieme, nous pratiquâmes la même route que nous avions tenus en allant. Nous couchâmes en rase campagnes sans feu, sans eau, et sans vivres.

day and the stars at night, we traveled five days with fear, hunger, and thirst, our feet always full of thorns that the voyageurs call *pommes de raquettes*,[61] with which these prairies are covered.

The sixth day in the morning, the 9th of the month, we discovered the village of the Arikaras.[62] Very pleased, we believed our misery at an end and our lives safe. But our joy did not last long, for having examined carefully from the top of a high hill the place where the lodges came into our sight, I saw no one in the vicinity nor any smoke issuing from the tops of their dwelling-places. I perceived immediately that they were empty, and that the Sioux had indeed told the truth.

We continued on our way and entered the dwellings, abandoned more than two months ago. All of these lodges were wrecked and half burned by the enemy. We found there a large number of moccasins, parchment buffalo hides, and all kinds of tools that they use, which they had not taken the time to hide <or to carry away> in their flight.

The fields were covered with bad pumpkins that my men cooked in a large fire to appease their hunger. We spent the night there, very distressed and uncertain about the future. Our hopes were dashed, our only resource vanished with the desertion of the Arikaras. What to do? What was to become of us? Some of my men suggested that they attempt to follow their trail up to the place where they might have stopped for the winter. Others said that it would be better to follow the route up to the Mandan nation, situated more than one hundred leagues from this one.

I did not welcome any of these views. It was absurd to undertake such a long journey in an unknown land without provisions; still more imprudent to leave to chance the merchandise that we had cached, not knowing when we would be able to return. It could be found by Indians or damaged by the effects of weather. I resolved to return to it promptly, to descend the Missouri with caution until beyond the usual crossing places of the Sioux, being quite determined to fight to the death rather than be taken on either water or land by these demons.

The next day, the 10th of October, after we supplied ourselves well with moccasins of buffalo hide with soles, we retraced our steps. I stopped about three leagues from there to hunt <below in a place where we thought there were deer>. One of my men found a deer that the wolves had just strangled, which gave us a good meal.

On the 11th and 12th we followed the same route by which we had come. We slept on the open prairies without fire, without water, and without food.

Le treizieme au matin, nous arrivâmes sur une petitte rivierre nommée Petit Missouris <a la gauche du Missourie>. Cette rivierre est fort petitte. L'eau ni coule pas en cette saison; elle ne s[']y tient que par trou. Voyant bien des pistes de chevreuil, mes gens me demanderent a y rester une journée ou deux tant pour y chasser que pour se reposer. J'i consentis, n'ayant plus rien a manger <depuis deux jours> {46} et étant tous fatigués de la route que nous avions déja fait, tant le jour que la nuit. Nous y restames ce jour la. Le lendemain, quatorzieme du mois, mes gens tuèrent deux chevreuils.

Le quinze, seize, et dix sept, nous fimes route avec les mêmes peines pour l'eau et toujours en crainte dêtre découvert par les Sioux, dont on voyoit les feux sélever de toute part autour de nous.

Le dix huit <dix sept>, nous tuâmes un boeuf fort maigre; mes gens en prirent quelques morceaux. Nous trouvant pres d'un trou d'eau, ils nétoyerent le ventre de ce boeuf, en firent une espèce d'urne portatifs qu'ils remplirent d'eau pour boire en marchant. L'apres midy, ayant approché le Missouris, nous traversâmes un chemin de Sioux passés la veille. Je le suivis jusqu'a leur campement. Ils étoient au nombre de vingt huit loges. Ils paroissoient aller sur le Petit Missouris, d'ou nous venions. Dieu nous avoit préservés de leur rencontre, mais je craignois fort qu'ils eussent passés a l'endroit de notre cache. Étant arrivés sur le bord du Missouris, nous reconnûmes qu'ils venoient de l'autre partie et avoient traversés plus haut.

Le 19eme <dix huit>, nous marchâmes le long de la rivierre jusqu'a notre pirogue, que nous trouvâmes telle que nous l'avions mise. L'ayant vuidée d'eau, nous {47} descendimes a l'endroit de notre cache de marchandises, qui se trouverent en même situation.

Le lendemain 20eme <dix neuvieme>, je résultai de faire cache de douze a treize cent livres de plomb, cent cinquante pioches et haches, et d'une caisse de quatre grosses de couteaux. Deux fortes raisons me firent prendre ce parti. La premierre, les eaux étant si basses en cette saison que je ne pouvois descendre qu'avec beaucoup de peine ayant une charge si pésante a trainer dans les battures, et si par malheur je rencontrois les Sioux qui chassoient plus bas, il métoit impossible d'échapper de leur main par la fuitte <de nuit>, étant si chargé. La deuzieme, devant remonter au primtems ma pirogue seroit plus allégée et par conséquent je pourrois faire meilleure route. Cette cache étant faite, je partis et vins camper a trois lieuës plus bas.

Le 21 <vingt>, jai fait route la journée entierre. J'arrétai deux heures avant le soleil couchant. Deux de mes gens étant allés a la chasse trouverent les pistes de deux hommes passés du jour même qui alloient en descendant.

Le lendemain, 22eme <vingt-et-un>, notre chasseur Noël Charron, étant allé a la chasse revint aussitot me {48} rapporter quil avoit vû la place ou avoit été

On the 13th in the morning we came to a little river named Little Missouri <on the left of the Missouri>.[63] This river is very small. Water does not flow there during this season; it remains only in potholes. Seeing clearly the tracks of deer, my men asked me to remain there a day or two both to hunt and to rest. I agreed to it, having nothing left to eat <had not eaten for two days> and being very tired from the journey that we had already made, both day and night. We stayed there that day. The next day, the 14th of the month, my men killed two deer.

On the 15th, 16th, and 17th we traveled with the same difficulty for lack of water, continually fearful of being discovered by the Sioux, whose fires we saw burning on all sides of us.

On the 18th <17th> we killed a very emaciated buffalo; my men took some pieces of it. Finding ourselves near a water hole, they cleaned the stomach of the buffalo, making of it a kind of portable bag that they filled with water to drink while traveling. In the afternoon, having approached the Missouri, we crossed a trail taken by Sioux the day before. I followed it up to their encampment. They numbered twenty-eight lodges. They appeared to be going up the Little Missouri, whence we had come. God had preserved us from meeting them, but I feared strongly that they had passed by the place of our cache. Having arrived at the edge of the Missouri, we saw that they came from the other side and had crossed higher up.

On the 19th <18th> we traveled along the river to our pirogue, which we found just as we had left it. Having emptied it of water, we descended to the place of our cache of merchandise, which was found in the same situation.

The next day, the 20th <19th>, I resolved to make a cache of twelve to thirteen hundred *livres* of lead, one hundred fifty pickaxes and axes, and a case of four gross of knives. Two good reasons led me to this decision. First, the waters being so low in this season that I could go downstream only with much difficulty with so heavy a load to drag over the sandbars, and if unfortunately I met the Sioux who were hunting lower down, it would be impossible for me to escape from their hands by flight <at night>, being so heavily laden. Second, since I had to return in the spring, my pirogue would be lighter and consequently I would be able to travel more easily. This cache being made, I left and camped three leagues downstream.

On the 21st <20th> I traveled the entire day. I stopped two hours before sunset. Two of my men who had gone hunting found the tracks of two men made the same day who were going downriver.

The next day, the 22nd <21st>, our hunter Noël Charron, having gone hunting, returned quickly to report to me that he had seen a place where a deer had

tué un chevreuil, dont le sang parroissoit encore sur les feuilles. Je pensai que ce ne pouvoit être que des chasseurs de la nation Sçiouse qui auroient traversés sur cette partie a la découverte des boeufs sauvages, et que leur camp de loges ne* pouvoient être éloignés, et même sur l'autre rive du Missouris. Je me trompois. Jétois plus près d'eux que je ne croyois. Je restai ce jour là au même endroit pour tacher de découvrir ce que ce pouvoit être avant d'être vus. Je fus moi même sur le soir a la découverte, mais je ne vis ni n'entendis rien.

Cétoit le troisieme jour que nous ne mangions que des boutons de rose sauvages que nous trouvions de ça de là. Mes gens, tourmentés par la faim, firent rotir <bouillire> deux peaux de chevreuil verte que nous mangeames; mauvais regals.

Le 23 <vingt deux> au matin, parut un chevreuil sur le bord d'une batture pres de notre campement. Nous embarquâmes pour aller le tirer avec grand désir dans notre nécessitée de le tuer. La providence nous préserva là d'un nouveau malheur. Le chevreuil s'enfuit et bien nous en püt de n'avoir pu le tirer. Nous passâmes au large et nous laissant aller doucement au cours de l'eau, touts pensifs, inquiets, et chagrins de tant de traverses et de peines. Nous entendimes des cris et des hurlements de chiens {49} que l'on battoit. Ces cris partirent du fond de la pointe de bois que nous suivions.

J'approchai promptement terre. A l'abrie de quelques chicots et des écorres je descendis a terre. Je me glissai sur le ventre j'usqu'a une petitte élévation don je pus découvrir la route qu'ils prenoient. Je vis une troupe nombreuse de femmes, d'enfant, avec tout leur attirail de chevaux, de chiens, qui sortoient de la pointe de bois environ a vingt arpents de nous et s'acheminoient en<re>-montant <le Missourie> dans la prairie. <Je distingois facilementleur langage. Je reconnus que cetoit un village scioux qui étoit en marche.> Je les regardai quelques moments défiler sans qu'ils me vissent. Ayant entendu la voix d'un homme qui paroissoit venir vers nous, je fus embarqué promptement. Nous nous éloignames a force de râmes, les eaux étoient si basses que notre pirogue toucha les sables a plusieurs endroits. La pointe de bois se trouvant longue et épaisse, nous garantit dêtre vus par eux. Nous forcames la marche ce jour là fort tard et le lendemain toute la journée. Un de nos gens tuà un chevreuil de l[']an que nous mangeames d'un seul repas. Les gens que nous avions vûs les derniers étoient sans doute les vingt deux loges que les vieilles femmes m'avoient dit devoir sortir aux environs {50} de la rivierre Blanche.

Étant parvenus quelques lieuës plus bas que cette rivierre, nous nous sentimes un peu plus assurés, étant hors des endroits les plus fréquentés par les Sioux. Nous trouvames pour lors des bètes fauves suffisamment pour vivre.

* "Ne" added above the line.

been killed, the blood of which was still visible on the leaves. I thought that this could only be attributed to some hunters of the Sioux nation who had crossed in this place searching for buffalo, and that their camp of lodges must be far off, and even on the other side of the Missouri. I was mistaken. I was nearer to them than I thought. I remained this day at the same place to try to discover what the situation might be before being seen. I myself went scouting in the evening, but I neither saw nor heard anything.

It was the third day that we ate only wild rose hips that we found here and there. My men, tormented by hunger, roasted <boiled> two fresh deerskins that we ate—poor fare.

The 23rd <22nd> in the morning a deer appeared on the edge of a sandbar near our camp. We embarked to go shoot it, eager in our need to kill it. Providence protected us there from a new misfortune. The deer fled and luckily kept us from being able to shoot it. We pushed off and let ourselves go gently along with the current, very pensive, uneasy, and despondent over so many adversities and troubles. We heard cries and the howling of dogs being beaten. Those cries came from the depths of the wooded point that we were following.

I approached the shore promptly. In the shelter of some tree stumps and the river bluffs I went ashore. I crawled on my stomach up a little elevation from which I was able to observe the route that they were taking. I saw a numerous band of women and children, with all their entourage of horses and dogs, which was emerging from the wooded point about twenty *arpents*[64] from us and traveling up <the Missouri> on the prairie. <I easily identified their language. I recognized that this was a Sioux village that was on the march.> I watched them walking in procession for several moments without their seeing me. Having heard the voice of a man who appeared to be coming toward us, I embarked promptly. We pulled away using the oars, the water being so low that our pirogue touched the sand in several places. The wooded point was long and thick, protecting us from being seen by them. We pushed our travel this day very late and all day long the next day. One of our men killed a yearling deer that we ate at a single meal. The people whom we had just seen were undoubtedly the twenty-two lodges that the old [Yankton] women had told me would leave from the vicinity of White River.

Having gotten several leagues below this river, we felt a little more secure, being beyond the places most frequented by the Sioux. We then found a sufficient number of wild animals for our subsistence. We descended by short stages.

Nous descendions a petitte journée. Les chevreuils, les biches, et les boeufs sauvages courroient par troupeaux de chaque bord du Missouris. Nous voila donc dans une grande abondance de vivres apres avoir bien jeuné. Moy et mes gens nous étions tout a fait chagrins de n'avoir pû parvenir chez les nations ou nous devions aller cette automne par la rencontre de cette maudite nation siouse et par la fuitte des Ricaras, qui nous a été tres désavantageuse.

Nos espérances commencerent a renaitre, au moins pour ne plus manquer de vivres car javois eu bien des ébats avec plusieurs de mes gens qui, s'étant crus souvent perdus dans les prairies ou absolument morts, soit par la faim, par la soif, ou par la main des Sioux, maudissoient a chaque instant le moment ou ils s'étoient embarqués pour un tel voyage. Javois toujours ranimé leur courage par mes paroles et mon exemple. {51} Mais le moyen le plus infaillible pour ramener la gaiétée et procurer le repos dans l'esprit de certaines gens est de leur bien faire emplire le ventre.

Il ne sagissoit donc plus que de choisir un lieu convenable pour passer l'hivers, n'ayant point d'autres ressources pour vivres que la chasse, et de nous mettres dans un endroit non fréquenté ny par les Sioux ni par d'autres nations en attendant le primtems pour remonter. Jarrétai a <environ> dix lieues plus haut que le village des Poncas, sçachant tres bien que cette nation étoit dans cette saison bien éloignée de leur village a la recherche de boeuf sauvages, et que les Sioux ne viennent jamais chasser sur leurs terres, étant en guerre avec eux.

[NOVEMBER 4, 1794]

Ce fut le 4eme novembre que je pris la place d'une cabane divernement [=d'hivernement], résolus de nous y bien fortifier contre les attaques des barbares. Toujours en crainte de quelques événements imprévus, je fis en arrivant creuser un trou bien profond pour y cacher les marchandises les plus propices pour les nations du haut Missouris ou je devais aller, voulant encore faire une cache du reste dans l'enceinte de notre cabane quand elle seroit construite ne réservant que ce qui nous étoit absolument nécessaire pour vivre. {52} Auparavant que d'enfermer les marchandises dans la terre, jai inventorisé ce qu'il y en avoit pour m'assurer de la quantitée que j'avois perdu par la main des Sioux. <La perte que je reçus par les Scioux fut asser grande, car les pelteries que je reçus d[']eux ne se montoient pas a deux cent livres.> Cette vérification faite, je fis mettre la plus forte partie des effets dans ce trou après en avoir pris un état, les ayant bien conditionnées, étant moy même fort expert de ces sortes de cache, dont javois fait souvent usage lorsque je fus trois années consécutives résidant a la nation des Panis Républicains. De plus encore, pour mieux cacher la place, mes gens firent un petit canot de chasse sur l'ouverture du trou, de sorte que la quantitée de coupeaux qui étoient entassés dessus en effaçoient jusqu'aux moindres vestiges.

Deer, elk, and buffalo roamed in herds on each side of the Missouri. There we were, then, with a great abundance of food after having fasted. My men and I were completely in despair at not having been able to reach the nations that we had intended to visit this autumn because of the meeting with this accursed Sioux nation and because of the flight of the Arikaras, which was very disadvantageous to us.

Our hopes began to revive, at least from no longer lacking food, for I really had a time with several of my men who, often believing us lost on the prairie or surely to die from hunger, thirst, or at the hands of the Sioux, were continually cursing the moment when they had embarked on such a voyage. I had always rekindled their courage by my words and my example. But the most infallible way to restore spirits and bring about repose of mind in certain people is to have them fill their stomachs well.

It was only a matter, then, of choosing a suitable place to spend the winter, having no resources for provisions other than the hunt, and to locate ourselves in a place unfrequented either by the Sioux or by other nations while awaiting spring in order to return upriver. I stopped at <about> ten leagues above the village of the Poncas, knowing very well that this nation was in this season very far away from their village in search of buffalo, and that the Sioux, being at war against them, never come to hunt on their lands.

NOVEMBER 4, 1794

It was the 4th of November when I chose the place for a wintering cabin, resolved to well fortify ourselves against Indian attacks. Always in fear of some unexpected event, I had a very deep hole dug upon arriving to hide therein the merchandise most suitable for the nations of the upper Missouri where I was to go, still intending to make a cache of the remainder within the walls of our cabin when it was finished, reserving only that which was absolutely necessary for us to live. Before hiding the merchandise in the ground, I inventoried what there was to ascertain the quantity that I had lost at the hands of the Sioux. <The loss that I sustained from the Sioux was fairly large, for the peltries that I received from them did not amount to 200 *livres*.> This examination made, I had the greater portion of the goods placed in the hole after making a list of them and packing them correctly, being myself very expert in these kinds of caches, of which I had made frequent use when I lived for three consecutive years with the nation of the Republican Pawnees.[65] In addition, to better hide the place, my men made a little hunting canoe over the top of the hole, so that the large quantity of wood chips that was amassed above effaced even the least sign.

Le 10eme du mois, ces ouvrages furent finies.

Le 11eme, mes gens couperent des bois pour construire notre cabane d'hivernemant.

Le 12eme, notre chasseur, Noël Charron, étant allé a la chasse a l'ordinaire, revint sur les dix heures accompagné d'un sauvage. Je fus surpris a la vue de cet homme car je ne m'attendois pas a en voir aucun icy. Je demandai de quelle nation il étoit. Il me dit quil étoit Mahas, que vingt deux loges de sa nation étoient campés a quelques lieuës plus bas que nous; {53} que le lendemain ils arriveroient a nous. Le chef de cette bande est appellé par les Français le Gros Lapin et reconnu aussi pour un grand coquin; je ressentis vraiement au fond de mon coeur une vive douleur de leur arrivée. Je n'avois pu cacher ce qui me restoit de marchandises. Je prévis toutes les poursuites que ces gens là alloient faire pour avoir des munitions de chasse a crédit, car il m'avoient déja appris qu'ils étoient partis de leur village dénués de poudres, de balles, de fusils, et d'autres besoins nécessaires; qu'il nétoit point venus de Français cet automne a leur village; que le sieur Jean Munier étoit arrivé chez eux au milieu de l'étée pour avoir des vivres pour se rendre a la nation poncas; qu'ils l'avoient arreté, mais qu'il avoit apporté si peu de marchandises que la plus forte partie de leurs gens n'avoit pu en avoir; que le manque de vivres, nayant point eu de bleds d'Indes cette année, les avoient obligés de partir de leur village et de se disperser par bande de tout coté pour chercher la vie de leurs femmes et de leurs enfants, qui étoient a demi mort de faim. En effet, il vint a nous cette journée là {54} plusieurs hommes qui se jetterent sur nos viandes comme des loups affamés, sans se donner le tems de les faire cuire. Nous avions pour lors des échaffauts bien fournies de chevreuil, de dindes, et de boeufs sauvages.

Sur le soir arriva le chef Gros Lapin, qui me répéta les mêmes choses que le premier arrivé. Il ajouta que lui et ses gens étoient tres content de nous avoir trouvé icy; que les seuls Français étoit le soutien de toutes les nations sauvages <nations peaux rouge>; qu'ils reconnoissoient aujourdhui plus que jamais la nécessitée d'en avoir parmy eux, manquant absolument des nourritures faute des fusils, poudre, et balles que les Français seuls pouvoient leur procurer (discours flatteurs et usés <rusés> qu'ils ont toujours coutume de tenir aux Français a la première vue.) Ne cherchant sans cesse qu'a nous tromper et extorquer nos marchandises par toutes sortes de voyes iniques, touts les sauvages de cette rivierre, comme ailleurs, je parle de ceux qui sont le plus fréquentés par nous, sont fins et rusés. Ils ont plus de connoissance que bien des personnes ne leur en croyent. Ils ont cet obligation a certains coureurs de bois qui en qualité d'amis les instruisent de nos usages, chose pernicieuse, car il nen résulte jamais que du mal, tant pour eux mêmes que pour tous ceux qui {55} viennent en trafiquer chez ces peuples.

On the 10th of the month these jobs were finished.
On the 11th my men cut some wood to construct our wintering cabin.[66]

On the 12th our hunter, Noël Charron, having gone hunting as usual, returned about 10 o'clock accompanied by an Indian. I was surprised to see this man for I did not expect to see any [Indians] here. I asked to what nation he belonged. He told me he was Omaha, that twenty-two lodges of his nation were camped several leagues below us; that the next day they would arrive where we were. The chief of this band is called by the French "The Big Rabbit"[67] and is also recognized as a big rascal; I truly felt at the bottom of my heart a sharp anguish at their arrival. I had not been able to hide my remaining merchandise. I foresaw all the entreaties these people were going to make to get ammunition for hunting on credit, for he had already told me that they had left their village without powder, balls, fusils, and other necessities; that no Frenchman had come this autumn to their village; that Sieur Jean Munier had arrived among them in the middle of the summer to get provisions to go to the Ponca nation; that they had stopped him, but that he had brought so little merchandise that most of their people had not been able to obtain any; that the lack of provisions, since they had not gotten any corn this year, had forced them to leave their village and to disperse by band in all directions to search for food for their women and children, who were half-dead from hunger. In fact, there came to us this day several men who threw themselves on our meat like starving wolves, without taking time to cook it. We had at this time scaffolds well covered with deer, turkey, and buffalo meat.

In the evening Chief Big Rabbit arrived, who repeated to me the same facts given by the first man who came. He added that he and his people were very happy to have found us here; that the Frenchmen alone were the mainstay of all the Indian nations; that they recognized today more than ever the necessity of having some of them among them, completely lacking sustenance for want of fusils, powder, and balls that only the French were able to get for them (flattering and hackneyed <clever> discourse that they customarily make to the French at the first meeting). Since they seek unceasingly to deceive us and to obtain our merchandise by all kinds of iniquitous means, all the Indians of this river, as elsewhere—I speak of those who are most often visited by us—are sly and tricky. They have more knowledge than many people believe. This is attributable to certain coureurs de bois[68] who in the guise of friends instruct them in our ways, a pernicious thing, for it never results in anything but trouble, as much for themselves as for all those who come to trade with these peoples.

Le chef Gros Lapin me dit que leur grand chef nommé Toangarest, <en français le> Faiseur de Village, étoit resté aux environs de leur village avec le nommé Jean Munier et ses engagés, en esperant quils viendroient des François a la dernièrre saison de l'automne; que ce grand chef avoit été bien faché lorsqu'il avoit sçu que jétois passé a son village sans avertir pour aller chez les nations du haut Missouris avec une pirogue d'une grandeur enorme, chargée de marchandises; que sa crainte et son inquiétude étoit extrême, croyant bien que les Sioux nous auroient trouvés et détruits; quil lui avoit recommandé d'envoyer dans le cours de l'hivers deux hommes en parole chez les Titons afin de sçavoir ce que nous étions devenus, tant il aimoit les François et s'intéressoit à leur conservation; qu'il seroit tres content l'orsquil apprendroit que nous étions échappés des mains de ces nations sans esprit (paroles flatteuses et non sinceres.)

Je lui fis une narration amplifiée de ce qui métoit arrivé chez les Sioux. J'avois exagéré la quantitée de marchandises qui m'avoit été pillées car il ne manqua pas en voyant notre {56} pirogue de me dire qu'il nétoit pas possible qu'une si grande voiture n'eut apporté que si peu de marchandises. Je lui fis entendre que les Sioux mavoient dépouillés de la plus grande partie, et même de nos chaudierres de service. Les pelleteries des Sioux, qu'il reconnut bien, lui fit croire que je disois la véritée; ainsi il me laissa tranqu'il de ce coté là.

Le 13eme du mois, les vieillards, les femmes, et les enfants arriverent avec tout leur bagage. Il étoit véritable qu'ils manquoient de vivres, ne mangeant que des racines; ainsi ils nous assiégeoient quand nous prenions nos repas, se battoient a qui auroit nos bouillons de viandes, ramassoient les os que nous jettions pour les ronger. Cétoit chose étrange. Je me comportai dans cette occasion de manierre a ne point irriter des gens affamés et a ne point nous exposer nous mêmes a manquer tout d'un coup des vivres. Nous leur faisons part de notre mangée, leur en distribuant quelques morçeaux, principalement aux enfants. Ils me réprésenterent leur miserre, nayant la pluspart point de fusils, et nous demanderent les notres pour chasser au chevreuil, ce qui nous répugnoit beaucoup, mais bon gré, mal gré, il fallut {57} y consentir <car il s'en emparerent sans attendre notre consentements> et nous nous trouvames alors a dépendre d'eux pour les nourritures.

Le lendemain ils sassemblerent touts et me demanderent de la poudre et des balles <couteaux, &c.> a crédit. Je résistai longtems a leur demande, leur réprésentant que jen avois tres peu. Ils persisterent et mobligerent de leur en donner. Pour éviter le tumulte ordinaire lorsqu'ils prennent de force, je consentis a leur en donner moyennant qu'ils ne prendroient que pour dix <douse a quinze> peaux au plus par chaque chasseur, ce qui fut exécuté dans le moment, mais le chef, Gros Lapin et quelques autres considérés me forcerent a leur en donner pour trente et quarante peaux. Il fallut habiller ce coquin de piéd en cape, faisant

Chief Big Rabbit told me that their head chief named Toangarest, <in French,> Village Maker, had remained near their village with the man named Jean Munier and his *engagés*,[69] hoping that some Frenchmen would arrive late in the autumn; that the head chief had been angry when he learned that, without informing him, I had passed his village to go to the nations of the upper Missouri with a pirogue of enormous size, loaded with merchandise; that his fear and anxiety had been extreme, thinking for sure that the Sioux would have found and destroyed us; that he had charged him to send two men during the winter as messengers to the Tetons to find out what had happened to us, so much did he love the French and was concerned about their preservation; that he would be very happy when he learned that we had escaped from the hands of these senseless nations (flattering and insincere words).

I gave him an exaggerated account of what had happened to me among the Sioux. I exaggerated the quantity of merchandise that had been stolen from me, for, on seeing our pirogue, he did not fail to tell me that it was not possible for so large a boat to carry so little merchandise. I explained to him that the Sioux had plundered me of the greatest part, and even of our cooking kettles. The peltries of the Sioux, which he readily recognized, made him think that I told the truth; therefore he left me alone with respect to that.

On the 13th of the month the old men, women, and children arrived with all of their baggage. It was true that they lacked food and were eating only roots, so they crowded around us when we ate our meal, fighting among themselves as to who would have our meat broth and gathering the bones that we threw away to gnaw on them. It was a strange thing. I behaved on this occasion so as not to irritate these famished people and not to jeopardize ourselves by suddenly running out of provisions. We gave them part of our food, distributing it to them in small pieces, principally to the children. They described to me their misery, not having for the most part any fusils, and they asked for ours to hunt deer, which was very repugnant to us, but willingly or not, we had to consent to it <for they seized them without waiting for our consent> and we then found ourselves dependent upon them for food.

The next day they all assembled and asked me for powder and balls <and knives, etc.> on credit. I resisted their request for a long time, explaining to them that I had very little. They persisted and compelled me to give them some. To avoid the usual tumult when they take things by force, I consented to give them some on condition that they only take enough for ten <twelve to fifteen> skins at the most for each hunter, which was done immediately, but Chief Big Rabbit and some other leading men forced me to give them enough for thirty to forty skins. It was necessary to dress this rascal from head to foot,[70] he continually

toujours de grandes promesses pour lui et pour ses gens, auquelles je nai pas grande confiance. <Jay bien peur qu'il me trompe.> Ils ont partis premierement pour la chasse des boeufs sauvages et sont revenus appres quinze jours bien chargés de viandes seches. En reconnoissance de l'assistance qu'ils ont reçu de nous, ils me vendent les nourritures au poid de lor, tant les sauvages en général <et plus qu'aucuns ceux cy> ne savent, ou plutôt ne veulent pas reconnoitre, les bienfaits qu'ils reçoivent de nous, {58} croyant que nous y sommes obligés.

La dépense que je suis obligés de faire icy pour la nourriture de neuf hommes est exhorbitante. Nayant aucunes provision de maillis, je suis réduit a acheter des viandes seches, morçeau a morceau, de ces canailles la, notre chasseur ne pouvant plus rien tuer parmi eux, les animaux s'étant éloignés. Ils sont retournés a la chasse des castors et des chevreuils pour me bien payer, disent-ils. Ils ne se passent aucunes choses ici qui merite d'être écrites depuis notre arrivée. On ne peut désirer un plus beau tems; nous n'avions encore reçu ni neige ni froid. Les bords du Missouris ne sont a peine gelés de deux pouces dépais de sorte qu'on pouvoit naviguer icy jusqua l'amy [=la mi-] décembre.

Le 18 de ce mois, est arrivé le grand chef des Mahas, Toangarest, dont jai parlé plus haut, redoublement de surprise et de mécontentement pour moi tant dans le cours de l'hivers que pour mon départ au primtems, que je prevoyois bien être tres difficil. L'arrivée du premier me génoit beaucoup, m'occasionnoit bien des dépences que je n'aurois pas fait sil ne fut venu, pour les nourritures ainsi que quelques petits effets que jetois contraint de fois et d'autres de lui donner, mais j'avois espérance de m'en retirer facilement et sans perte considerables. Je me trompois. <L'arrivée du dernie[r] mettoit le comble a mon enbarras.>

{59} Ce grand chef des Mahas est le plus fin, le plus rusé sauvage, et le plus grand coquin de toute les nations qui habitent le Missouris. Il est craint et respecté de toute sa nation et en grande renommée chez les nations étrangères, qui que ce soit n'ose le contre dire ouvertement ni agir contre sa volonté. Il ne se fait aucun partis soit de guerre, soit de chasse qu'il n'ait donné son consentement. Son nom est cité dans toutes les assemblées ou harangues faites <a son absence> par les viellards dans tout les lieux les plus éloignés quils aillent. Touts ses voisins ecoutent sa parole. Si quelqu'uns de ses gens acquierent quelques belles marchandises ou beaux cheveaux et qu'il paroisse les désirer, ce qui lui arrive toujours, ils sempressent a les lui donner. Les étrangérs, ses voisins, le comblent de presents lorsqu'ils va les visiter.

<Il ne fait aucun route a pied; il est toujours monté sur un des plus beau cheval qui soit dans son village. Il a des esclaves pour le servire, et pour mieux dire, ils sont touts ses esclaves, car, veut-il dormir, il a un ou deux loués (ou valéts) qui luy frottent doucement les jambes et les pieds pendant qu'il dort. Si ces

making great promises, in which I do not place much confidence, for himself and his people. <I am truly afraid he is deceiving me.> They left immediately for the buffalo hunt and returned after fifteen days well loaded with dried meat. In recognition of the assistance that they received from us, they sold me meat at high cost, since Indians generally <and especially these> are not aware of, or rather do not wish to recognize, the favors that they receive from us, believing that we are obliged to bestow them.

The expenditure that I have been forced to make here for feeding nine men is exorbitant. Having no supply of corn, I am reduced to buying dried meat, piece by piece, from those scoundrels, since our hunter can no longer kill anything among them, the animals having gone far away. They have left again on the hunt for beaver and deer in order to pay me well, they say. Nothing has happened here since our arrival that merits being recorded. More beautiful weather cannot be desired; we have not yet had any snow or cold. The edges of the Missouri are scarcely frozen two inches thick so that it is navigable here until mid-December.

On the 18th of this month the head chief of the Omahas, Toangarest, of whom I spoke above, arrived, increasing my surprise and displeasure as much for the course of the winter as for my departure in the spring, which I foresaw to be very difficult. The arrival of the first one annoyed me very much, and cost me great expense that I would not have had if he had not come, for food as well as for some little items that I was forced to give him from time to time, but I had hope of leaving easily and without considerable loss. I was wrong. <The arrival of the other chief brought my predicament to its worst point.>

The head chief of the Omahas is the slyest, most wily Indian, and the greatest rascal among all the nations that live on the Missouri. He is feared and respected by all of his nation and is greatly renowned by those of other nations, no one daring to contradict him openly nor to act against his wishes. No war or hunting party leaves without his consent. His name is cited at all meetings or in speeches made <in his absence> by the old men in all the most distant places where they go. All his neighbors listen to his word. If some of his people acquire good merchandise or fine horses and he appears to want them, which is always the case with him, they hasten to give them to him. Other nations, his neighbors, heap presents on him when he visits them.

<He does not travel at all on foot; he is always mounted on one of the finest horses in his village. He has slaves to perform services for him, and to speak more accurately, they are all his slaves, for, when he wishes to sleep, he has one or two attendants or valets who gently rub his legs and feet while he sleeps. If

valets ordinaires sont absents, il se sert également des plus considerés et des plus brave de ses gens pour cette office.

<Est-il nécessaire de le réveilles, il faut le faire avec precaution, prenant bien garde de luy criés aux oreilles ni le prendre de la main; mais ils se servent dûnes [=d'une] plûme qu'il luy passent legerement sur le visages, ou en le chatouillant doucement a certains endroits du corps. Enfin, cest un homme qui par son esprit et ses ruses s'est élevé a un si haut point d'autoritée dans sa nations qu'il ny en a point d'exemple ches tout autres peuple sauvage de ce continent. Il peut faire et faire faire le bien et le mal quand il luy plait. Ce nest point par ses actions guerrierres qu'il s'est acquit tant de pouvoir, car il a toujours été porté a la paix, mais par la crainte que ses gens et ses voisins ont de certains poisons dont il se ser, disent ils, pour faire mourir ceux qui luy deplaisent.>

Il arrache aux Français qui viennent en commerce chez lui la majore partie des marchandises qu'ils y apportent et leur donne en payement si peu de pelleteries que celui qui ne perd que cent ou cent cinquante pour cent prix d'achat se trouve heureux. Il promet beaucoup et ne tient jamais sa parole. Il tire touts les ans beaucoup des castors et des loutres des Poncas et de ses gens mêmes, mais il les conserve pour les donner {60} aux nations situées sur le Mississipy qui viennent tous les primtems lui apporter, en échange, des draps ecarlatte, des porcelaines, des argenteries <sauvages>, et quelque peu d'êau de vie, pour laquelle il est fort passionnée; et la plus part de ses gens suivent son exemple, ne payant qu'en partie les fusils, la poudre, les balles, les chaudierres, et autres marchandises qu'ils se font donner de nous a crédit en peaux de chevreuil bonnes et mauvaise, et s'ils nous trafiquent des peaux de castors et de loutres, cest aux prix qu'ils veulent, et toujours a la perte de celui qui leur vend.

Ce grand chef feint de prendre quelques fois les intérests des Français, mais dans le fond touts les beaux discours quil leur tient, les paroles flatteuses, les grandes promesses qu'il leur fait, n'ont pour but que de les piller lui même sous un faux voile d'amitiée qu'il leur porte, sans qu'ils osent a peine se plaindre; et lorsqu'il sest satisfait, il laisse ses gens se débattre avec les traiteurs et leur arracher le reste de leurs effets autant qu'ils peuvent, ce a quoi ils sont tous naturellement portés. Dans cette extrémitées, il faut avoir recours aux braves, aux soldats, et aux chefs du second rang pour vous garantir des pillages, des mauvais traitements. Cest autant de sang süës qui vous extorquent l'autre tiers des effets pour leur service.

{61} Cet homme s'ait faire valoir aux Français le besoin qu'ils ont de lui, de son assistance dans le commerce des pelleteries avec sa nation de mille manierres differentes, et a chaque journée, soit pour la distribution des crédits qui sans lui se feroit avec tumulte et profusions, soit pour en retirer le payement ayant la politique de laisser dans l'occasion les traiteurs dans l'embarras, soit par les

these ordinary valets are absent, he uses in the same way for this service the most important and most brave men among his people.

<If it is necessary to wake him, it must be done with caution, taking good care not to shout in his ears or take him by the hand; instead, they use a feather that they pass lightly over his face or gently tickle certain parts of his body. In short, he is a man who by his intellect and shrewdness has elevated himself to such a high place of authority in his nation that there is not a single parallel among any other Indian people of this region. He can do and cause to be done both good and evil whenever it pleases him. It is not by his war deeds that he has gained so much power, for he has always tended toward peace, but by the fear that his people and his neighbors have of certain poisons that he uses, they say, to cause the death of those who displease him.>

From the Frenchmen who come to trade at his village he extracts the greater part of the merchandise that they bring and gives them in payment so few peltries that the one who loses only one hundred to one hundred fifty percent of the purchase price is fortunate. He promises much and never keeps his word. Every year he obtains many beaver and otter from the Poncas and from his own people, but he keeps them in order to give them to the nations located on the Mississippi who come every spring to bring him, in exchange, scarlet cloth, cowrie shells, <Indian> silver trinkets, and a little brandy, for which he has quite a passion;[71] and most of his people follow his example, paying only in part for the fusils, powder, balls, kettles, and other merchandise that they are given by us on credit with deerskins, good and bad, and if they trade us beaver and otter pelts, it is at the price they wish, and always at a loss for the one who sells to them.

The head chief sometimes pretends to embrace the interests of the French, but basically all the fine speeches that he makes to them, the flattering words, the great promises that he makes them, have no object other than to plunder them himself under the false guise of friendship that he displays, without them hardly daring to complain; and when he is satisfied, he lets his people struggle with the traders and extract from them as much as they can of the remainder of their goods, which is their natural inclination. In such straits, one must have recourse to braves, soldiers, and secondary chiefs[72] for protection against pillage and ill treatment. These are just so many blood-suckers who extract from you the other third of the merchandise for their service.

This man boasts to the French of the need that they have of him for his assistance in the peltries trade with his nation in a thousand different ways, and each day—whether in the distribution of credits, which without him would be done with tumult and lack of restraint; or in obtaining payment, following a policy of occasionally letting the traders get into distress, that is, by the quarrels,

querelles, les disputes, les menaces, les rapines faite par ses gens, qui sont de leurs naturels brutes et feroçes, et venant ensuite a son secours, ne manque jamais de mettre le calme et le bon ordre. Le pauvre traiteurs se trouve heureux de son appuy et est obligé de force de le charger de louanges, de caresses, de bons traitements, et nose lui refuser tout ce qu'il désire.

Quant a ses gens il scait leur faire connoitre que de lui il dépend leur bien être. Il régle les mesures de poudre et les prix des marchandises. Tantot elles sont d'un[e] grandeur énorme et les prix des marchandises médiocres, voulant, leur dit-il, avoir pitié d[']eux; d'autres fois elles sont petittes et les prix plus haut, ce qui arrive rarement. Par cette conduitte alternative de bien et de mal, il tient les uns et les autres dans {62} la crainte et l'espérance. Mais pour son particulier, il ny a point depuis plusieurs années déchangement [=de changement]; il sempare impunément du tiers au moins des marchandises qui arrive chez lui.

A l'arrivée des Français a son village il fait faire l'ouverture de tout ce quils apportent en général, et saproprie [=s'approprie] tout ce qui lui plait. Les engagés même sont obligés douvrir leur cassette ou havresac qu'il visite et leur arrache une partie de leurs tabac et autres petits effets qu'ils pourroient avoir. Les chefs du second ordre et les soldats font aussi leurs rapines sans qu'on puisse se révolter contre eux. Si on murmure ou se plaint aux chefs et qu'on lui represente qu'il nous fait p[l]eurer, il nous répond qu'il a besoin des 2emes chefs et des soldats pour lui aider a maintenir ses jeunes gens, qui n'ont point d'esprit, et que sans lui et eux, les Français ne pourroient fréquenter son village sans être pillée et tués; et qu'ainsi il faut avoir égard a eux mais qu'il payeront bien ce qu'ils prennent, ce qu'ils font toujours a leur volontée et avec beaucoup de perte pour le marchand.

Quand au commun du village, le trafique des pelleteries pour les marchandises qui restent apres {63} les parts de ces coquins de chefs et considérés prisent, qui en enlêvent la moitiée a perte, et les nourritures prisent sur l'autre moitiée, se fait avec profit, <la perte que ce chef et ses suivants apportent aux traiteur, leur enlevant la meilleure et la plus forte [pa]rtis de leur effets a vil prix,> mais il est impossible avec la partie des marchandises qui restent pouvoir enlever assez de pelleteries pour y faire quelques gain.

Ce poste des Mahas est sans doute le plus desavantageux pour le commerce des pelleteries de tout le bas de cette rivierre, tant par la grande connoissance qu'ils ont du commerce des Anglais sur le Mississipy que par la mauvaise disposition de cette nation et de leurs chefs a notre égards. On dit que quelques coureurs de bois y ont fait autrefois des profits considérables. Ils n'avoient pas encore cette communication pernicieuses avec les nations dépendantes des Anglois. Il ny avoit chez eux qu'un seul chef, élu par les Francais, et nouvellement reconnu pour tel par messieurs les commandants des Illinois. Il se portoit entierrement

arguments, threats, and thefts made by his people, who are naturally brutal and ferocious, and afterwards coming to their aid—he never fails to establish tranquillity and put things right. The poor trader is grateful for his support and is strongly compelled to provide him with praise, affection, and good treatment, and does not dare to refuse him all that he desires.

As for his people, he knows how to make them aware that their well-being depends on him. He regulates the measure of powder and the price of merchandise. Sometimes it [the measure of gunpowder] is an enormous quantity and the price of the merchandise is moderate, desiring, he says, to have pity on them; at other times it is small and the price higher, which rarely happens. By this procedure of alternating good and bad, he keeps everyone in fear and in hope. But for himself, there has been no change for several years; he seizes with impunity at least one-third of the merchandise that comes to his village.

Upon the arrival of the French at his village he requires the opening of all that they bring in general, and he appropriates everything that pleases him. Even the *engagés* are required to open their boxes or knapsacks for his inspection and he takes from them a part of their tobacco and other small items that they might have. The secondary chiefs and the soldiers also make their thefts without anyone being able to protest against them. If we murmur or complain to the chief and tell him that he is hurting us, he answers that he needs the secondary chiefs and the soldiers to help him control his young men, who have no sense, and that without him and them, the French would not be able to visit his village without being pillaged and killed; and that therefore we must respect them, but that they will pay well for what they take, which they always do at their will and with much loss for the merchant.

As for the commoners of the village, the trade in peltries for the merchandise that remains after the portion taken by these rascals of chiefs and leading men, who carry off half at a loss [to the trader], and take the other half for food <with the losses that this chief and his followers cause the traders by taking from them the best and the largest part of their goods at a very low price>, is conducted at a profit, but it is impossible with the remaining merchandise to acquire enough peltries to make any gain.

The post of the Omahas is without doubt the most disadvantageous for trade in peltries of all on the lower part of this river, as much for the extensive knowledge they have of the English trade on the Mississippi as for the bad disposition of this nation and their chiefs with regard to us. It is said that some coureurs de bois formerly made considerable profits here. They did not yet have this pernicious communication with the nations dependent on the English. There was at their village only one chief, chosen by the French, and newly recognized as such by Messieurs the Commandants of the Illinois.[73] He devoted himself

aux intérests des traiteurs qui entroient chez lui. Sa conduitte particulierre étoit honnête. Il payoit toujours bien ce qu'il prenoit de marchandises, et traitoit bien les Français. Depuis quelques années, il est entierrement changé pour nous. Il nous parle d'une façon et pense et agit de l'autre; son esprit {64} n'est occupé que de ruses et de fourberies pour nous tromper et envahir nos marchandises.

Tous les jours il nous reproche que les Français sont de grands menteurs et des trompeurs. Il dit que depuis plusieurs années les marchands qui viennent a son village lui promettent d'année en année une médaille plus grande qu'a lordinaire, qu'il avoit demandé, et que Mr Montardy luy avoit apporté. Ne la trouvant pas semblable par les quatres portraits qui étoit incrustés dedans et le toure de la médaille qui étoit uni, sans cordon, il l'avoit renvoyé a son pere espagnol sous le nom de qui il l'avoit reçu pour qu'elle fut refaitte avec une seule figure, nayant pas quatre coeur, dit-il, pour quatre pere; que cette médaille lui appartient puisqu'elle lui a été apporté et donné; qu'il ne la point refusé ni renvoyé pour la perdre entierrement, mais pour quelle fut refaitte avec un seul portrait de son pere espagnole.

Chaque année il demande cette médaille. On ne lui apporte point. Il tonne, il menaçe, il fait les plus aigres reproches. Les traiteurs, pour l'appaiser lui, ont toujours dit quelle avoit été envoyé au grand village des Espagnols pour {65} etre refaitte, ce qui est faux <car Mr. Montardy l'a gardé>. Ils lui font esperer qu'elle viendra lannée d'ensuitte. Il voit clairement qu'il est trompé, aussi ne ménage-t-il plus rien pour occasionner de la perte aux Français qui viennent en traite chez lui, ou qui veulent passer pour aller plus haut. Il dit touts les jours quil est a la veille de lacher la bride a ses gens tout a fait, et de les laisser piller et tuer les Français partout ou ils les trouveront; que sa nation seule n'a jamais tué de Français par lopposition qu'il y a toujours mis; que présentement peu de chose le retient ainsi que ses gens. <Il accuse surtout Mr. Montardy de luy avoir fait de grandes promesse qui n'ont point arrivées.> Toutes ces choses lui tiennent lieu de prétexte légitime pour rapiner les effets des Français, leur faire payer des tributs onereux, leur boucher les passages.

Si, messieurs, je me suis, peut être un peu trop étendu au sujet de ce chef et de sa nation, dont jai étudié cet hivers le caractere, la façon de penser et d'agir, cétoit pour vous instruire avec véritée de ce qui ce passe chez cette nation. Je prévois que vous aurez besoin d'une communication directe avec elle pour faciliter un passage libre et sur à vos effets tant en montant qu'en descendant. Nesperez pas de continuer ces voyages {66} furtives avec facilitée. Tôt ou tard vos effets seront prises et pillés, soit en montant ou descendant, et peut etre votre monde tué car il est certain que sachant présentement les desseins des Français pour le commerce du haut Missouris et le temps ou ils ont coutûme d'y monter, ils

entirely to the interests of the traders who came to his village. His characteristic behavior was upright. He always paid well for what merchandise he took, and treated the French well. For several years, he has entirely changed in regard to us. He speaks to us in one way and thinks and acts in another; his mind is only occupied with tricks and deceits in order to cheat us and seize our merchandise.

Every day he reproaches us that the French are great liars and cheats. He says that for several years the traders who come to his village have promised him year after year a medal, larger than ordinary, that he had requested, and that Monsieur Montardy[74] had brought him. Not finding it to be what he wanted because of the four portraits that were inlaid in it and because the edge of the medal was plain, without a border, he had sent it back to his Spanish Father in whose name he had received it so that it would be remade with a single countenance, not having four hearts, he said, for four fathers; that this medal belonged to him because it had been brought and given to him; that he had not refused it or sent it back to lose it permanently, but so it would be remade with a single portrait of his Spanish Father.

Each year he requests the medal. It is never brought to him.[75] He thunders, he threatens, he makes sharp reproaches. The traders, to appease him, have always said that it had been sent to the great village of the Spaniards to be remade, which is untrue <for Monsieur Montardy has kept it>. They have encouraged him to hope that it will come the next year. He sees clearly that he is wronged, therefore he spares nothing at all to bring a loss to the Frenchmen who come to trade at his village, or who wish to pass by to go upstream. He says every day that he is at the point of giving his men entirely free rein, and of allowing them to pillage and kill the French everywhere they find them; that his nation alone has never killed a Frenchman because he has always opposed it; that now little restrains him or his people. <He especially accuses Monsieur Montardy of having made him great promises that have not been kept in the least.> All these things serve him as a legitimate pretext to steal goods from the French, to make them pay heavy tributes, and to block their passage.

If, Messieurs, I have been perhaps too effusive on the subject of this chief and his nation, whose character and manner of thinking and acting I have studied this winter, it has been to inform you truthfully of what occurs among this nation. I foresee that you will need direct communication with them to arrange for a free and safe passage for your goods in traveling both upstream and downstream. Do not hope to continue these furtive voyages with ease. Sooner or later your goods will be taken and pillaged, either in ascending or descending, and perhaps your men killed, for it is certain that knowing now the plans of the French for trade on the upper Missouri and the times they are accustomed to go upriver,

les guetteront et feront des découvertes en partie de guerre en haut et en bas pour les surprendre.

Ils sont déja fort irrité contre nous a ce sujet, et en particulier contre le sieur Jacques dÉglise, qui toutes les étées vole, disent-ils, le chemin pour aller chez les nations d'en haut, en allant et en revenant. Quant a moy, je lui ai fait entendre que je ne voulois pas passer sans le voir, mais que n'étant pas a son village, javois continué route.

Le village des Mahas seroit le poste le plus propice pour établir un dépôt de marchandises et de vivres pour fournir au commerce du haut Missouris, étant situés environ a moitiée chemin des nations mandannes. Pour lors le trajet de chemin pour le transport des marchandises aux Mendannes seroit plus court et moins risquables, pouvant profiter de la saison que les Sioux séloignent ordinairement des bords du Missouris pour passer les endroits où ils viennent y faire leur chasse l'étée et l'automne. {67} De plus, il est absolument nécessaire, pour mettre le grand chef des Mahas dans nos intérest et chasser de son esprit les mauvaises impressions qui si [=s'y] sont formées, soit pour le commerce avec sa nation, soit pour la réusite de celui des nations du haut Missouris, qui ne pourra jamais se faire sans son aveu, de le contenter en lui procurant cette médaille qu'il demande depuis si longtems, accompagné d'un grand pavillon, d'une selle française, et d'un baril d'eau de vie de dix a douze pots, et touts les ans la Compagnie <de concert avec le gouvernement> pourroit lui envoyer un présent. Par ce moyen elle pourroit se procurer un passage libre chez cette nation et y tirer quelques secours de vivre pour une si longue route, soit pour aller, soit pour revenir.

Tous les jours ce chef me parle de l'entreprise des Français pour le haut Missouris, des risques et dangers ou ils s'exposent dans la route par la rencontre des Sioux; il ne désaprouve pas tout a fait la fréquentation que nous voulons avoir avec les Ricaras et les Mendannes; il convient que ce sont de bons sauvages, chez qui les Français seront bien reçu, mais il blame de passer en cachette a son village. Il ne peut, dit-il, {68} nous pardonner cet action. Je lui répondis que les Français ont toujours trouvé tant de difficultés pour passer son village, ainsi que tous ceux qui sont situés sur les bords du Missouris, qu'ils ont pris le parti dy passer furtivement pour parvenir a leurs desseins; que les Français parcouroient toute la terre; que les chemins leurs étoient libres partout et en toute saison, sans qu'aucune nation sauvage y mit obstacles; que dans le seul Missouris les nations fermoient les oreilles aux paroles de leurs pere, empéchant les Français daller chercher des pelleteries ou bon leur sembloient; que si au contraire, ils laissoient les chemins libres et ouverts, ils verroient en touts temps des pirogues chargées de marchandises passer et repasser a leur village ou ils arrèteroient en surêtée, comme au leur propre, et leur procureroient plus

they would watch for them and search them out in war parties upstream and downstream in order to surprise them.

They are already very irritated with us on this subject, and in particular with Sieur Jacques d'Église, who every summer, they say, steals the road to go to the nations upstream and to return. As for me, I have made him [the chief] understand that I did not intend to pass without seeing him, but since he was not at his village, I had continued my journey.

The village of the Omahas would be the most suitable place for establishing a depot for merchandise and provisions in order to supply the trade of the upper Missouri, being situated about halfway to the Mandan nation.[76] Then traveling along the route used for transporting the merchandise to the Mandans would take less time and be less risky, enabling us to take advantage of the season when the Sioux ordinarily leave the banks of the Missouri to go to the places where they hunt in the summer and autumn. Moreover, to put the head chief of the Omahas on our side and to erase from his mind the bad impressions that have been formed, be it for trade with his nation or for success with those of the nations of the upper Missouri, which will never be conducted without his consent, it is absolutely necessary to pacify him by getting him the medal that he has requested for such a long time, along with a large flag, a French saddle, and a barrel of brandy of 10–12 *pots*;[77] and every year the Company <in conjunction with the government> might send him a present. By this means it would be possible to procure free passage past this nation and to draw from them some food supplies for such a long journey, either going or returning.

Every day this chief speaks to me of the French plans for the upper Missouri, and the risks and dangers to which they expose themselves on the journey by meeting the Sioux. He does not disapprove entirely of the intercourse that we wish to have with the Arikaras and Mandans; he agrees that they are good Indians, by whom the French will be well received, but he reproaches us for passing stealthily by his village. He cannot, he says, pardon us for this behavior. I answered him that the French have always encountered so many difficulties in passing his village, as well as all those situated on the banks of the Missouri, that they have decided to pass furtively in order to accomplish their purposes; that the French travel throughout all the earth; that the roads were open to them everywhere and in all seasons, with no Indian nation raising obstacles; that only on the Missouri have the nations closed their ears to the words of their father, preventing the French from going in search of peltries where they pleased; that if, on the contrary, they allowed the routes to be free and open, they would see at all times pirogues loaded with merchandise passing and repassing their village, where they would stop in safety, as if in their own village, and would more easily

aisement leurs besoins en toute saison, tel qu'il se pratique chez toutes les nations du Mississipy chez qui les Français vont et viennent librement.

«Qu'elle jalousie vous transporte de nous voir porter les besoins aux nations situées au delà de vous?» lui dis-je; «Pourquoi y portez vous empêchement avec tant d'opiniatretée? N'êtes vous pas contents et heureux que les Français soient parvenus jusqu'a vous et vous y apportent tous les ans vos besoins? Pourquoi les empéchez vous de les porter a d'autres et d'y {69} chercher des pelleteries? Ces nations ricaras et mandannes, que tu avoues toi même avoir de bons coeurs, ne te remercieront ils pas de laisser un beau chemin aux Français, qui leur portent un couteau, un coup de poudre? Ton nom sera publié et élevé chez toutes les nations jusqu'au source de cette rivierre. Ils lévêront les mains vers toi et sécriront, 'Toi, Toangarest, le plus grand des chefs peaux rouges, continue d'avoir pitiée de nos femmes et de nos enfants!' N'est-ce pas une gloire pour toy?

«Ton pere, le grand chef des Espagnols, lorsqu'il apprendroit que tu écoute sa parole, que tu joint ton coeur au sien pour procurer les besoins a toute cette rivierre en échange des pelleteries que les Français en retireroient, ne seroit-il pas content? Je ne découvre aucuns sujet, ni raisons vraies et justes, qui t'occasionne a boucher le chemin aux Français. Au contraire, je ny vois que du bien et de l'avantage pour toi et ta nation. Tu serois assuré d'y voir les Français en tout tems y arrêter pour y acheter soit des vivres ou d'autres besoins. Les nations chez qui nous parviendrions pourroient par notre moyen avoir fréquentation avec toi {70} et te procurer quantitée de cheveaux a bien meilleur compte que les Panis, qui vous les font toujours payer bien chère.»

Il me repondit que c'étoit bien; qu'il n'ignoroit pas que les Français <nations blanches> courroient a la recherche des pelleteries chez toutes les nations qu'ils pouvoient découvrir; et que sans doute les premiers Français qui avoient toujours pénétrés de nations en nations sétoient ouvert un beau chemin par un accord entre eux et chaque village ou il passoit en anonçant la parole de leur grand chef, faisant des présents de sa part quand il étoit nécessaire, mettant les sauvages en union partout, et népargnant rien pour adoucir leurs coeurs, qui ont toujours été mauvais et changeants; et qu'ils savoit très bien que malgré le bon coeur des Français et touts leurs présents, ils ont souvent étés tués et pillés par toutes les nations qu'ils fréquentent exceptés les Mahas; que tous les chemins qu'ils avoient ouverts étoient arrosés de leur sang et couverts des marchandises tant donnés que pillés; qu'aujourdhui, notre chef et nous ne prenions pas les mêmes trâces des anciens, puisqu'au lieu de nous frayer le chemin par un bon accord avec les nations qui sont située sur notre route en leur annonçant la parole et le desseins du grand chef, et au lieu d'employer {71} les moyens ordinaires et convenables pour les mettre en union entre eux et pour gagner l'esprit et le coeur des méchants, nous ne cherchions qu'a les irriter en

supply their needs in all seasons, such as is customary among all the nations of the Mississippi among whom the French come and go freely.

"What jealousy overwhelms you at seeing us carry necessities to the nations located beyond you?" I said to him, "Why do you so relentlessly prevent things from being taken there? Are you not content and happy that the French have reached you and bring you your necessities every year? Why do you prevent them from taking them [the trade goods] to others and seeking peltries there? Will those nations of the Arikaras and Mandans, who you yourself avow have good hearts, not thank you for allowing a good road to the French, who bring them a knife or a charge of gunpowder? Your name will be proclaimed and praised among all the nations up to the source of this river. They will raise their hands toward you and they will proclaim, 'You, Toangarest, greatest of the Indian chiefs, continue to have pity on our women and children!' Is this not glory for you?

"Your father, the Great Chief of the Spaniards, when he learns that you heed his word, that you join your heart to his in order to provide necessities to all on this river in exchange for peltries that the French get from it, would he not be happy? I do not find any basis or true and just reasons to cause you to block the road to the French. On the contrary, I see only good and an advantage for you and your nation. You would be assured of seeing Frenchmen stop here at all times to buy provisions and other necessities. The nations to which we would travel could have intercourse with you through us and procure for you many horses at a better price than do the Pawnees, who always make you pay very dearly for them."

He answered that this was so; that he was not unaware that the French <the white nations> went in search of peltries to all the nations that they were able to discover; and that without doubt the first Frenchmen who always progressed from nation to nation had opened a good road with an agreement between themselves and each village they passed by proclaiming a speech from their Great Chief, making presents on his behalf when it was necessary, establishing peace among the Indians everywhere, and sparing nothing to soften their hearts, which have always been bad and fickle; and that he knew very well that in spite of the good heart of the French and all their presents, they have often been killed and pillaged by all the nations that they visit except the Omahas; that all the roads that they opened were sprinkled with their blood and covered with merchandise given as well as pillaged; that today, our chief and we do not follow in the footsteps of our ancestors, because instead of our clearing the road by a sound agreement with the nations who are located on our route, announcing to them the words and plans of the Great Chief, and instead of using ordinary and suitable means for bringing them into alliance and for winning The minds and hearts of the evil ones, we sought only to irritate them by stealing

vôlant les chemins; que sans doute le dessein de notre chef et de nous étoit d'ouvrir ces mêmes chemins par le sang et le pillage. «Tu sors toi même,» me dit-il, «de l'éprouvér par la main des Sioux, qui ont étés pret a t'oter la vie. D'autres la perdrons, soit par la main des Poncas ou des Sioux. Pour moi, pouvez vous m'inputer de vous avoir nuit dans ces voyages? Non, vous avez toujours passés en cachette de moi et de mes gens. J'en sui très malcontent.

«Si votre chef et vous autres m'employoit pour vous aider dans vos entreprises, plutôt que de vous si bien cacher de moy, je pourrois vous faciliter un beau chemin parmi les Poncas et parmi les Sioux, chez lesquelles je suis très bien écouté. J'ai empéché le nommé Jean Munier de parvenir cette année a son poste parce que je sçai pour le certain que les Poncas, étant mort l'année dernierre beaucoup de personnes, attribuoient cette mortalitée a un certain catumet [*sic,* calumet] dans lequel Jean Munier les avoit fait fumer, {72} et quils étoient déterminés de le tuer s'il retournoit chez eux. De plus, je suis de plus en plus mécontent des Français. Ils montent des grandes pirogues pour les Ricaras, pour les Mendannes, pour les Poncas, et pour toutes les nations en général de cette rivierre <peuples pour la plus part qui les tuent tous les jours>. Je suis le seul qui nest point de voiture cette année et sans doute que ma médaille ne viendra point encore . . .* <et ma nation, qui n'at jamais tué d'homme blancs, en est privé cette année, ainsi que moy de ma médaille.

<«Lor[s]que, apprés avoir attendu jusqu'a la dernierre saison de l'automne aux environs de mon village, jay vû arrives une seconde voiture, conduite par le nomme Salomon Petit, chargée de marchandises pour les Poncas et non pour moy, j'ai été tout a fait faché contre les Français. Je les ai abandonn[és] et suis venu a la recherche des beuf sauvages, avec toute ma famille, au nombre de dix sept loges, pour vivres.»

<Le Sr. Jean Munier, n'ayant pu faire aucune provisions de vivres, at envoyé au nombre de six hyvernan avec les sauvages. Ils sont arrivé icy avec cette dernierre bandes. Il m'ont assurés qu'a larrivée de la dernierre pirogue, ce chef les avoit tres mal traité; qu'il avoit même poussé si rudement deux dés engagés qu'ils avoient culbutés du haut en bas dun ecorre, menaçant de pilles la poudre dudit Jean Muniers; que l'ayant apaisé, il les a forcé d'hyverner tout auprés de son village et de donner a credit a ses gens de poudre et balle, se servant pour mesure dune corne qui contenoit en trois fois pour une peau plus d'une livre de poudre, et que luy même avoit pris plus de qu'atre piéce de drap et de vingt couverte blanche, avec lassortiment, sans luy donnes un seul castor.

<A son arrivée ici il m'at fait raconter ce qui m'etoit arrivé et, mayant fait entrés dans mon magasin, il mat obligé de luy montres ce qui me restoit de

* Ellipses in manuscript.

the roads; that no doubt our chief's plan and ours was to open these same roads by blood and pillage. "You yourself," he said to me, "have just experienced it at the hands of the Sioux, who were ready to take your life. Others will lose theirs, either at the hands of the Poncas or the Sioux. As for me, can you accuse me of having hurt you in these voyages? No, you have always passed stealthily by me and my people. I am very unhappy about it.

"If your chief and others of you used me to help you in your plans, rather than hiding so well from me, I would be able to arrange for a good road among the Poncas and Sioux, where I am listened to attentively. I prevented the man named Jean Munier from reaching his post this year because I know for certain that the Poncas, having lost many people through death last year, attributed this mortality to a certain pipe that Jean Munier had them smoke, and that they were determined to kill him if he returned among them. Moreover, I am more and more unhappy with the French. They take large pirogues upriver for the Arikaras, Mandans, Poncas, and all the nations of this river in general <peoples who for the most part kill them every day>. I am the only one who has no boat this year and no doubt my medal will still not come <and my nation, which has never killed a white man, is deprived of them [the trade goods] this year, as I am of my medal>.

<"When, after having waited until the end of the autumn near my village, I saw a second boat arrive, led by the man named Salomon Petit,[78] loaded with merchandise for the Poncas and not for me, I was very angry with the French. I abandoned them and came with all seventeen lodges of my family in search of buffalo for food."

<Sieur Jean Munier, having been unable to acquire any food supplies, sent six men to winter with the Indians. They arrived here with this last band. They assured me that on the arrival of the last pirogue, this chief treated them very badly; that he even pushed two of the *engagés* so roughly that they toppled head over heels from a river bluff while he threatened to steal powder from Jean Munier; that having calmed down, he forced them to winter very near his village and requested credit for his men for powder and balls, using as a measure a horn that, filled three times, held more than a *livre* of powder in exchange for a pelt, and that he himself had taken more than four pieces of cloth and twenty white blankets, with assorted goods, without giving him a single beaver.

<Upon his arrival here he made me relate what had happened to me and, having led me into my storehouse, he obliged me to show him what remained

marchandises. Il m'at plaint du malheur qui m'etoit arrivé ches les Scioux, ajoutant qu'il ne vouloit pas que ses gens me fissent pleurer. Mais PAR precaution, me voyant peu de butin et avant que je le trafique, il mat pris beaucouppe de marchándisse, me disant qu'il me payeroit bien. Tous les jours il m'arrache quelques plûmes. Je n'ai encore reçu de luy que quelques morceaux de viande. Je crains bien qu'il ne me traite comme il traite les autres.

<J'ai eû de grands difficultés avec le chef Gros Lapin, chef de 2me rang, qui, non contant de m'avoir pris pour trois cent quatre vingt onze livres de marchandises, prix de ma facture, et ne m'avoir donné pour tout payement que seize castor, qu'atre l'outre, cinquante peaux de chevreuil, et quatre peaux de biches, il vouloit me forces de luy donnes dix barsses [*sic*, brasses] de drap, dix couverte blanche, a credit, payable au primtems [*sic*] a son village. Je lai refusé fermement, mais je crois bien que sans la présence du grand chef, qui a prit mes interest dans cette occasion, il m'auroit fait un tres ma[u]vais partis.

<Car, Messieurs, que leur opposes que de simples paroles, qui n'ont pas plus deffets que si elles étoient adressés aux arbres et aux roches; les menaces du courrouy [*sic*, courroux] de leur pere, notre chef; et de la privation de leur besoins? Ils ont les oreilles si rebattues de ces sortes de menaces qui n'arrivent jamais, qu'ils en rient et se mocquent de nous, nous traitant de voleurs, disent que nous ne leur apportons que de méchantes marchandises; que nos fusils ne valent rien, crevant la plus part dans leur mains, ou les ressorts manquants a moitié leur chasse; que nos haches ne sont point d'un fers durs, cassant au premier coup qu'il donnent contre les bois [le]s plus mols; qu'enfin, cet [*sic*, c'est] encor trop payé de deux peaux de castor ou loutre, et de deux et trois peaux de chevreuil, une brasse de drap, une couverte blanche, & puisque les marchandisses engloises, qui sont beaucoup plus belles et meilleures, se vendent a bien meilleure marché sur le Missipy. Quant au reste des menuitées, qu'ils prennent toujours en quantitée, ils se les approprient gratuilement [*sic*, gratuitement], comme dues a leur quantitée de chef et de soldats. Jay été payé presqu'entierrement du reste de cette bande, a qui j'avois donnée pour deux cent trente et une peaux a crédit de poudre, balle, couteaux, pierres affeux [=à feu], &c.

<Jai perdu soixante et deux peaux par les soldats et les considerées. Ils ont employés vingt cinq jours a la chasse du chevreuil et des castors, et n'en ont tués que tres peu, faute, dit il, de bons fusils pour le chevreuil et de l'epaisseur de la glace pour le castor.>

Le deuzieme de fevrier, trois jeunes sauvages étant allés a la découverte <des beuf sauvages>; revinrent le lendemain et rapporterent qu'ils avoient entendus tirer quantitée de coups de fusils <et vus trois hommes>. Ils envoyerent le lendemain dix jeunes gens pour reconnoitre quelle nation pourroit avoir tirée ces coups de fusils. Le 4eme ils rapporterent qu'ils avoient trouvés six loges de la

of the merchandise. He deplored the misfortune that had befallen me among the Sioux, adding that he did not wish his men to make me cry. But as a precaution, seeing that I had few goods and before I traded them, he took from me much merchandise, saying that he would pay me well. Every day he fleeces me more. I have so far received from him only a few morsels of meat. I fear indeed that he treats me as he treats the others.

<I have had great difficulties with Chief Big Rabbit, secondary chief, who, not content with having taken from me 391 *livres* of merchandise, at the invoice price, and having given me as total payment only sixteen beaver, four otter, fifty deerskins, and four elk hides, wished to force me to give him ten arm-lengths of cloth and ten white blankets on credit, payable in the spring at his village. I refused him firmly, but I think indeed that without the presence of the head chief, who took my side on this occasion, he would have treated me very badly.

<For, Messieurs, with what can I oppose them except simple words, which have no more effect than if they were addressed to the trees and rocks; by the angry threats of their father, our chief; or by depriving them of their needs? They are deaf to these kinds of threats that never materialize, which they laugh at and mock us, calling us thieves, saying that we bring them only bad merchandise; that our fusils are not worth anything, bursting in most cases in their hands, or the springs failing them halfway through the hunt; that our hatchets are not made of hard iron, breaking at the first blow that they strike against the softest wood; that, finally, it is too much to pay two beaver or otter pelts and two or three deerskins for an arm's length of cloth or a white blanket, since English merchandise, which is finer and better, sells for a much cheaper price on the Mississippi. As for the other small articles that they always take in large quantity, they appropriate them without paying, as if they were owed to their numerous chiefs and soldiers. I have been paid almost in full by the rest of this band, to whom I had given for 231 skins on credit powder, balls, knives, flints, etc.

<I lost sixty-two skins to the soldiers and leading men. They spent twenty-five days hunting for deer and beaver, and killed only a very few because, they said, of the lack of good fusils for the deer and the thickness of the ice for the beaver.>

On the 2nd of February three young Indians went to look <for buffalo>; they returned the next day and reported that they had heard a large number of fusil shots <and saw three men>. On the following day they sent ten young men to find out what nation might have fired the fusil shots. On the 4th they reported that they found six lodges of the Ponca nation camped five to six leagues above

nation poncas campés a cinq a six liéuës plus haut que nous. En m'annonçant cette nouvelle, ils m'en approient [=apprirent] une bien affligeante pour le sieur Jacques dÉglise et pour moi, et conséquemmentqui cause un préjudice notable aux intérest de la Compagnie. Ils me dirent donc que les Poncas avoient surpris le sieur Jacques d'Église <cet étée> a une demie journée de marche plus haut que leur village; qu'ayant été quelques moments en déliberation s'ils le tueroient, {73} ils s'étoient contentés de lui prendre vingt cinq fusils, deux barils et demi de poudre, les balles proportionnellement, quantitée de tabac, couteau, &c. <et autre marchandises dont je nai pû savoir au juste le nombre ni la quentitée [*sic*]>.

Je fus fort affligé de cette perte. Il semble que les malheurs se réunissent cette année sur nous. Je croyois ces fusils sauve entre les mains du sieur Jacques, a qui je les avois remis et confiés a commission comme je vous l'ai marqué plus haut, espérant quil pourroit éviter plus facilement que moi d'être pris par ces nations situés sur le bord du Missouris, pouvant par la légeretée de sa voiture arriver chez elles avant leur retour de chasse d'êtée ou les passer de nuit, ce que je désespérois de pouvoir faire avec une voiture si grande et si lourde. Si j'eusse gardé ces fusils, ils m'auroient été enlevés par la main des Sioux.

Cette nouvelle ne mat pas été annoncé paisiblement. Les chefs mahas m'ont accablés de reproches et d'injures, et menaçant surtout le sieur Jacques d'Église de la maltraiter s'ils le surprenoient dans ses voyages cachés {74} ainsi que touts les autres qui l'entreprendrons d'avantage. . . .*

Les cinq médailles et les cinq pavillons que les Poncas ont vû entre les mains du sieur Jacques, envoyés par monsieur le commandant aux chefs mendannes, ont donnés de la jalousie a ces deux nations et leur fait tenir bien de mauvais discours contre nous. Je me suis défendû en les assurant que j'ignorois que le sieur Jacques dÉglise eut remonté pour les nations du haut Missouris, que sans doute il avoit passé dans le tems que je marchois par terre pour aller aux Ricaras. . . .**

Je leur réitérai les intentions de leur pere, le grand chef des Espagnols, qui vouloit procurer les besoins a tous ces enfants situés sur le Missouris; que les Français qui, désirant fréquenter toutes les nations sauvages, ne cherchoient que le bien et non le mal; et que ceux cy, au contraire, ne leur causoient que de la perte, les pillant, les maltraitant partout ou ils les trouvoient et même dans leur village; que ces voyages furtives dont ils nous faisoient tant de réproches ne lui causoient aucuns dommages; et que si les {75} Français agissoient ainsi, cétoit par la connoissance qu'ils avoient de leurs mauvaises ententions [=intentions] pour eux et par la difficultée qu'ils trouvoient toujours a passer chez-eux; et que si, au contraire, ils laissoient les chemins libres, nous y arrêterions avec plaisir.

* Ellipses in manuscript.
** Ellipses in manuscript.

us. In giving me this news, they informed me of something very distressing for Sieur Jacques d'Église and for me, and that consequently results in considerable loss to the interests of the Company. They told me that the Poncas had surprised Sieur Jacques d'Église <this summer> a half-day journey above their village; that having been some moments in deliberation as to whether they should kill him, they contented themselves with taking from him twenty-five fusils, two and one-half barrels of powder, balls in proportion, a large amount of tobacco, knives, and so on <and other merchandise of which I was unable to learn exactly the number or the quantity>.

I was very upset at this loss. It seems that misfortunes have accumulated for us this year. I had thought those fusils safe in the hands of Sieur Jacques, to whom I had given and entrusted them on commission as I have stated to you above, hoping that he would be able to avoid being seized by those nations situated on the banks of the Missouri more easily than I, being able because of the lightness of his boat to reach them before their return from the summer hunt or to pass by them at night, which I have given up all hope of doing with a boat so large and so heavy. If I had kept those fusils, they would have been taken by the hands of the Sioux.

This news was not announced to me calmly. The Omaha chiefs heaped reproaches and abuse on me, threatening above all to harm Sieur Jacques d'Église if they surprised him in his furtive voyages, as well as all others who attempt them in the future.

The five medals and five flags that the Poncas saw in the possession of Sieur Jacques, sent by Monsieur the Commandant to the Mandan chiefs, have aroused jealousy in these two nations [the Poncas and Omahas] and caused them to make many malicious remarks against us. I defended myself by assuring them that I did not know that Sieur Jacques d'Église had ascended to the nations of the upper Missouri, that no doubt he had passed while I was traveling overland to go to the Arikaras. . . .

I reiterated to them the intentions of their father, the Great Chief of the Spaniards, who wished to provide for the needs of all his children located on the Missouri; that the French, desiring to visit all the Indian nations, sought only to do good and not evil; and that the latter, on the contrary, caused them nothing but loss, pillaging them, mistreating them everywhere they found them and even in their villages; that these furtive voyages for which they reproached us so much did not cause anyone any harm; and that if the French acted thus, it was due to the knowledge that they had of their bad intentions toward them and the difficulty that they always had in passing by them; and that if, on the contrary, they left the roads free, we would be pleased to stop there.

<«Si tous les peuples sauvages, leur dis je, qui sont situés sur les chemins des Français, depuis les païs ou se font le [*sic*] marchandises jusqu'a vous, leur eussent fermé les passages, vous n'aurier j'amais reçus de nous des besoins qui vous sont si nécessaires. Mais, au contraire, toutes ces nations, contentes d'avoir des Françai[s] parmy eux, qui donnent la vie a leurs femmes et a leur enfants, écoutent la parole de leur père, sont toujours daccord avec leur frere, les hommes blancs, qui vont et viennent en tout tems en toute saison dun village a l'autre comme ils leur plait, sans y trouves aucune opositions. Vous seuls, Mahas, Autos et Poncas, qui avér plus besoin de nous qu'aucunes autres nations, fermés les oreilles aux paroles de votre père, notre chef; vos esprits et vos coeurs ne sont remplis [que] de mauvais sentiments pour nous, ne cherchant qu'a nous voles, nous trompes, nous pilles et a nous nuire dans nos entreprises par toutes sortes de moyens.»>

Enfin, après bien des ébats semblables <car je ne ferois [*sic*, finirais] pas si je citois toutes les impertinents discours qu'il me tiennent tous les jours>, ce chef rusé des Mahas veut toujours me persuader que c'est pour la conservation des effets et de la vie même des Français s'il blame nos entreprises de découverte sur le haut Missouris. La perte des effets du S^{r} Jacques dÉglise par la main des Poncas, et des miennes par celles des Sioux, donnent un grand poid a ses raisons, quoi que le véritable motif de son mécontentement soit de navoir pu lui même nous en arracher la plus belle et la plus forte partie, si nous eussions arreté chez lui.

N'importe, j'avourai que le commerce des pelleteries avec la nation mahas peut etre encore avantageux pour les marchands qui tirent leurs marchandises de la partie anglaise, et y font valoir leurs pelleteries. Mais il est impossible qu'un pauvre, misérable traiteur qui séquippera chez un marchand de St Louis, qui ne {76} manque jamais de l'écorcher jusqu'au vif, puisse y faire aucun gain ni même complèter le payement de son équippement. Il n'y a d'autres différences entre les corsaires qui courent les mers et les marchands des Illinois si ce n'est que les premiers s'enrichissent quelques fois tout d'un coup par une bonne prise, et que les derniers ne font leur fortune qu'en cinq a six ans de commerce, sans exposer leurs vies, en écorchant le pauvre voyageur et l'habitant.

Le 16 février, deux des engagés du sieur Jean Munier ont partis pour aller chez lui. Jai envoyé deux de mes gens avec eux chercher une lettre a moy addressée <écritte par ma femme> venant des Illinois et apporté par le sieur Salomon. Jai prémédité de prouver aux Mahas et aux Poncas par cette lettre que les fusils pris par les derniers entre les mains du sieur Jacques dÉglise m'appartenoient, leur disant que ni ayant point de fusils a mon départ au village français, javois recommandé au sieur Jacques d'Église l'orsque je l'avois rencontré de m'en apporter vingt six s'il en étoit arrivé lorsquil partiront. Je ne sai si cette ruse me réussira.

<"If all the Indian peoples," I said to them, "that are located along the roads of the French, from the country where the merchandise is made, up to your nation, had closed the way, you would have never received from us the supplies that you need so much. But, on the contrary, all these nations, content with having the French among them, who give subsistence to their wives and children, listen to the words of their father, and are always in agreement with their brothers, the white men, who come and go at all times and seasons from one village to another as they please, and without encountering any opposition. You alone, Omahas, Otoes, and Poncas, who need us more than any other nation, close your ears to the words of your father, our chief; your minds and hearts are filled only with bad feelings for us, seeking only to steal from us, deceive us, pillage us, and harm us in our undertakings in all kinds of ways.">

Finally, after many similar discussions <for I would never finish if I quoted all the impertinent speeches that they give me every day>, this wily chief of the Omahas still wants to persuade me that it is for the preservation of the goods and even the lives of the Frenchmen that causes him to disapprove of our enterprises of discovery on the upper Missouri. The loss of Sieur Jacques d'Église's goods at the hands of the Poncas, and of mine to the Sioux, gives great weight to his arguments, although the true reason for his discontent is that he himself had been unable to seize from us the finest and largest part, as he would have if we had stopped at his village.

No matter, I will admit that the peltries trade with the Omaha nation may yet be advantageous for the merchants who get their merchandise from the English sector, and who make the most on their peltries there. But it is impossible for a poor, miserable trader who equips himself at the establishment of a merchant of St. Louis, who never fails to fleece him to the utmost, to be able to make any profit or even to complete payment on his outfit. There are no differences between the corsairs who sail the seas and the merchants of the Illinois except that the first from time to time enrich themselves all at once with a good prize,[79] while the latter make their fortune only after five to six years of trade, without risking their lives, by fleecing the poor voyageur and the *habitant*.[80]

On the 16th of February two of Sieur Jean Munier's *engagés* left to go to him. I sent two of my men with them to find a letter addressed to me <written by my wife> coming from the Illinois and carried by Sieur Salomon. I intended to prove to the Omahas and Poncas by this letter that the fusils taken by the latter from the hands of Sieur Jacques d'Église belonged to me, telling them that since I did not have any fusils on my departure from the French village, I had asked Sieur Jacques d'Église when I met him to bring twenty-six to me if any had come in before he set out. I do not know if this scheme will succeed.

Le 8 du mois de mars, le grand chef des Mahas et toute sa famille est partis d'icy pour {77} s'en retourner a son village sans me donner une seule peau, disant que sa pelleterie y étoit caché, mais je n'espère rien de ce coquin <pour deux cent vingt trois livres, prix de facture>.

Le 9eme, sont arrivés les deux hommes que j'avois envoyé chercher ma lettre, accompagnés du sieur Salomon et de deux autres engagés de Jean Munier, avec quelques effets pour faire la traite avec les Poncas <pour acheter des vivres, ayant jeunés la plus grendre [*sic,* grande] partie de l'hyvers, ne mangeant que des fêveroles sauvages>.

Le dix, les deux grands chefs poncas, l'un appelé Kichétawaco <Kichetavaco>, l'autre Morrestnangy, sont arrivés icy. Je les ai bien recu. Je leur ai dit que leur père espagnole, protecteur de toutes les nations situés sur cette rivierre, vouloit leur procurer leurs besoins; que touts les ans il leur envoyoit une voiture chargée de ma[r]chandise pour eux, mais que les Mahas, fins et rusés, leurs fermoient le chemin, disant que les Poncas étoient de mauvais gens, les accusant de voiloir piller et tuer les Français qui entreroient chez eux, attribuant leurs maladies et mortalités a leurs marchandises; que les seuls Mahas étoient les autheurs de leurs miseres. Je les exhortai a bien traiter les Français partout ou ils les {78} trouveroient, que les intententions [*sic*] de leur père espagnol étoit d'avoir un beau chemin pour tous ses enfants. Je les sollicitai a bien payer les effets qu'ils avoient pris au sieur Jacques d Église.

Je les assurai en leur montrant la lettre que le sieur Salomon m'avoit apporté que les fusils m'appartenoient, que d'ailleurs la poudre et autres effets du sieur Jacques d'Église qu'ils avoient pris sortoient du même village et de la même maison que les miennes, qu'ainsi ils feroient bien de me donner toutes les pelleteries quils lui destinoient en payement et de ne pas les trafiquer ni a dautres Français ny aux Mahas, ce qui arriveroit infailliblement s'ils ne me les donnoient pas, le sieur Jacques ne pouvant être de sitot de retour a leur village; que s'ils nous faisoient pleurer, les Mahas seroient contents <et confirmeroient leurs mechantes paroles contre eux> voulant les tenir toujours dépendants d'eux; et qu'au contraire, s'ils nous rendoient le coeur content, cela prouveroit que touts les mauvais discours des Mahas sont faux; que leur père espagnol seroit satisfait d'eux; et qu'ils pourroient être assurés que les Français, {79} connoissant leurs bons coeurs, feroient tous leurs efforts pour parvenir a leur village <leur apportés leur besoins>. Je les conseillai de ne point trafiquer de pelleteries avec les Mahas, de les conserver plutôt pour une autre année, et surtout de fermer les oreilles a leurs mauvais discours <aux discours flatteurs et rusés des Mahas,> qui ne tendent qu'a les brouiller avec les Français et conséquemment les rendre misérable.

On the 8th of March the head chief of the Omahas and all his family left here to return to his village without giving me a single skin, saying that his peltries were cached there, but I do not hope for anything from this rascal <for the 223 *livres*, at invoice price>.

On the 9th the two men arrived whom I had sent to get my letter, accompanied by Sieur Salomon and two additional *engagés* of Jean Munier, with some goods to trade to the Poncas <to buy provisions, having gone without food the greater part of the winter, eating only wild beans[81]>.

On the 10th the two head chiefs of the Poncas, one called Kichétawaco <Kichetabaco>[82] and the other Morrestnangy, arrived here. I welcomed them. I told them that their Spanish Father, protector of all the nations located on this river, wished to satisfy their needs; that every year he had sent a boat loaded with merchandise for them, but that the Omahas, shrewd and clever, had closed the road to them, saying that the Poncas were bad people, accusing them of wishing to pillage and kill the Frenchmen who would come to them, attributing their illnesses and deaths to their merchandise; that the Omahas alone were the cause of their misery. I exhorted them to treat Frenchmen well everywhere they find them, that the intention of their Spanish Father was to have a good road for all his children. I urged them to pay well for the goods that they had taken from Sieur Jacques d'Église.

I assured them, while showing them the letter that Sieur Salomon had brought me, that the fusils belonged to me, that furthermore the powder and other goods that they had taken from Sieur Jacques d'Église came from the same village and the same Company as mine, so that they would do well to give me all the peltries that they intended for him in payment and not to trade them either to other Frenchmen or to the Omahas, which would certainly happen if they did not give them to me, since Sieur Jacques could not return soon to their village; that if they made us cry, the Omahas would be happy <and would confirm their evil words about them> since they wished to keep them [the Poncas] always dependent upon them; and that, on the contrary, if they made us happy, that would prove that all the evil words of the Omahas were untrue; that their Spanish Father would be satisfied with them; and that they could be assured that the French, aware of their good hearts, would make every effort to reach their village <to bring them their necessities>. I advised them not to trade peltries with the Omahas, to keep them instead for another year, and above all to close their ears to their evil words <the Omahas' flattering and clever words>, which tend only to set them [the Poncas] at odds with the French and consequently to render them miserable.

Ils me dirent que tous les mauvais discours que les Mahas tenoient aux Français étoient faux; qu'il ny avoit rien sur la terre de meilleure que les hommes blancs et leurs marchandises; que le chef des Mahas étoit un méchant qui les trompoit toujours et les rendoit digne de pitié; que jéprouverois moi même lorsque j'entrerois dans leur village s'ils étoient tels qu'ils les accusoient; qu'il étoit véritable qu'ils avoient pris vingt quatre fusils, de la poudre, et des balles au sieur Jacques dÉglise; que la nécessité voyant, que leur pirogue étoit toujours arreté par les Mahas le leur avoit fait faire; qu'en outre cetoit pour se venger des Ricaras qui les avoit mal reçeu et voulus tuer lorsquils avoient étés en parole chez eux cette étée; que tous les considérés de leur nation avoient déterminés de bien faire payer a leurs jeunes gens {80} ce qu'ils avoient pris, et qu'il ne seroit detachés aucunes pelteries que le payement ne fut completté; que lorsqu'ils seroient tous réunis a leur village ils tiendroient une assemblée a ce sujet, et qu'ils me recommandoient aussitôt la navigation libre de descendre promptement a leur village; qu'ils croyoient que je serois content.

Ils m'ont réprésenté qu'ils étoient denués de poudre, que cela seul occasionneroit peut-être leurs gens a détourner quelques pelteries pour en avoir des Mahas. Pour les encourager a conserver leurs pelteries je leur ai promis que s'ils me payoient bien, je leur en vendrois quelques peu, ainsi que du drap et des couvertes blanches que j'avois réservés pour eux. Pour lors ils ont parus content et m'ont priés avec instance de les leurs conserver.

Les Mahas font tout leur possible pour les détourner de payer ce quils ont pris a M^{r} Jacques dÉglise. <Cet homme a fait voir aux Poncas les cinq medailles et les cinq pavillons dont il est chargé pour les chef[s] mendannes. Cette vue a donnée une fort jalousie a ces deux nations cy et occasion[é] bien des mauvaises paroles contre nous.> En parlant avec ces chefs poncas de la nation ricaras ou ils avoient étés en calumet l'etée dernierre, ils m'ont apris que de cinq Français qui étoient restés chez cette nation, ils n'en avoient vûs que deux; que les Ricaras leurs avoient dit que les trois autres Français étoient {81} partis avec sept considérés de leur nation pour aller en parole chez d'autres peuples sauvages éloignés; qu'après un tems considérable ils nétoient point revenus; quils croyoient qu'ils avoient étés tués; et qu'ils se disposoient a aller tous en guerre pour venger leur mort.

Le onzième du mois, le chef Gros Lapin est partis d'icy avec toute sa famille.

Le douzieme, trente loges des Poncas sont arrivées et ont campés sur l'autre rive du Missouris vis a vis de nous.

Le treize, j'ai été les visiter. Ils m'ont bien féstiné. Le sieur Salomon y a traité beaucoup des viandes de vaches sauvages séches a bon marché. Jai proposé au chef de cette bande de faire payer ceux qui avoient de mes fusils. Il n'a point voulû, disant quil falloit qu'ils furent tous assemblés a leur village pour cela.

They said to me that all the evil words that the Omahas spoke to the French were false; that there was nothing on earth better than the white men and their merchandise; that the Omaha chief was a wicked person who always deceived them and rendered them worthy of pity; that I could determine for myself when I entered their village if they were such as they [the Omahas] accused them of being; that it was true that they had taken twenty-four fusils, some powder, and some balls from Sieur Jacques d'Église; that need had made them do it, seeing that their pirogue was always stopped by the Omahas; that furthermore it was to avenge themselves against the Arikaras, who had received them badly and tried to kill them when they went to talk with them this summer; that all the leading men of their nation determined to make their young men pay well for what they had taken, and that no peltries would be removed until the payment was complete; that when they were all reunited at their village, they would hold an assembly on this subject, and they urged me as soon as the way was clear for navigation to descend promptly to their village; that they thought I would be content.

They pointed out to me that they were out of powder, and that alone perhaps would cause their people to divert some peltries in order to get some from the Omahas. To encourage them to keep their peltries, I promised that if they paid me well, I would sell them a little, along with some cloth and white blankets that I had saved for them. Then they appeared content and begged me earnestly to save those for them.

The Omahas do everything possible to dissuade them [the Poncas] from paying for what they took from Monsieur Jacques d'Église. In speaking with the Ponca chiefs about the Arikara nation where they had been to smoke the calumet last summer, they informed me that of the five Frenchmen who lived with this nation, they had seen only two; that the Arikaras said to them that the three other Frenchmen had left with seven leading men of their nation to go talk with other distant Indian peoples; that after a long time they had not returned; that they thought they had been killed; and that they were all preparing to go to war to avenge their deaths.

On the 11th of the month Chief Big Rabbit left here with his entire family.

On the 12th, thirty lodges of Poncas arrived and camped on the other side of the Missouri opposite us.

On the 13th I went to visit them. They feasted me well. Sieur Salomon traded there extensively for dried buffalo meat at a cheap price. I proposed to the chief of this band that he make those pay who had my fusils. He did not consent, saying it was necessary that they all be assembled at their village for that.

Le quatorze, ils ont levés leur camp et sont partis. Jai envoyé Piériche <Pierre> Berger, qui entend passablement leur langue, avec eux, lui ayant donné quelques morçeaux de tabac pour faire fumér les considérés de chaque horde, {82} et les encourager a me conserver leurs pelleteries. Je suis fort impatient de ne pouvoir partir promptement. Les glaces couvrent encore la surfaçe des eaux du Missouris. <Nous avons icy un hivers tres douce.> Nous avons eu quatre pouces de neige, qui n'a duré que dix jours, mais les eaux du Missouris sont si basses que la glace ne peut se détacher sans un cruë d'eau.

<Le 21, les glaces du Missouris ce sont dissoudé et ont passées le vingt deux et vingt trois toute la journée. J'ai pris le partis de faire descendre deux hommes avec le peu de pelteries que j'ay retirés des Mahas et des Poncas. Le Sr. Jean Munier mat promis par le Sr. Salomon de faire [un] cajeu de pelteries ensemble. Je remonte aux nations d'en haut avec six hommes; le peu de pelteries que jenvoye ne valent pas la peine d'envoyer plus de monde.

<A mon arrivée aux Ricaras et aux Mendannes, si je peu passer les premiers librement, je traiterai les pelteries qui se trouveront cher cette nations et je vous les envoyerai par trois des engagés le plustot possible. Si je vois le S^{r}. Jacques dÉglise, comme je l'esperre, en luy fournissant deux ou trois hommes s'il le faut, ma grande pirogue et une autre qu'il aurat sans doute faite cet hyvers suffiront pour descendre ses pelteries et les miennes; et pour lors je me propose de garder sa vielle voiture pour naviguer ou il sera necessaires.

<J'envoye d'icy deux voiture petittes que mes gens on fait cet hyvers. Il n'a pas été possible d'en faire de plus grand ni de meilleurs. Il n'y a aucun bois dans ces endroits c'y [=-ci] propice pour en faire.

<Si le Sr. Jean Munier ne descent q'une de mes voitures, jay recommandés a mes gens de mettre l'autre en cache dans quelqu'endroit remarquable ou les deuxiême qui descendront pourront la prendre en passant.

<Cecy n'a point eû deffets. Jay pris partis d'envoyés la grande pirogue et une autre petitte, me servant d'une moyenne voiture que mes gens ont fait cette hyvers pour montes. Les menaces et les mauvaise paroles tenues par le Sr. Salom[on] a son depart a mes gens, ayant recommandé a deux hommes, employés du Sr. Jean Munier pour traiter aux Poncas, de faire un canot de peaux pour descendre leurs pelteries et de laisser mes deux hommes sur la gréve avec leurs voiture et effets, m'ont fait crainde qu'il ne persuadas au Sr. Jean Munies de me jouer quelque mauvais tour, et que les deux hommes ne se trouvassent embarassés, ne pouvant descendre seuls.

<C'est pourquoi je me suis déterminé d'envoyer trois hommes vous menes les pelleteries que j'ai retirés des Mahas et des Poncas.>

Je n'ai partis de mon hivernement que le vingt cinq de mars. Je me suis rendu le même jour au soir auprès du village des Poncas. Le lendemain jai entré chez

On the 14th they broke camp and left. I sent with them Pieriche <Pierre> Berger, who knows their language fairly well, having given him some pieces of tobacco to have the leading men of each band smoke, and to encourage them to save their peltries for me. I am very impatient at not being able to leave promptly. Ice still covers the surface of the waters of the Missouri. <We are having a very mild winter here.> We have had four inches of snow, which lasted only ten days, but the waters of the Missouri are so low that the ice cannot break loose without a rise in the waters.

<On the 21st the ice on the Missouri broke up and passed downriver on the 22nd and 23rd all day. I decided to send two men downstream with the few peltries that I obtained from the Omahas and Poncas. Sieur Jean Munier promised me through Sieur Salomon to make a raft-load of peltries together.[83] I am returning to the nations upstream with six men; the few peltries that I am sending do not warrant sending any more men.

<Upon my arrival at the Arikaras and the Mandans, if I am able to pass the first with no trouble, I will trade for the peltries that those nations have and I will send them down to you by three of the *engagés* as soon as possible. If I see Sieur Jacques d'Église, as I hope to do, by furnishing him two or three men if necessary, my large pirogue and another that he no doubt made this winter will suffice for taking down his peltries and mine; and then I plan to keep his old boat to navigate when necessary.

<I am sending from here two little pirogues that my men made this winter. It has not been possible to make bigger or better ones. There is no wood here in this region that is suitable to make them.

<If Sieur Jean Munier takes down only one of my pirogues, I recommended to my men that they cache the other one in some noticeable place where the second party to descend will be able to pick it up in passing.

<In fact, this did not take place. I decided to send down the large pirogue and another small one, keeping for myself a mid-sized boat that my men made this winter for going upstream. The threats and malicious words expressed to my men by Sieur Salomon upon his departure, who recommended to two men, employees of Sieur Jean Munier who trade at the Poncas, to make a bullboat to take down their peltries and to leave my two men on the river bank with their boat and goods, have made me fear that he might persuade Sieur Jean Munier to play some evil trick on me, and that the two men would find themselves at a loss, unable to go downstream alone.

<That is why I decided to send three men to bring you the peltries that I received from the Omahas and Poncas.>

I did not leave my winter camp until the 25th of March. In the evening of the same day I went near the Ponca village. The following day, I went to them.

eux. <Leurs cabanes sont bâties a environ une demy lieux du Missouris.> Je ne vous ferai point un long détail de leur caracterre et manierre d'agir; le tems ne me le permet pas. Je vous dirai pour certain que c'est une nation très difficile à conduire. Ils ont un mélange de bons et de mauvais. Il est surprenant qu'un peuple si nouvellement et si peu fréquenté par les Français soit si éclaircy et si difficile pour les prix et qualitées des marchandises. Ils ont les mêmes maximes et les mêmes manieres des Mahas, qui les conseillent, les instruisent toujours plus au mal qu'au bien. . . .*

<Les chef principalement sont des pilleurs de marchandises; jay fait une tres mauvaise traite avec eux. [. . .] Ce sont des gens qui visitent toutes les effets generallement et prennent ce qui leur convient au prix qu'il veulent. Toutes les représentations et plaintes que lon puisse faire ne font aucun effet sur leur mauvais coeurs. Ils nous repettent sans cesse que les Mahas nous font pirer [*sic,* pire] qu'eux. Les derniers ne cessent de les mal conseillés, les in[s]truisant a fond de toutes leurs ruse et fourberies pour rapines les Français. Ceux cy ne suivent que trop leur avis.>

Le grand <coquin de> chef des Mahas est écouté {83} parmi eux, comme un oracle. Il est leur dieu tutelaire. Ce méchant homme, ainsi que plusieurs autres considérés des Mahas, ont fait tous leurs efforts pour empècher les Poncas de payer les fusils et les autres effets pillés au sieur Jacques dÉglise; et solicitoient sans cesse ces derniers, par des messagérs qui tous les jours survenoient, a traiter nos effets a bas prix, ce qu'ils ont assez bien exécutés.

<Tous les jours, étant campés prés de nous, ils envoyoient des messager débitan des mensonges et tenir de mauvais discours contre moi. Je repoussai autant qu'il m'etoit possible touts ces mensonges et propos, faisant entendre aux Poncas que les Mahas ne cherchoient qu'a les tenir miserables, les privant dé Français pour les forcer de leur donnes [*sic,* donner] leurs pelleteries.

<Ils convenoient de la veritée de mes paroles et agissoient toujours selon les conseils de leur dieu tutelaire, le grand chef des Mahas.>

Ce chef <ce mechant homme> ne trouvant pas que les Poncas nous traitoient aussi mal qu'il le désiroit, il nous a porté le coup le plus noire que l'on puisse imaginer, les faisant avertir avec grande persuasion de véritée <, disant que par tous les livre qu'il m'avoit vû [lire] et les ecrits qu'ils [*sic,* il] mavoit vû faire cet hyvers, il connoissoit que jetois un grand homme de médecine>; que je devois, étant un homme de grande médecine, jetter des poisons dans le feu a mon départ qui les feroient tous mourir pendant le cours de l'étée, ainsi que les Sioux, et cela pour vengeance du pillage fait par eux a monsieur Jacques d'Église et a moi par les Sioux. Et pour mieux affermir sa calomnie, il ajouta que

* Ellipses in manuscript.

<Their lodges are built about a half league from the Missouri.> I will not give you a long, detailed account of their character and behavior; time does not allow it. I will tell you for certain that this is a very difficult nation to manage. They are a blend of good and bad. It is surprising that a people so newly and so little visited by the French should be so well informed and so difficult in regard to the price and quality of merchandise. They have the same customs and the same manner as the Omahas, who counsel them, always instructing them more in evil than in good. . . .

<The chiefs are the principal pillagers of merchandise; I made a very bad trade with them . . .[84] They are men who generally examine all the goods and take what suits them at the price they wish. All the protests and complaints that one makes have no effect on their bad hearts. They repeat to us unceasingly that the Omahas have beaved worse than they. The latter incessantly give them bad advice, instructing them thoroughly in all their tricks and deceits for pillaging the French. They [the Poncas] are only too eager to follow their advice.>

The great <rascal> chief of the Omahas is heeded among them as if he were an oracle. He is their tutelary god. This evil man, along with many other leading men of the Omahas, have made every effort to prevent the Poncas from paying for the fusils and other goods stolen from Sieur Jacques d'Église; and they unceasingly advised the latter [the Poncas] by messengers who arrived every day to trade for our goods at a low price, in which they have been quite successful.

<Every day, being camped near us, they send messengers who spread lies and say bad things against me. I refuted as well as I could all the lies and charges, letting the Poncas know that the Omahas seek only to keep them poor, cutting them off from the French in order to force them to give them [the Omahas] their peltries.

<They agreed to the truth of my words, but always acted according to the advice of their tutelary god, the head chief of the Omahas.>

This chief <this evil man>, discovering that the Poncas had not treated us as badly as he desired, struck us the blackest blow that one can imagine, warning them very persuasively<, saying that from all the books that he had seen me [read] and the writings that he had seen me make this winter, he knew I was a great medicine man;>[85] that, being a man of great medicine, I would throw poisons in the fire on my departure that would make them all die during the summer, and the Sioux as well, as revenge for the pillage made by them of Monsieur Jacques d'Église and of me by the Sioux. And in order better to affirm his calumny, he added that Sieur Salomon (which is certainly false) had informed

le sieur Salomon (ce qui est certainement faux) l'avoit imformé secrétement de mon mauvais desseins et lui avoit bien recommandé de garder le secret et de se retirer lui et ses gens promptements des terres des Poncas crainte que {84} cette maladie contagieuse ne se communique parmi eux, mais que par l'amitié qu'il leur portoient il les faisoit avertir. <Juger, Messieurs, jusqu'a quel point ce chef pousse la ruse et la fourberie contre nous.>

À l'arrivée de cette nouvelle <rapporté sur le soir> ce fut un grand tumulte dans le village <cher [*sic,* chez] ce peuple, remplis de faux prejugé et superstitions>; on entendit de toute part des harangues et des chansons de morts. . . .*

Les chefs, <viellards> et les considérés vinrent me demander raison de cette accusation. Je repoussai cette calomnie avec force. Je leur dis que je n'étois point un homme de médecine, que jétois un pauvre homme qui cherchoit des pelleteries en échange des marchandises que je portois aux Peaux Rouges; que javois fréquenté toutes les nations du Mississipy et du Missouris; qu'aucunes ne s'étoit plaint de moi; qui'il n'y avoit que Dieu qui étoit maitre de faire mourir les hommes quand il vouloit; que le grand chef des Mahas étoit un méchant homme qui avoit inventé ce mensonge pour nous faire maltraiter par eux et les priver pour toujours des Français; qu'ils devoient bien s'appercevoir que cétoit la rage, la jalousie, et la colere de ce que je leur avoit conservé quelque peu de poudre et de marchandise, que j'avois si bien caché dans le cours de l'hivers que les Mahas {85} ne les avoient pu découvrir, qui les poussoit [*sic,* poussaient] a leur troubler l'esprit par des mensonges et de faux rapports; que je les avois toujours conseillé, et que je les conseillois encore, de fermer entierrement leurs oreilles aux mauvais discours des Mahas, qui n'avoient toujours cherché et ne cherchoient encore par toutes sortes de moyens a les tenir dans la misere. J'employai milles raisons évidentes pour chasser du coeur de ce peuple crédul et méchant les mauvais préjugés qui s'y étoient formés contre moi. Ils parurent convaincus que je leur disois la veritée, mais je crois que dans le fond de leur ame ils n'en étoient pas persuadés, au moins pour la plus part de ce peuple.

N'importe, ils n'en ont plus parlé pour le présent. Il na plus été question que du payement des fusils et des effets pillés au sieur Jacques dÉglise. Ils ont mis un tems infini en délibération, tant par les mauvais conseils des Mahas que par leur peu de disposition a le faire, car ils me disoient tous les jours que la poudre, les balles, le tabac qu'ils avoient eu du sieur Jacques il le leur avoit donné {86}** en présent pour le passage. Enfin, ils se déterminerent a me donner cent cinquante peaux de chevreuil, plus de mauvaises que de bonnes, quelques robes, et piéces de viande séches pour payement de vingt et quatre fusils, et jetterent en manierre de présent pour le sieur Jacques d'Église trente et une peaux de

* Ellipses in manuscript.

** Damage to the right-hand edge of the folio; bracketed letters are conjectural.

him secretly of my evil designs and had advised him and his people to keep the secret and to withdraw promptly from the lands of the Poncas lest this contagious malady be communicated to them, but that he had warned them because of the friendship he bore toward them. <Judge, Messieurs, to what degree this chief carries tricks and deceits against us. . . .>

At the arrival of this news <reported in the evening> there was great tumult in the village <among these people, who are filled with false prejudices and superstitions>; there were harangues and death songs to be heard everywhere.

The chiefs and leading men came to ask me the basis for this accusation. I rejected this calumny vigorously. I said to them that I was not a medicine man, that I was a poor man seeking peltries in exchange for merchandise that I brought to the Indians; that I had visited all the nations of the Mississippi and of the Missouri; that none had complained about me; that it was only God who was able to make men die when he wished; that the head chief of the Omahas was an evil man who had invented this lie to get them to mistreat us and to deprive them [the Poncas] forever of the French; that they ought to perceive easily that it was rage, jealousy, and anger over my having saved for them a little gunpowder and some merchandise, which I had hidden so well during the course of the winter that the Omahas had not been able to discover them, that incited them to trouble their minds with lies and false reports; that I had always advised them, and that I counseled them still, to close their ears entirely to the bad words of the Omahas, who had always sought and were still seeking by all kinds of means to keep them in poverty. I gave a thousand obvious explanations to chase from the hearts of these credulous and wretched people the evil prejudices that they had formed against me. They appeared convinced that I had told the truth, but I think that at the bottom of their souls they were not persuaded, at least the greater part of the people.

In any case, for the time being, they have not spoken of it further. There was only the question of payment for fusils and goods stolen from Sieur Jacques d'Église. They have spent an infinite amount of time in deliberation, due as much to the bad advice of the Omahas as to their disinclination to do it, for they tell me every day that the powder, balls, and tobacco that they took from Sieur Jacques had been given to them by him as a present for allowing his passage. Finally, they decided to give me 150 deerskins, more bad ones than good, some robes, and pieces of dried meat as payment for twenty-four fusils, and to throw in as a kind of present for Sieur Jacques d'Église thirty-one deerskins,

chevreuil, quato[rze] robes de boeuf, deux castors, et deux loutres, que jai envoyé a monsieur Clamorgan, dirrecteur de la Compagnie.

Après ce méchant payment finis, la traite s'ouvrit, mais auparavent, de commenc[er] messieurs, les deux chefs de cette nation, suiva[nt] exactement l'éxemple et les préceptes des chefs maha[s], me prirent la moitié du drap et des couvertes blanches que jy avois porté a trois peaux de chevreui[l] par chaque couverte, vingt cinq livres de poudre, et cinquante a soixante livres de balles, le tout pour trente peaux, et bien d'autres minuitées a vil pri[x], et ensuitte je troquai ce qui me restoit avec ce peuple bien paisiblement et avec un grand bénéfice. Je ne finis toutes ces affaires que le six avril.

Le sept ils firent une assemblées des chefs, des considérés et des viellards de la nation. Il m'y appellerent; c'étoit un festin où toutes les cérémonies d'un culte {87} superstitieux étoient religieusement observés. Un de ces viellards, m'adressant la parole, me dit que cette assemblée étoit composée des principaux membres de leur nation; que ce festin étoit offert au Grand Esprit et aux morts; que tous ces chefs et viellards qui étoient présents me demandoient avec instances que je leur dise sincèrement ce qui pouvoit y avoir de bien et de mal renfermé dans mon coeur contre leur nation. Je connus pour lors que toutes les raisons que javois pu leur réprésenter au sujet des faux rapports du grand chef des Mahas ne les avoit pas persuadé du contraire, et qu'ils croyoient toujours que j'étois capable de les faire mourir, tant la parole de ce chef des Mahas est écouté et cru parmy ce peuple.

Je leur réitérai ce que je leur avois déja dit la première fois; que de plus quand même j'aurois quelque capacitée en mauvaises médecine, ce que je n'avois pas, ils ne m'avoient donné aucun sujet de mécontentement, et qu'au contraire javois bien été traité chez eux, sans aucune insulte ni mauvaises paroles; que je n'avois vû que des visages riants, soit en troquant les pelleteries, soit dans toutes les cabannes ou j'avois été {88} appellé pour manger; que malgré touts les mauvais discours des Mahas et leurs empêchements, ils m'avoient donné quelques peaux pour réparer un peu la perte de la prise de mes fusils par leur jeunes gens; que bien loin de leur vouloir du mal, je reviendrois avec plaisir chez eux si c'étoit la volontée de leur pere espagnol, notre chef; et qu'ils pouvoient être assuré que je parlerois en bien pour eux a leur pêre espagnol, et a tous les Français de mon village. Après ce discours, ils me frotterent les mains, les bras, et la tête en remerciment et me dirent qu'ils étoient contents d'avoir entendu la parole que je venois de leur dire. Nous sortimes après avoir mangés.

Le huit, je me transportai avec les pelteries au bord du Missouris (car leurs habitations en sont présentement éloignées d'une lieue). Il falloit que j'écrive les états des pelleteries que j'envoyois a monsieur le dirrecteur et les lettres pour les Illinois, ainsi que la continuation de mon journal, car depuis que j'étois

four buffalo robes, two beaver, and two otter, which I have sent to Monsieur Clamorgan, Director of the Company.

After this inadequate payment was finished, the trade opened, but beforehand, as if they were gentlemen, the two chiefs of this nation, following exactly the example and precepts of the Omaha chiefs, took from me half the cloth and white blankets that I brought at a rate of three deerskins for each blanket, twenty-five *livres* of powder, and fifty to sixty *livres* of balls, all for thirty skins, and many other small objects very cheaply, and then I traded what I had left with these people very peacefully and at a large profit. I did not finish this entire business until April 6.

On the 7th they called an assembly of the chiefs, leading men, and old men of the nation. They invited me; it was a feast where all the ceremonies of a superstitious cult were religiously observed. One of these old men, speaking to me, said that this assembly was composed of the principal members of their nation; that this feast was offered to the Great Spirit and to the dead; that all the chiefs and old men who were present earnestly asked that I tell them frankly what good and evil feelings I might have locked in my heart regarding their nation.[86] I knew then that all the reasons that I had given them on the subject of the false reports of the head chief of the Omahas had not persuaded them to the contrary, and that they still thought I was capable of causing them to die, so much is the word of the chief of the Omahas heeded and believed among these people.

I reiterated to them what I had already said the first time; that furthermore even if I had some ability in bad medicine, which I do not have, they had not given me any reason for discontent, and on the contrary I had been treated well among them, without any insults or bad words; that I had seen only cheerful faces, either when trading in peltries or in all the lodges where I had been invited to eat; that in spite of all the evil talk of the Omahas and their obstructions, they had given me some skins to make up a little for the loss resulting from the seizure of my fusils by their young men; that far from wishing them ill, I would return to them with pleasure if this was the wish of their Spanish Father, our chief; and that they could be assured that I would speak well of them to their Spanish Father and to all the French in my village. After this speech, they rubbed my hands, arms, and head in thanks and said to me that they were happy to have heard the words that I had just spoken to them.[87] We left after having eaten.

On the 8th I went with the peltries to the bank of the Missouri (for their dwellings are now a league from it). I had to record an inventory of the peltries that I was sending to Monsieur the Director and write letters for the Illinois, as well as the continuation of my journal, for since I had come among this people,

entré chez ce peuple remplis de mauvais et faux préjugés, je navois osé toucher <ni livre,> ni plume ni papier, crainte d'affermir dans leur esprit la fausse croyance ou ils étoient {89} de ma prétendue capacitée en magie. Jécrivis de nuit et en cachatte [*sic*, cachette], tant bien que mal, car je ny voyois goutte.

Le lendemain, neuvieme du mois, je fis venir les deux chefs de cette nation et quelques considérés pour leur annoncer que je montois chez les Ricaras, car je navois pas voulû leur en parler plutot [*sic*, plustôt] crainte que cette nouvelle fut porté au grand chef des Mahas, qui étoit encore assez proche pour y mettre empêchement, et pour même ne pas donner le tems a ceux cy dy faire réflexion et de se former parmi eux quelques doutance ou disposition contraire a la continuation de mon voyage. Je leur distribuai queque [*sic*, quelques] morceaux de tabac. Je leur répétai que mon coeur étoit content d'eux. Ils me remercierent. Je leur montrai les lettres que j'envoyois aux Illinois dans lesquelles, je leur dis, que javois écri en leur faveur; que pour moy il falloit absolument que jallasse aux Ricaras pour y avoir les cinq Français qui y résidoient; que ces Français la avoient pris des marchandises a crédit dans mon même village, et que je voulois apporter les pelleteries qu'ils pourroient avoir; que d'ailleurs {90} j'avois appris par la lettre que le nommé Salomon m'avoitapporté dernierement des Illinois que Jacques d'Église étoit chargé de quelques marchandises pour moy et qu'il étoit nécessaire que je fus le rejoindre pour convertir ces marchandises en pelleries; que je montois dans une petite pirogue avec des vivres seulement pour me rendre promptement aux Ricaras. Je les encourageois fort a tenir les chemins libres et beaux pour tous les Français qui passeroient et repasseroient a leur village; que cétoit la volonté de leur père espagnole et que s'ils le contentoient ils ne manqueroient jamais de marchandises; que moi même j'écrirois a leur pere espagnol, notre chef, et aux propriétaires des marchandises pour que Joséphe Ladéroute put revenir promptement (avec la grande voiture que je renvoyois) chargée de marchandises, de sorte que je pus la rencontrer dans le cours de l'étée bien loin en de ça [*sic*, au-dessus] du village français, d'où je monterois chez eux; que toute fois, quoi que ce fut mon dessein, je ne les assurois pas que cela arriveroit tel parce que nous autres Peaux Blanches en général nous dépendions d'un chef qui étoit maitre d'envoyer qui bon lui sembloit en commerce dans les différents villages de Peaux {91} Rouges et que je ne voulois pas m'exposer a mentir en les assurant que je reviendrois chez eux, puisque je n'en étois pas le maitre. Ils me répondirent que je parlois juste, que je ne ressemblois pas a beaucoup d'autres hommes blancs qui assurent toujours quand ils partent qu'ils reviendront, et ne reviennent point. Ils me dirent que toutes mes raisons et paroles étoient bonnes, qu'ils ny trouvoient pas a redire, et qu'ils étoient contents de moy. Je leur donnai la main, et nous partimes ensemble, moi pour remonter le Missouris avec cinq hommes, et les trois autres hommes pour descendre les pelleteries aux Illinois.

who are filled with evil and false prejudices, I had not dared to touch either book, pen, or paper for fear of strengthening in their minds the mistaken belief they had in my supposed ability in magic. I wrote at night in secret, as well as I could, for I could scarcely see.[88]

The next day, the 9th of the month, I sent for the two chiefs of this nation and some leading men to announce to them that I was going upriver to the Arikaras, for I had not wished to tell them of it sooner for fear that this news would be carried to the head chief of the Omahas, who was still near enough to prevent it, and in order likewise not to give them time to reflect and to form among themselves any uncertainty about, or opposition to, the continuation of my voyage. I distributed to them some pieces of tobacco. I repeated to them that my heart was pleased with them. They thanked me. I showed them the letters that I was sending to the Illinois in which, I said to them, I had written in their favor; that for me it was absolutely necessary to go to the Arikaras to see the five Frenchmen who reside there; that these Frenchmen had taken merchandise on credit in my own village, and that I wanted to carry away the peltries that they might have; that moreover I had learned from the letter that the man named Salomon had brought me recently from the Illinois that Jacques d'Église was loaded with some merchandise for me and it was necessary that I meet him to convert the merchandise into peltries; that I was going upriver in a little pirogue with only food supplies in order to go quickly to the Arikaras. I strongly encouraged them to keep the roads free and good for all the Frenchmen who would pass and repass their village; that this was the will of their Spanish Father and that if they would cooperate they would never lack for merchandise; that I myself would write to their Spanish Father, our chief, and to the owners of merchandise to ensure that Joseph Ladéroute could return promptly (with the large boat that I was sending back) loaded with merchandise, so that I could meet him in the course of the summer well above the French village, from where I would come up to their village; that nevertheless, although this was my plan, I could not assure them that such would happen because we white-skins in general were dependent on a chief who was free to send whomever seemed suitable to him to trade in the different Indian villages and I did not wish to run the risk of lying in assuring them that I would return to them, because it was not my decision. They answered me that I spoke true, that I did not resemble many other white men who always assured them when they left that they would return, and never returned. They told me that all my reasons and words were good, that they found no fault with them, and that they were satisfied with me. I gave them my hand and we left together, I to ascend the Missouri with five men, and the three other men to take the peltries downriver to the Illinois.

Jai donc partis le neuvieme d'avril 1795 du village des Poncas pour monter le Missouris. Jai fait route avec bien de la peine, étant sans cesse arrété par les vents, qui sont dans ces endroits cy plus fréquents qu'en touts autres endroits du monde.

Le premier de may, un parti de guerre composés de vingt cinq hommes de la nation des Ricaras sont arrivés a nous allant en guerre sur la nation poncas. Ils y étoient deux chefs de guerre. Jai fait tous mes efforts pour les faire {92} relacher, leur représentant que s'ils tuoient des Poncas ils fermeroient le chemin aux Français. Les voyant obstinés a vouloir poursuivre leurs desseins, je leur ai fait un présent montant environ a la somme de cent franc. Ils ont acceptés le present, et ont toujours continués route, ce que je n'ai jamais vû chez les barbares. Huit seulement s'en sont retournés avec nous. Ils m'ont dit que le sieur Jacques dÉglise étoit a leur village. Jai envoyé quatre sauvages annoncer notre arrivée a leurs gens et quatre ont restés avec nous. Jai fait mander les chefs avec quelques cheveaux pour transporter les effets que j'avois mis en cache l'automne dernière, ne pouvant les embarquer, ma voiture étant trop petitte; outre que la saison me pressoit de me rendre afin de pouvoir envoyer les pelleteries que je pourrois traiter de Compagnie avec le sieur Jacques, profitant des belles eaux.

[MAY 15, 1795]

Je me suis rendu le quinze de may au village des Ricaras.

Le 16eme, un village de la nation chaguienne au nombres de cent quarante loges est arrivé icy. Ils sont grands amis des Ricaras, ainsi qu'une bande de Sioux qui reside continuellement avec les derniers, au nombre de soixante loges. Ces Sioux ont tués nouvellement un homme de la nation des Chaguiennes, lesquels vouloient vanger cette mort {93} en frappant sur cette bande de Sioux.* Jai appaisé cette querelle.

Le 18eme, jai tenu un conseil général composé de deux chefs ricaras, du grand chef des Chaguienne, et du chef de cette bande de Sioux, et des considérés de chaque village. Je leur ai annoncé les paroles que leurs père espagnole leur adresse, tels quelles sont dictées sur les patentes dont jétois chargé pour leur remettre de la part de monsieur le commandant des Illinois. J'y ai ajouté touts les discours les plus propres pour les maintenir dans l'union entre-eux, et les exciter a bien traiter les hommes blancs partout ou ils les trouveront, et a courir a la recherche des pelleteries.

Ils répondirent qu'ils feroient tout ce que leur père espagnol exigeroit d'eux; qu'ils ne troubleroient point les chemins des hommes blancs tant pour le haut que pour le bas Missouris; qu'ils étoient bien faché contre les jeunes foux que

* Following "Sioux" the word "seuls" was added, then crossed out.

I left on the 9th of April, 1795, from the village of the Poncas to ascend the Missouri. I traveled with much difficulty, being constantly stopped by winds, which are more common in these passages than anywhere else in the world.

On the 1st of May a war party composed of twenty-five men of the Arikara nation arrived among us on the way to make war against the Ponca nation. There were two war chiefs. I exerted all my efforts to make them desist, pointing out to them that if they killed any Poncas they would close the road to the French. Seeing them determined to pursue their plans, I made them a present amounting to approximately the sum of one hundred francs.[89] They accepted the present, but nevertheless continued on their way, which I have never seen among Indians. Only eight. I sent four Indians to announce our arrival to their people and four have remained with us. I sent for the chiefs to come with several horses to transport the goods that I had put in a cache last autumn, not being able to load them on board, my boat being too small. Besides that, the season pressed me to proceed to take advantage of the high waters to send down the peltries that I would trade for the Company with Sieur Jacques.

MAY 15, 1795

I arrived on the 15th of May at the village of the Arikaras.[90]

On the 16th, a village of the Cheyenne nation numbering 140 lodges arrived here. They are great friends of the Arikaras, just as is a band of Sioux that resides continually with the latter, numbering 60 lodges.[91] These Sioux recently killed a man of the Cheyenne nation; they wished to avenge his death by attacking this band of Sioux. I settled the quarrel.

On the 18th I held a general council composed of two Arikara chiefs, the head chief of the Cheyennes, and the chief of this band of Sioux, as well as the leading men of each village. I made known to them the words that their Spanish Father addressed to them, just as they are written on the commissions that I was ordered to deliver to them on behalf of Monsieur the Commandant of the Illinois.[92] I added all the most appropriate words to maintain the union among them, to induce them to treat white men well everywhere they find them, and to hunt for peltries.

They responded that they would do all that their Spanish Father would require of them; that they would not disturb the roads of the white men either on the upper or lower Missouri; that they were angry with the young fools whom I had

j'avois rencontré de ce qu'ils n'avoient pas écoutés ma parole et relachés; que quoi que les Mahas ou les Poncas sortoient de leur tuer un homme tout nouvellement, ils auroient préféré a {94} tenir le chemin beau plutot que de se vanger si je fusse arrivé avant le départ de ce partis de guerre; que quand aux nations siouses situés a l'orient du Missouri, il étoit impossible de maintenir l'accord avec eux; que sans cesse ils les trahissoient et les tuoient quoiqu'ils les reçûssent bien lorsquils venoient chez eux en paro[le]; que cétoient de tres mauvaises nations; qu'enfin, ils n'avoient [*sic,* il n'avait] jamais dépendu d'eux d'être d'accord, mais qu'ils n'avoient pû y réûsir par la méchançetée et le mauvais coeur de ces peuples sioux.

Jai donné a chaque chef les médailles, les pavillon, et les petits présents de poudre et tabac que leur pere espagnol leur avoit envoyé par moy, et ils ont étés contents. Ils m'ont promis, surtout les Sioux et le Chaguiennes, de chasser aux castors.

Quant aux Sioux qui habitent la partie occidentale du Missouris, on ne devroit pas chercher à les attirer icy. Ils causeront plus de dommage que de bénéfice et perderont entierrement les nations que nous voulons établire, tant par leurs mauvais conseils que par les instructions qu'ils leur donnent du trafique des pelleteries sur la partie anglaise, tel que nous l'éprouvons {95} aujourd'hui chez les Mahas et les Otoctatas.

Jai trouvé icy le sieur Jacques dÉglise avec trois petites méchantes voitures, sa meilleure pirogue ayant été coupé par les Sioux. Je suis obligé d'envoyer la pirogue que jai monté icy pour descendre le peu de pelleteries que jai traité. Jai proposé aux nommés La Voie et Quebec de me faire une pirogue [ayant] le plus de port possible. Je leur donnerai en payement quelques peu d'amonition de chasse, leur fournissant deux hommes pour y travailler.

Il m'a été impossible de me rendre aux Mandannes ce primtemps. Ces villages icy ne me souffrirons pas passer outre sans laisser du monde avec des effets chez eux, et je ne puis me séparer pour le présent. Jai crus ne devoir pas vous faire des faux fraix cette étée. Toujours sur les mêmes éffets, vous avez déja tant perdus par les mauvais évenements que jai trouvé plus a propos de ne garder avec moy que trois hommes. Jai présumé que la pirogue qui doit monter icy dans le cours de cette étée fournira assez de monde pour les postes d'en haut et celui cy. Jai gardé trois hommes avec moy pour être toujours assez fort pour pouvoir naviguer ou il {96} sera nécessaire, soit pour monter ou descendre si au cas il arrivoit quelques accidents a vos envoies prochaines, et d'ailleurs, je retirerai quelques services des Français chasseurs icy si j'en ai besoin pour des bagatelles. Je ferai mon possible pour aller aux Mendannes dans le cour de l'étée, soit par eau, soit par terre, pour faire un accord solide entre cette nation et celle cy, et y préparer les esprits a l'établissement que vous vous proposéz d'y faire, et

met because they had not listened to my words and stopped; that although the Omahas or Poncas had just recently killed one of their men, they would have preferred to keep the road good rather than to avenge themselves, if I had arrived before the departure of the war party; that as for the Sioux nations located east of the Missouri, it was impossible to maintain peace with them; that unceasingly they betrayed and killed them although they [the Arikaras] received them well when they came to their village to parley; that they were very bad nations; that, in short, it had never been dependent on them to be at peace, but that they had beenunable to succeed [at maintaining peace] because of the wickedness and bad hearts of the Sioux peoples.

I gave each chief the medal, flag, and little presents of powder and tobacco that their Spanish Father had sent with me for them, and they were satisfied. They promised me, particularly the Sioux and Cheyennes, to hunt beaver.

As for the Sioux who live on the west side of the Missouri, one must not seek to draw them here. They will cause more detriment than profit and entirely mislead the nations with whom we want to establish trade, both by their bad advice and by the information that they give them about trade in peltries in the English sector, as we experience today among the Omahas and Otoes.

I found Sieur Jacques d'Église here with three pitiful little boats, his best pirogue having been cut up by the Sioux. I am forced to send the pirogue in which I came here to take downriver the small amount of peltries for which I traded. I proposed to the men named La Voie and Québec[93] to make me a pirogue as capacious as possible. I will give them in payment a small amount of ammunition for the hunt, furnishing them two men to work on it.

It was impossible for me to go to the Mandans this spring. These villages here will not allow me to go beyond them without leaving some men with trade goods among them, and I cannot part with any of them at the present. I did not think that I should cause you any incidental expenses this summer. You have already lost so much, always on the same goods, by disastrous events that I found it more appropriate to keep only three men with me. I presumed that the pirogue that should come up here in the course of the summer would furnish enough men for the posts above and this one. I have kept three men with me always to be strong enough to be able to navigate when necessary, be it to travel upstream or downstream in case some accident happens to your next shipments, and besides, I will draw on the French hunters here for services if I need a little help. I will do my best to go to the Mandans during the summer, either by water or land, in order to make a solid accord between that nation and the one here, to prepare them for the establishment that you propose to make

arreter le commerce que les nommés Jussaume et Cardin entretiennent avec les Anglais de la baye d'Hudson, et de la rivierre Rouge. Jai appris par un Français nouvellement arrivé d'en haut que ce commerce étoit sur le point de faillir tant par leur mauvaise conduitte que par les fraix des transports des pelleteries . . .*

<Seconde partie>

Après le départ du sieur Jacques <Déglise>, qui a été le vingt et quatre de may, mil sept cent quatre vingt quinze, du village des Ricaras, auquel jai joint deux hommes, engagés a la Compagnie, pour rendre le peu de pelleteries que jai trafiqué avec les Chaguiennes seulement, le sieur Jacques dÉglise ayant avant mon arrivée <icy>, {97} tant dans le cours de l'hivers que du primtems, traité toutes les pelleteries que pouvoient avoir les Ricaras. Jai fait partir quatre hommes, d'ont deux, les nommés Québec et La Voye <Lavoie>, gens capables pour construire des pirogues, m'ont promis de faire la recherche d'un ou de deux gros arbres convenable a ce sujet moyennant quelque munition de chasse que je leur ai promis s'il me faisoit une pirogue assez grande pour porter mes effets pour monter aux Mendannes le plutôt possible, espérant d'y faire consentir les Ricaras en laissant toutes fois un homme icy avec de la poudre et quelquautres petites menuitées en attendant l'arrivée de la pirogue que la Compagnie doit envoyer dans le cours de cette étée.

<Na Lecuyer,> les sieurs Quebec et La Voye, voulant aussi se rendre sur le haut Missouris pour y faire la chasse des castors <cette automne>, mauroient aidé a monter ma voiture jusqu'aux Mandannes. Ils sont revenus apres douze <quinze> jours de recherche inutile, ayant parcourus toutes les pointes de bois qui se trouvent sur le Missouris jusqu'à la distance de trente lieuës plus haut que les villages ricaras. En effet, il est véritable que dans lespace de cinquante lieuës plus bas que les {98} Ricaras, et autant plus haut, le Missouris n'est bordé que de côtes et de prairies. On y voit quelques petites pointes de bois fournies en saules et petits liards courts et menus. Ces nations icy, Ricaras, ne se servent, pour les bois de chauffage et construction de leur cabane, que de méchant bois de dérive dont ils font amas lorsque les eaux du Missouris montent dans la saison du primtems. Ainsi il seroit tres difficile a nous de construire maisons et forts dans ce lieu. Il faudroit un tems considérable, <beaucoup de monde,> et de gros frais pour y réussir.

Je suis resté icy sans pirogue. Il faut de toute nécessitée que j'attende la voiture qui doit venir dans le cours de cette étée. En outre, ma présence est très nécessaire icy pour les évênements qui peuvent y survenir, tant pour retenir ces nations icy dans la tranquilitée et union avec les nations situées sur le haut

* Ellipses in manuscript.

there, and to stop the trade that the men named Jussaume and Cardin carry on with the English of Hudson Bay and Red River.[94] I learned through a Frenchman who recently arrived from upstream that this trade was on the point of failing because of both their bad conduct and the expense of transporting the peltries.

Part 2 May 24–July 20, 1795

After the departure of Sieur Jacques <Déglise> from the village of the Arikaras, which was on the 24th of May, 1795, with whom I sent two men, *engagés* of the Company, to take down the few peltries that I received in trade from the Cheyennes alone, Sieur Jacques d'Église having before my arrival <have> traded throughout the winter and spring for all the peltries that the Arikaras might have had. I ordered four men to leave, two of whom, named Québec and La Voye <Lavoie>,[95] men capable of constructing pirogues, have promised me to search for one or two large trees suitable for this purpose in return for some ammunition for the hunt that I have promised them if they make a pirogue for me large enough to carry my goods up to the Mandans as soon as possible, as I hope to get the Arikaras to agree to this by leaving a man here with some powder and other little items to await the arrival of the pirogue that the Company is to send this summer.

<Na Lecuyer>[96] and the Sieurs Québec and La Voye, who also wished to go to the upper Missouri to hunt for beaver <this fall>, would have helped me take my boat up to the Mandans. They returned after twelve <fifteen> days from a useless search, having scouted all the wooded points that were along the Missouri up to a distance of thirty leagues above the Arikara villages. In fact, it is true that in the space of fifty leagues below the Arikaras, and the same distance above, the Missouri is bordered only by bluffs and prairies. There one sees some small wooded points covered with willows and small cottonwoods, short and slender. The nations here, the Arikaras, use for firewood and the construction of th'eir lodges only worthless driftwood that they gather into piles when the waters of the Missouri rise in the spring. Thus it would be very difficult for us to construct houses and forts in this area. It would require considerable time, <a number of men,> and great expense in order to succeed.

I stayed here without a pirogue. I am compelled of necessity to await the boat that is to come during the summer. Besides, my presence is very necessary here both to deal with events that may arise, and to keep these nations here in peace and union with the nations located on the upper Missouri as well as with

Missouris ainsi qu'avec celle[s] qui parcourent la partie occidentalle de cette rivierre, dont plusieurs villages a qui jai envoyé des paroles en tabac pour leur annoncer l'arrivée des Français chez les Ricaras et leur résidence doivent s'assembler icy dans le cours des mois de juillet et d'aoust pour entendre la parole {99} de leur pere espagnol pour la premiere fois.

Jai eu bien de la peine empécher les Ricaras depuis mon arrivée d'aller en guerre sur ces nations qui habitent les païs situés a l'oüest, qui sont en grand nombre et peu éloigné d'icy, et qui ne désirent (surtout depuis qu'ils ont appris que les hommes blancs fréquentent les Ricaras avec des pirogues) que de s'allier étroitement d'amitié avec ces derniers pour tirer leur besoin des Français.

Un parti de guerre de la nation ricaras parti dès le primtems est arrivé le cinq de juin avec une chevelure. Ils ont tué un homme de la nation des Pados <de la nation du Corbeau, peuple qui fait sa résidence près de la montagne de Roche>.

Le huit, un autre parti qui étoit allé venger la mort de trois personnes de leurs gens que les Sioux ont tués l'hivers dernierre sont revenus avec une chevelure d'un homme d'un village sioux appellé Ÿsantÿ <ennemis jurés des Ricaras>. Quelques jours après deux hommes d'un autre village sioux nommé Takorpa <Ta Corripâ> alliez des Ricaras, sont venus apporter la nouvelle que trois villages sioux sétoient rassemblés et avoient formés un corps de cinq cents guerriers pour venir frapper sur le village des Ricaras. Ceux cy ont fortifié {100} leur village de palissades doublées de terrasses de la hauteur de cinq pieds.

<Voicy la manierre dont ils construisent leur fort. Ils plantent bien avant dans la terre autour de leur village de grosse fourche, de quatre a cinq pieds de haut, et distantes de quinse à vingt pieds, les unes des autres, sur lesquelles ils pôsent des travers gros comme la cuisse. Ils rangent ensuitte de longues perche de saules ou de liard grosses comme la jambe appuyées sur ces travers, bien serrées les unes contre les autres, et ayant fasciné de brossailles ces mêmes perches a la hauteur d'environ cinq pieds, ils les renduisent de terres de deux pieds d'épaisseure de sorte que la hauteur de ces perches empêcheroit les ennemis qui voudroient escalader le fort, et le renduit de terre foulée met ceux du dedans a l'abri des bals et des fléches.>

Les nations siouses sont craint[es] et redoutées de toutes celles cy. Ils ont tant de fois ravagé et enlevé <leurs femmes et> leurs enfants, par la quantitée d'armes a feux dont ils sont toujours bien munis, que leur nom seul les fait trembler. Mais notre résidence icy leur donne de l'assurance. Ainsi ils les attendent tous les jours avec fermetée et avec resolution de se bien battre.

Il est nécessaire icy pour l'intelligence de ce journal de vous donner une pleine connoissance du caractere des Ricaras, de leur nombre, de la situation de leur village et de leur division <ainsi que des nations circonvoisines>, puisqu'il

those that roam the western part of this river, of which several villages to whom I sent messages with tobacco to announce to them the arrival of the French and their residence among the Arikaras are to assemble here during July and August to hear the words of their Spanish Father for the first time.

Since my arrival, I have had great difficulty preventing the Arikaras from going to war against the nations who inhabit the lands located to the west, who are large in number and not far from here, and who desire only (especially since they have learned that white men with pirogues are visiting the Arikaras) to ally themselves firmly in friendship with the latter so that they can obtain their necessities from the French.

A war party of the Arikara nation that left in the spring arrived on the 5th of June with a scalp. They had killed a man of the Pados nation[97] <of the Crow nation, a people who live near the Rocky Mountains>.

On the 8th, another party that had gone to avenge the death of three people of their nation whom the Sioux killed last winter returned with the scalp of a man from a Sioux village called Ÿsantÿ <sworn enemies of the Arikaras>.[98] A few days later, two men of another Sioux village named Takorpa <Ta Corripa>,[99] allies of the Arikaras, came to bring the news that three Sioux villages had assembled and formed a body of five hundred warriors to come to attack the Arikara village. The latter have fortified their village with stockades reinforced with earth to a height of five feet.

<This is the way they build their forts. They drive deep into the ground around their village large forked posts, four to five feet high, and fifteen to twenty feet apart, on which they place crosspieces as thick as one's thigh. Next, they arrange long willow or cottonwood poles as thick as one's leg against the crosspieces, well secured against one other, and having tied bundles of brushwood against these poles to a height of about five feet, they cover them with earth two feet thick in such a way that the height of these poles impedes enemies who would try to scale the fort and the layer of packed earth gives protection to those within from balls and arrows.>

The Sioux nations are feared and dreaded by all the Indians here. They have so often pillaged them and carried away <their women and> their children, due to the quantity of firearms with which they are always so well supplied, that their name alone makes them tremble. But our residence here reassures them. Thus, they await them [the Sioux] every day with steadiness and resolution to fight well.

It is necessary here for the understanding of this journal to inform you thoroughly of the character of the Arikaras, of their numbers, of the situation of their villages and of their divisions <as well as of the neighboring nations>,

tiennent, pour ainsi dire, la clef des chemins qu'ils nous faut pratiquer pour parvenir chez toutes les autres nations situées soit plus haut sur le Missouris, soit chez celles qui sont en grand nombre du coté du soleil couchant.

<CARACTERE>

Les Ricaras <Panis Ricaras> sont d'un naturel assez doux. Ils ont du respect <et de la déférence> pour <tous> les hommes blancs. Je me servirai de ce nom dans la suitte de ces mémoires pour désigner toutes les nations policés, puisque les sauvages de toutes ces contrées ne {101} savent faire aucune distinction des nations espagnoles, françaises, anglaises &c., et quils les nomment tous indifféremment hommes blancs ou esprits. On dit qu'autrefois ils nous avoient en si grande vénération qu'ils nous rendoient une espece de culte, faisant des festins dans lesquels ils jettoient les premiers morçeaux au feu pour offrande aux hommes blancs, et jettoient aussi des robes mattachées, des peaux passées garnies de plumes, dans leau en sacrifice pour nous. (Plusieurs vieillards m'ont raconté ces faits pour véritables,)* ou on m'a assuré que les Chaguiennes et les autres peuples plus éloignés pratiquoient encore ces maximes. Quant a la nation ricaras, la grande fréquentation qu'ils ont eu depuis quelques années avec les Sioux et les Panis Mahas a apporté un changement notable aux idées que leurs ancêtres s'étoient formés des hommes blancs, qu'ils regardoient comme des divininitées. Présentement ils ne nous considerent simplement qu'en vue des marchandises que nous leur apportons qui leur sont si nécessaire, et des munitions surtout qu'ils tirent de nous {102} lesquelles les mettent a l'abri des incursions de tant d'ennemis redoutables qui enlevoient souvent leurs femmes et leurs enfants.

Je n'ai découvert en eux aucunes méchancetées a notre egard. <Jusqu'a présent> nous jouissons parmi eux d'une tranquilitée parfaite. Les traiteurs ainsi que les engagés possedent et disposent librement de leurs effets sans que qui que ce soit les tourmentent, les tirranissent, les maltraitent pour ravir leurs butin. Le trafique des pelteries se fait paisiblement. Celui qui ne trouve pas assez de ce quon lui donne en échange de sa pelleterie la remporte tranquilement, sans murmures ny menaces. Enfin, je dirai qu'ayant moy même fréquenté toutes les nations sauvages situés a l'orient et a l'occident du Mississipy et toutes celles qui habitent sur le bas Missouris, je n'en ai trouvé aucunes qui approche celle cy en douçeur et en bonne façon pour nous. Il y a autant de différence des premiers aux derniers que du jour a la nuit, et selon le rapport de quelques Français chasseurs qui sont icy et qui ont fréquenté les Chaguiennes, les Mandannes, et les

* This phrase, in parentheses in the Québec version, is given as a marginal note in the National Archives version.

because they hold, so to speak, the key to the roads that we must take to reach all the other nations located either higher on the Missouri, or those that are in great number to the west.

<CHARACTER>

The Arikaras <Panis Ricaras> are of a rather gentle nature. They respect <and defer to all> white men. I will use this name in the continuation of these memoirs to designate all civilized nations, because none of the Indians of any of these regions understand how to distinguish among the nations of the Spanish, French, English, &c., and they call them all white men or spirits indifferently.[100] It is said that formerly they had such great veneration for us that they honored us with a kind of worship, giving feasts in which they threw the first morsels into the fire as an offering to the white men, and they also threw painted robes and dressed skins decorated with feathers into the water as a sacrifice to us.[101] Several old men have recounted these facts to me as true, or they have assured me that the Cheyennes and the other peoples farther away still practice these customs. As for the Arikara nation, the great intercourse that they have had for some years with the Sioux and the Skiri Pawnees has brought a notable change to the ideas that their ancestors had formed of the white men, whom they regarded as divinities. Now they think of us simply in connection with the merchandise that we bring them that is so necessary to them, and above all with the firearms that they receive from us that protect them from the incursions of the many formidable enemies who often used to steal their women and children.[102]

I have not discovered in them any spitefulness toward us. <Up to the present> we enjoy perfect tranquillity among them. The traders as well as the *engagés* possess and have free use of their belongings without anyone harrassing them, tyrannizing them, or mistreating them in order to carry off their goods. The trade in peltries is made peaceably. He who does not consider that what he is given for his peltries is enough carries them away quietly, without murmurs or threats. Finally, I will say that having myself visited all the Indian nations located east and west of the Mississippi and all those who live on the lower Missouri, I have found none that approach them [the Arikaras] in gentleness and good manners toward us. There is as much difference between the first-named [the Sioux] and the last-named [the Arikaras] as between night and day, and according to the report of some French hunters who are here and who have visited the Cheyennes, Mandans, and Gros Ventres [Hidatsas], those last-named greatly

Gros Ventres, ces derniers {103} les surpassent de beaucoup en bontée, en bien veillance <et en véneration> pour les hommes blancs.

Les Français qui sont venus en commerce deux années avant moy chez ce peuple ricaras me les ont présentés sous un tableau désavantageux. Ils les accusent dêtres voleurs, médisants, menteurs, fourbes, durs, capable de toutes sortes de méchancetée, ne donnant rien pour rien, incapables de rendre aucun service aux Français gratuitement, et même de les laisser périr par la faim s'ils se trouvoient parmy eux les mains vuides. Quant aux vols, aux mensonges, et a la fourberie, je dirai qu'avec une conduitte régulierre dans ses actions, de la modération dans ses paroles, peu de familiaritée surtout dans les conversations particulierres avec la jeunesse (défaut auquel beaucoup de Français se livre trop aisément), du soin de la méfiance et quelques précautions, on peut aisement se mettre a la brie [=l'abri] du vol, de leur médisance, du mensonge, de la fourberie aux quels ce peuple est enclin, et éviter d'en être la duppe. Pour des méchancetées éffectives, je n'en ai jusqu'a présent reconnu aucunes. Ne donnant rien pour rien, durs aux {104} Français pour les vivres, incapables de nous rendre aucuns services gratuitement, ils ont ces vices de commun avec tout les peuples fréquentés par les nations policées, qui en les fréquentant leurs communiquent leurs vices et leurs défauts. Véritée d'autant plus incontestable que les nations sauvages qui n'ont point ou peu eû comunication avec nous sont plus polies, plus douces, plus sincères, plus humanisés, que celles que nous fréquentons habituellement, ne suivant dans leur manierre de vivre que les lois et les usages que la raison, la nature, et l'humanitée seules leurs dictent.

<Car il est certain que si les peuples que nous appellons sauvages et barbares connoissoient le génie de ces hommes blancs qu'ils mettent au rang de la divinitée; leurs moeurs, leurs usages, leur manierre de vivre, leur peu de charitée pour leurs semblables; s'ils étoient témoins de toutes les oeuvres viles et méprisables auxquelles ils s'assujetissent pour largent, des peines, des tourments de corps et d'esprit que l'épée, la robe, et le comptoire se donnent; des ruses, des fourberies, des crimes mêmes qu'ils commettent contre les droits de la nature, du sang et de l'humanitée pour accumuler leurs richesses etassouvir leur ambition, ils les qualifieroient a juste titre des noms de sauvages et de barbares que nous leur donnons.>

Ces mêmes Français <(Garaut et ses compagnons)>, que je dis être entré chez ce peuple ricaras deux années avant moy, ont beaucoup contribué a la diminution des idées favorables et des bonnes dispositions ou ils étoient auparavant a notre égard par leur mauvaise conduitte. Au lieu de voir de ces hommes blancs qu'ils croyoient incapables de folie et d'extravagance, ils ont vu des gens dissolus, prodigues, méchants, toujours en querelles et en discorde entre eux, se déchirer les uns les autres, jusqu'au point de conseiller les sauvages, et de les payer

surpass them [the Arikaras] in kindness and in goodwill <and in veneration> for the white men.

The Frenchmen who came among the Arikara people to trade two years before me gave me an unfavorable picture of them.[103] They accused them of being robbers, slanderers, liars, cheats, merciless, capable of all kinds of mischief, giving nothing for anything,[104] incapable of rendering any service to the French without pay, and even allowing them to die from hunger if they were in their village empty-handed. As to theft, lies, and deceit, I will say that by equable demeanor in behavior and moderation in speech, above all in private conversations with young people (a vice in which many of the French indulge too easily), and by remaining suspicious and taking precautions, one is able to protect oneself easily from theft, slander, lies, and from the deceit to which these people are inclined, so as to avoid being the dupe. As for outright wickedness, I have not experienced any up to now. Giving nothing for anything, being unfeeling toward the French in regard to food supplies, unable to give us any services without pay, they have these vices in common with all the peoples contacted by civilized nations, who in visiting them communicate their own faults and shortcomings. The truth of this is all the more indisputable since the Indian nations who have had little or no communication with us are more polite, gentle, sincere, and humane than those we visit habitually, following in their way of life only the laws and customs that reason, nature, and humanity alone dictate to them.

<For it is certain that if the peoples we call savages and barbarians knew the nature of the white men whom they put into the category of divinities; their customs, their practices, their way of life, their lack of charity for one another; if they had witnessed all the vile and contemptible deeds to which they stoop for money, the pains and torments of body and spirit to which the sword, the robe, and the bank subject them; the tricks, deceits, and even crimes they commit against the rights of nature, blood, and humanity to accumulate riches and satisfy their ambition, they would justly characterize them by the names of savage and barbarian that we give to them.>

These same Frenchmen <(Garaut and his companions)>, who I said were among the Arikara people two years before me, have contributed much by their bad conduct to a diminution of the favorable opinions and good dispositions that they formerly had in regard to us. Instead of viewing these white men whom they thought were incapable of folly and extravagance, they have seen dissolute, wasteful, and bad men, always in quarrels and discord among themselves, reviling one another, going so far as to advise the Indians, and even pay

meme, pour se faire maltraiter et piller. {105} Ces derniers, plus raisonnables, se sont contentés de profiter de leur libéralitée <et de leur discorde> acceptant et soutirant autant qu'ils ont pu leurs marchandises, soit pour les femmes, soit pour les autres folies et étourderies qu'ils se faisoient gloire de commettre, sans pour cela exécuter les mauvaises actions auxquels ils les poussoient. Ces gens la, au lieu de mettre l'accord et l'union parmi les nations sauvages (ce qui doit être le principal soin des hommes blancs qui les fréquentent), ont occasionné des querelles et des divisions parmy les chefs et les familles avec qui ils habitoient, et les ont brouillés avec leurs alliez.

Bien loin de maintenir ces peuples dans leur ancienne simplicitée et dans l'estime qu'ils faisoient du prix et de la valeur de nos marchandises, ils ont donnés faussement a connoitre quelles nétoient pas chez nous d'une plus grande valeur que l'herbe qui croit dans les prairies, en préférant a les employer a de mauvais usages plutôt que de les trafiquer pour des pelleteries, et payant d'une triple valeur les nourritures qu'ils reçevoient d'eux, habitude et maxime qui s'est si fortement enracinés dans l'esprit de ce peuple ricaras que si je {106} n'avois eu la précaution de faire provision de viandes séches avec les Chaguiennes ou les Sioux, qui les vendent a meilleures marché qu'eux, ils m'auroient laissez jeuner, ayant rejetté a mon arrivé icy cette pernicieuse methode de payer a chaque repas ou a chaque plats, soit de soupe de maÿs ou de viande cuite qu'ils nous apportoient, ainsi qu'ils se pratiquoient avec mes predescesseurs.

Le S^{r} Jacques d'Eglise a négligé de réformer la deuziéme année qu'il s'est trouvé seul icy cette maniére de vivre, qui ne peut qu'occasionner de grandes depenses aux traiteurs qui se trouvent obligé de résider lomgtems chez cette nation. Il pouvoit facilement réformer cette coutume, d'ont il s'est plaint lui même la premiere année, en se provisionnant de vivre dans les saisons dabondance et a l'arrivée des nations etrangères. . . .*

Je dirai a la louange du S^{r} Jacques dÉglise qu'il a bien réglé le trafic des pelleteries avec les nations, ayant établi un prix très haut sur les marchandises et layant tenu avec fermetée. <Mais, comme je suis sans partialitée,> je dirai de même qu'ils n'a point cherché a attirer les nations circonvoisines {107} a lui, ni a tenir celle cy dans la tranquilitée et le bon accord avec les autres, seroit [*sic*, soit] en donnant ou envoyant quelques paroles a ce dessein.

Je dirai encore qu'il a négligé de les induire a la chasse des castors et autres bonnes pelleteries, s'atachant trop a la traitte des robes, des mitasses (espèce de bas qui monte jusqua la ceinture), des souliers, des vétements de femmes et des peaux de vaches en parchemin, qui suffisoient pour acquérir leurs besoins.

* Ellipses in manuscript.

them, to be abusive and to pillage. The latter, being more reasonable, were satisfied with profiting from their [the Frenchmen's] liberality <and their strife>, accepting and wheedling from them as much merchandise as was possible, either for their women or for other folly and foolishness that they gloried in committing, without in return carrying out the bad deeds to which they [the Frenchmen] goaded them. Those men, instead of reconciling and creating union among the Indian nations (which ought to be the principal concern of the white men who visit them), caused quarrels and divisions among the chiefs and the families with whom they lived, and estranged them from their allies.

Very far from maintaining these peoples in their former simplicity and in the view that they had of the price and worth of our merchandise, they [the Frenchmen] misleadingly informed them that among us it was not of greater value than the grass that grows on the prairies, preferring to put it to bad use rather than to trade it for peltries, and paying for the food that they received from them [the Arikaras] at three times its value, a practice and custom that is so strongly embedded in the minds of the Arikara people that if I had not taken the precaution to make provision of dried meat from the Cheyennes or the Sioux, who sell it at a better price than they [the Arikaras], they would have let me starve, since upon my arrival here I rejected the pernicious method of paying for each meal or for each dish that they brought us, be it corn soup or cooked meat, as was their practice with my predecessors.

Sieur Jacques d'Église, the second year that he was alone here, had neglected to reform this way of life, which only causes large expenditures for the traders who are obliged to reside for a long time among this nation. He could have easily modified this custom, of which he himself complained in the first year, by stocking up on food in seasons of abundance and on the arrival of other Indian nations.

I will say in praise of Sieur Jacques d'Église that he has regulated the trade in peltries well with the Indians, having established a very high price for the merchandise and having held to it with firmness. <However, since I must remain impartial,> I will say along similar lines that he has not sought to draw neighboring nations to him, nor to keep them [the Arikaras] in peace and good relations with the others, whether by giving or sending messages for this purpose.

I will say also that he has neglected to induce them to hunt beaver and other good peltries, being too intent on trading buffalo robes, *mitasses* (a kind of stocking that reaches up to the waist),[105] moccasins, women's clothing, and parchment buffalo hides, which sufficed to acquire the goods that they needed. They find

Ils trouvent extraordinaire et murmurent fort de ce que je refuse le trafic de ces sortes de choses ainsi que leur manierre de nous vendre les nourritures . . .*

On jugera aisément partout ce que je rapporte icy que nous contribuons souvent au dépravement de coeur et a la mechancetée des nations sauvages a notre égard. Il ne faudroit pas ycy un second Garaut et de pareils compagnons pour mettre ces nations icy semblables a toutes les autres situés sur le bas Missouris, c'est a dire, rusées et méchantes. On ne peut {108} disconvenir que tous les peuples sauvages ne se ressemblent pas; il y en a d'un naturel plus doux, plus poli, et plus humain que les autres.

La nation ricaras que je qualifie d'un naturel doux en comparaison des nations les plus fréquentées par nous est reconnue icy pour la plus remuante, la moins docile, la plus méchante de toutes celles situées au delà d'eux, ne pouvant s'accorder longtems avec leurs voisins, et ocasionnant toujours les premiers les sujets de querelle et de guerre. Leur passion dominante est la guerre. La jeunesse écoute peu les viellards et les chefs. Ils ne les contredisent cependant jamais ouvertement, lorsqu'ils les prêchent pour la tranquilitée et pour les empêcher de troubler la paix et l'union avec leurs voisins. Ils les écoutent, et continuent d'agir selon leurs caprices et leurs fantaisies.

<NOMBRE ET DIVISIONS>

La quantitée de familles différentes dont ces villages sont composées et qui ont chacunes leurs chefs met un grand obstacle a un bon accord parmy eux. La nation des Ricaras étoit très nombreuse dans l'ancien tems; ils comptent trente deux gros villages, presqu'entierrement dépeuplés par la petite vérole, qui s'est répandue chez {109} eux par trois fois différentes. Il n'a réchappé que quelques familles de chacun de ces différents villages, qui s'étant réunis ont formé les deux villages qui habitent icy distant d'environ une demie lieuës l'un de l'autre, situés sur le même territoire de leurs ancêtres. Les opinions differentes, les discustions pour l'autoritée qui s'élevent souvent parmi les chefs de ces differente tribus ou familles, quoi que les sauvages vivent indépendant et sans subordination, causent de la discorde et de la division parmi eux, et donne loccasion a la jeunesse de ces différentes tribus de porter le trouble et la guerre chez des nations ou d'autres d'entre eux y voudroit la paix et lunion. Cette nation, si nombreuse autrefois, et qui selon leur rapport pouvoit mettre sur pied au moins quatre mille guerriers, est réduitte a environ cinq cents hommes <combattants>. Le peu d'accord, comme jai déjà dit, qui regne parmi ces chefs la fait partager en quatre. Deux d'entre eux, jaloux sans {110} doute de l'espêce de supérioritée, de renommée, et de considération que se sont acquis, tant avec nous que parmy les nations étrangères, les

* Ellipses in manuscript.

it extraordinary and complain strongly that I decline to trade for these kinds of things and reject their practice of selling us food supplies.

It will be readily judged from everything that I report here that we often contribute to the moral depravity and malevolent feelings of the Indian nations toward us. We must not have a second Garaut or similar types to make these nations here like all the others located on the lower Missouri, that is to say, crafty and malicious. One cannot deny that not all Indian peoples are alike; there are some who have a more gentle, polite, and humane nature than others.

The Arikara nation that I characterize as of a gentle nature in comparison with nations more often visited by us is known here as the most restless, the least docile, the most malevolent of all those living beyond them, unable to agree for long with their neighbors, and always being the first to furnish reasons for dissension and war. Their dominant passion is war. The young people pay little attention to their old men and chiefs. They do not contradict them openly, however, when they exhort them to be peaceful and keep them from disturbing the peace and unity with their neighbors. They listen to them, and continue to act according to their impulses and fancy.

<NUMBER AND DIVISIONS>

The large number of different families of which these villages are composed and who have each their own chiefs presents a great obstacle to a real harmony among them. The Arikara nation was very numerous in former times; it numbered thirty-two large villages,[106] almost entirely depopulated by smallpox, which spread among them at three different times. Only a few families survived from each of these different villages, who have united and formed these two villages that they inhabit here about a half league apart, located in the same territory as their ancestors.[107] The different opinions and disputes over authority that often occur among the chiefs of these different tribes or families, although the Indians live independently and without subordination, cause discord and divisions among them, and give opportunity to the youths of the different tribes to cause disturbances and to make war against nations where others among them would like to have peace and alliance. This nation, formerly so numerous, and which according to their report was able to put on foot at least four thousand warriors, is reduced to about five hundred <fighting> men. The lack of agreement, as I have already said, that reigns among these chiefs caused a fourfold division. Last spring, two among them, jealous no doubt of the kind of superiority, renown, and respect that the two chiefs who now dominate at

deux chefs qui dominent présentement sur chaque village, se sont séparés de la nation avec leur bande le primtems dernier. L'un est allé faire sa résidence chez les Panis Mahas et l'autre chez les Mandannes. . . .*

<La jalousie seule entre les principaux de cette nation est donc la cause de leur discorde et de leurs division. [. . .]

<Les femmes ne causent jamais de batailles parmi eux, j'excepte icy les Scious et les Chaguiennes, qui sont jaloux au dernier point [. . .]>

<On sera peutêtre surpris que des peuples qui n'ont aucunes instructions de la loix ecrite, tant divine qu'humaine, et par conséquent aucunes craintes des châtiments que Dieu destine aux méchants dans lautre monde, ni de punition corporelle dans celuy-cy, ne soient pas plus adonnés au larçin et aux autres crimes si communément commis cher les nations policées, car on entend rarement parler parmi eux de vols, et jamais d'assassin ni de meurtres pour des larcins, quoi que leur cabanes soient ouvertes la nuit comme le jour où chacun entre et sort librement, et qu'ils puissent même demeurer ensemble un certain nombre de famille (ce que ne pourroient faire nos Européens) sans cette multitude de loix, cette foule de juges, d'avocats, de notaire, et toute lattirail de la police civile que, devant être les fondements et le soutien de nos sociétées, en sont le plus souvent les sang-sues et les tyrans par le mauvais usage qu'en font ceux qui en sont les dépositaires. Que l'on demande aux esprits forts du siecle, qui ont plus de connoissance de tous les sistêmes de morale que moy, la raison d'une dissemblance si forte de meurs et de sentiments entre les animaux de même espêce (les hommes) qui apportent tous également en naissant les germes de la justice et de l'équitée au fond de leur ame. >

<SITUATION DES VILLAGES RICARAS>

Les deux villages des Panis Ricaras sont situés près du Missouris; le premier distant de sept <huit> cent pas de cette rivierre, et le deuzieme de cent pas; et sont éloignés des Illinois d'environ quatre cent trente lieuës. . . .**

Au midy <de cette nation> sur une fourche de la rivierre Platte habitent la nation des Pados, grande nation éloignée des Ricaras seulement de sept jours de marche de guerriers, qui peuvent se réduire a environ quatre vingt de nos lieuës. . . .***

Au sud ouest <et a l'ouest>, sur les branches d'une rivierre <que je nomme la rivierre des Chaguiennes>, qui se décharge dans le Missouris à environ deux <trois> lieuës plus haut que les <le deuxiême> villages des Ricaras, sont les païs parcourus par les nations appellés Cayouas, Caminanbiche, et Pitapahato

* Ellipses in manuscript.
** Ellipses in manuscript.
*** Ellipses in manuscript.

each village have acquired, both among us and among other Indian nations, separated from the nation with their bands. One has gone to reside with the Skiri Pawnees and the other with the Mandans.[108]

<Jealousy among the leading men of this nation is therefore the only cause of their discord and dissensions. [. . .][109]

<The women never cause conflicts among them; I except here the Sioux and the Cheyennes, who are jealous to the last degree [. . .]

<One will perhaps be surprised that peoples who have not had any instruction in written law, either divine or human, and consequently have no fear of the punishments that God destined for the wicked in the other world, or of corporal punishment in this one, are not more given to stealing and to other crimes so commonly occurring among civilized nations, for one rarely hears among them of robberies, and never of killings or murders for theft, even though their lodges are open night and day and anyone can enter and leave them freely, and a certain number of families may even live together (which our Europeans would not be able to do) without a multitude of laws, a throng of judges, lawyers, notaries, and all the retinue of the civil police who ought to be the foundation and support of our societies, but who most often are leeches and tyrants because those who fill the positions abuse them. One might ask the best minds of this age, who have more knowledge of all the moral systems than I, the reason for so great a dissimilarity in customs and feelings among animals of the same species (mankind) who are endowed equally at birth with the seeds of justice and fairness in the depths of their souls.>

<SITUATION OF THE ARIKARA VILLAGES>

The two Arikara villages are situated near the Missouri, the first seven <eight> hundred paces away from the river, and the second at one hundred paces; and they are about four hundred thirty leagues distant from the Illinois.

To the south <of this nation> on a fork of the Platte River lives the nation of the Pados, a large nation distant from the Arikaras only seven days by foot for warriors, which may be equated with about eighty of our leagues.

To the southwest <and to the west>, on the branches of a river <called the River of the Cheyennes>, which empties into the Missouri about two <three> leagues above the <second> Arikara village, are the lands roamed over by the nations called Kiowas, Caminanbiche, and Pitapahato <all with different languages>.

<toutes de langue différentes>. Sur cette rivierre en descendant habitent les Chaguiennes. {111} Tout ce vaste païs, que parcourent ces différentes nations que je viens de nommer peu éloignés dicy, est selon rapport des sauvages très abondant en castors et en lo'utres, n'en faisant jamais la chasse, n'ayant eu encore aucune communication avec les hommes blancs. . . .*

On pourroit facilement, par la voie des Chaguiennes qui leur sont amis, étendre le commerce chez ces nations et en tirer quantitée de bonnes pelleteries, mais il faudroit pour cela faire des frais en cheveaux et en monde pour y porter les marchandises propices a ces nations et en rapporter les pelleteries. Car cette rivierre dont je viens de parler est large mais si peu profonde qu'il est impossible d'y monter en pirogue. On pourroit y descendre au primtems a la fonte des neiges ou après quelque abondance de pluyes en canots de peaux de boeufs, tel qu'il se pratique sur la rivierre Platte, car vouloir les faire venir sur le Missouris aux endroits ou seroient établis des magasins on ne pourra jamais y réussir, non pas que les Ricaras y metteroient opposition, mais par la crainte quils ont des Sioux, leurs ennemis jurés, et donc le nom seul fait trembler {112} toutes les nation de ce continent.

<SUITTE DE MON JOURNAL>

Le douzieme de juin, plusieurs cheveaux ont étés enlevés nuitement au deuzième village ricaras par des ennemis. Ce vol de cheveaux a causé un grand tumulte dans ce village, et ayant reconnu qu'il avoit été fait par les nations d'en haut, ils en ont accusé les Mendannes ou les Gros Ventres et se disposoient fortement d'aller en guerre chez ces nations. J'ai prié les chefs d'arreter leur jeunes gens. Je leur ai fait ressouvenir de la promesse qu'ils m'avoient fait découter la parole de leur père, le chef des hommes blancs, qui leur demandoit de tenir les chemins beaux pour toutes les nations ou les Français vouloient pénétrer. Je leur ai fait entendre qu'il seroit mieux, plutôt que dy porter incontinent la guerre, d'envoyer quelqu'un de leur gens auprès des Ricaras qui sétoient réunis aux Mandannes; que par ce moyen ils pourroient savoir au juste qui étoient les hauteurs de ce vol; que jécrirois moi même aux François résidant aux Mandannes a ce sujet; et que j'enverois du tabac aux chefs de tous les villages d'en haut pour {113} solliciter a renvoyer les cheveaux si au cas ce fut leurs jeunes gens qui les eussent volés. Il y ont consentis.

Le 17eme de juin, deux <trois> sauvages sont partis pour cette embassade et sont revenus le lendemain dans la nuit, rapportant qu'ils avoient vû quantitée d'hommes a cheval qui parroissoient en guerre et venir sur eux ou sur les Sioux, leurs alliez, ce qui c'est trouvé faux.

* Ellipses in manuscript.

Downstream on this river live the Cheyennes. All this vast land, over which not far from here the different nations that I have just named roam, according to the report of the Indians, abounds in beaver and otter, which they never hunt, not yet having had any communication with white men. . . .

By means of the Cheyennes, who are their friends, one could easily extend trade to those nations and get a large number of good peltries, but it would be necessary for that to make an expenditure in horses and men to carry the merchandise suitable for those nations and to bring back the peltries. For this river of which I have just spoken is wide but so shallow that it is impossible to ascend by pirogue. One could descend in bullboats in the spring at the melting of the snows or after heavy rainfall, as is done on the Platte River, but to try to have them come to the Missouri to places where storehouses would be established will never succeed, not because the Arikaras would oppose it, but because of the fear that they [the western nations] have of the Sioux, their sworn enemies, whose name alone makes all the nations of the region tremble.

<CONTINUATION OF MY JOURNAL>

On the 12th of June several horses were stolen at night from the second Arikara village by enemies. This theft of horses caused a great tumult in the village, and having discovered that it had been done by Indians from upriver, they accused the Mandans or Gros Ventres and were getting quite ready to go to war against those nations. I begged the chiefs to stop the young men. I reminded them of the promise that they had made me to listen to the words of their father, the chief of the white men, who asked that they keep the roads good for all of the nations that the French wished to reach. I made them understand that, rather than go immediately to war, it would be better to send one of their men to the Arikaras who had allied themselves with the Mandans; that by this means they would be able to learn exactly who the perpetrators of the theft were; that I would myself write to the Frenchmen residing with the Mandans on this subject; and that I would send some tobacco to the chiefs of all the villages upriver in order to ask them to send back the horses in the case that it was their young men who had stolen them. They agreed to it.

On the 17th of June two <three> Indians left on this mission and returned the next day during the night, reporting that they had seen a large number of men on horseback who appeared to form a war party and to be headed toward them or toward the Sioux, their allies,[110] a report found to be false.

Le 24 du même mois, deux Français les nommés Québec et Chorette se sont offerts et ont partis pour y aller. Ils sont revenus la troisième journée disant avoir vu un parti de guerre qu'ils croyoient être des Sioux, dont ils n'ont point étés découverts s'étant éloigné d'eux a la faveur de la nuit.

Le douzieme <deuxiéme> de juillet, six autres sauvages sont partis pour le même sujet, munis des paroles du village dont les cheveaux ont été volé et de trois morçeaux de tabac que j'envoyois aux chefs des Mandannes, des Gros Ventres, et a celui de la bande des Ricaras réfugiez avec eux. Ces paroles portoient quétant amis et alliez ne leur ayant donné aucun sujet de voler leurs cheveaux, ils envoyoient leur jeunes gens les demander; et qu'ils pensoient que les chefs, {114} soit Mandannes ou Gros Ventre, les leur feroient rendre; que la déférence qu'ils avoient pour les hommes blancs et pour la parole de leur pere espagnol, qui leur recommandoit d'entretenir la paix et l'union avec eux, leur avoit fait retenir leurs jeunes gens qui ne manquoient ny de courage ni de jambes pour tirer vengeance de ce vol. . . .*

Jai écris une lettre aux nommés Jussaume et Ménard, qui demeurent aux Mandannes, dans laquelle je leur ai marqué que les intentions de monsieur le lieutenant gouverneur des Illinoi[s] etoit de procurer les besoins a toutes les nation[s] situés sur le haut Missouris, et que pour ce sujet il sétoit formé une compagnie de plusieurs marchands de St Loüis dont j'étois l'agent, pour faire une établissement de commerce aux Mandannes pendant plusieurs années; que de mauvais événements et de méchantes rencontres m'avoient empêché d'y parvenir l'automne derniere; que pour le certain je m'y rendrois dans le cours de juillet ou d'aoust prochain <apprès l'arrivée d'une pirogue chargée de marchandises que j'attendois dans le cours des mois de juillette où d'aoust prochains>. Je les assurai que la Compagnie du Haut Missouris étoit dans les dispositions de les favoriser et de leur <être> {115} utile en leur procurant les moyens de gagner leur vie; et qu'elle espéroit que de leur part ils se porteroient avec zel a contribuer a la réussite de l'établissement quelle se proposoit de faire chez la nation mandanne; et qu'il falloit qu'ils cessassent le commerce avec les Anglais de la rivierre Rouge. Je les sollicitai de ne rien épargner pour maintenir la paix et l'union parmy toutes les nations, et principalement entre les Mendannes, les Gros Ventres, et les Ricaras, de faire entendre aux premiers que le chemin des Français pour parvenir chez-eux dépendoient absolument des derniers. Je les éxortai de faire rendre les cheveaux volés dernierement au deuziéme village ricaras et d'assurer aux chefs mendannes et gros ventre (a qui le grand chef des Espagnoles, le pere commun de toutes les Peaux Rouges, envoyoit par moy

* Ellipses in manuscript.

On the 24th of the same month, two Frenchmen named Québec and Chorette volunteered and left to go there [to the Mandan and Gros Ventre villages]. They returned on the third day saying they had seen a war party that they thought to be Sioux, by whom they had not been discovered, having gotten away from them under cover of night.

On the 12th <2nd> of July six other Indians left on the same mission, supplied with messages from the village where the horses had been stolen and with three pieces of tobacco that I sent to the chiefs of the Mandans, Gros Ventres, and the band of the Arikaras taking refuge with them. These messages said that since they were friends and allies and had never given them any reason to steal their horses, they were sending their young men to ask for them back; and that they thought the chiefs, either Mandan or Gros Ventre, would have them returned; that the respect that they [the Arikaras] had for the white men and for the words of their Spanish Father, who recommended that they maintain peace and union with them, had caused them to restrain their young men who lacked neither the courage nor the legs by which to take vengeance for the theft.

I wrote a letter to the men named Jussaume and Ménard, who live among the Mandans, in which I indicated to them that the intentions of Monsieur the Lieutenant Governor of the Illinois were to provide the necessities for all the nations located on the upper Missouri, and that for this purpose a Company had been formed of several St. Louis merchants for whom I was the agent, in order to set up a trading establishment at the Mandans for several years; that disastrous events and unfortunate encounters had prevented me from reaching there last autumn; that undoubtedly I would make my way there during July or August of this year <after the arrival of a pirogue loaded with merchandise that I was expecting in July or August>. I assured them that the Company of the Upper Missouri was ready to encourage and help them by providing the means of earning their livelihood; that it hoped they would proceed on their part with zeal to contribute to the success of the establishment that it proposes to make at the Mandan nation; and that they must cease trading with the English of Red River. I begged them to spare nothing to maintain peace and union among all the nations, and principally among the Mandans, Gros Ventres, and Arikaras, to make it understood to the former two that the route the French used to reach them depended absolutely on the last-named. I urged them to have the horses returned that were stolen not long ago from the second Arikara village and to assure the Mandan and Gros Ventre chiefs (to whom the Great Chief of the Spaniards, the common father of all Indians, sent messages, a medal, and a flag with me in order to bind a close friendship with them and to provide

les paroles, médaille, et pavillon pour lier une amitié étroitte avec eux et procurer les besoins a touts leur village), de les assurer, dis je, que s'ils sobstinoient a vouloir garder les cheveaux volés, ils allumeroient infailliblement le flambeau de la guerre entre eux et les Ricaras, et nous metteroient incapables de parvenir chez eux, quelque désir que nous {116} en eussions. Je priai le sieur Ménard surtout, qui est en réputation d'un homme solide, franc, et de probitée parmy les Français et les sauvages, de présenter aux chefs mendannes, gros ventres, et ricaras, le peu de tabac que je leur envoyois au nom de leur pere espagnol, en attendant que je fus moi-même leur porter sa parole. Ces nouveaux embassadeurs m'ont promis d'être de retour le treiziéme jour, employant cinq jours de marche pour se rendre aux Mendannes, trois jours qu'ils doivent y résider, et cinq pour revenir. . . .*

Le sixiéme de ce mois trois hommes de la nation chaguienne, d'un village <appellé Ouisÿ> qui nétoit pas encore venu, sont arrivé icy, ayant appris la nouvelle qu'il étoit arrivé aux Ricaras des hommes blancs nouveaux qui avoient apporté beaucoup de poudre et autres marchandises. Leurs chefs les avoient envoyé pour reconnoitre si on leur avoit dit la véritée. Ils ont rapportés que trois villages de nations différentes appellé par eux Cayowas, Caminanbiche, Pitapahato sétoiont approché et étoient campé peu loin d'eux et que sur le rapport qu'on leur avoit fait de l'arrivée et de la {118}** résidense des hommes blancs aux Ricaras, ils désiroient faire alliance avec ces derniers afin de pouvoir tirer quelques couteaux et munitions dont ils avoient tant de besoin, mais que la crainte dêtre frappé <soit par les Sioux, soit> par les Ricaras, qui les tuoient souvent sans qu'il leur en donnassent aucun sujet, les empechoient d'approcher.

Dans ce même tems, il s'est formé un parti de jeunes gens ricaras pour aller en guerre, soit sur les nations que je viens de nommer soit sur les Mandannes ou Gros Ventres. Je repprochai aux chefs et aux viellards le peu de docilitée de leur jeunesse et leur mauvais coeur ne cherchant qu'à faire du mal et a porter la guerre chez toutes les nations circonvoisines qui demandoient la paix et lunion. Je leur démontré leurs mauvaises politique et leur folie en portant la guerre partout, sans se conserver aucuns alliez ni amis; que si, au contraire, ils se lioient d'amitié avec les nations situées a l'occident, qui sont toujours bien fournies en cheveaux, ils en tireroient en quantitée d'elles pour des petits effets dont elles sont entierrement dénuées et que nous autres les hommes blancs trafiquerions avec eux des peaux de castors et de loutres, qui sont en abondance dans leurs païs.

* Ellipses in manuscript.

** Folio 117 is blank. Folio 118, in the hand of a different scribe, is titled "Suitte" and begins at the start of the sentence, "Ils ont rapportés . . ."

necessities to all their villages), to assure them, I said, that if they persisted in wishing to keep the stolen horses, they would for certain kindle the torch of war between them and the Arikaras, and it would make us incapable of reaching them, however much we desired it. I entreated Sieur Ménard especially, who has the reputation among the French and the Indians of being a steadfast and frank man of integrity, to present to the Mandan, Gros Ventre, and Arikara chiefs the small amount of tobacco that I was sending them in the name of the Spanish Father, while waiting to bring them his message myself. These new ambassadors promised me to return in thirteen days, taking five days to go overland to the Mandans, three days to remain there, and five to return.

On the 6th of the month three men of the Cheyenne nation, from a village <called Ouisÿ> that had not come before, arrived here, having heard the news that there had arrived among the Arikaras some new white men who had brought much powder and other merchandise. Their chiefs had sent them to discover if they had been told the truth. They reported that three villages of different nations that they call Kiowas, Caminanbiche, and Pitapahato had approached and were camped a little beyond them and that as a result of the report that had been made to them of the arrival and residence of white men among the Arikaras, they desired to make an alliance with the latter in order to be able to receive some knives and munitions that they much needed, but the fear of being attacked <either by the Sioux or> by the Arikaras, who killed them often without giving them any reason, had prevented them from approaching.

At the same time, a party of young Arikara men was formed to go to war, either against the nations that I have just named or against the Mandans or Gros Ventres. I reproached the chiefs and old men for the intractability of their young men and their bad hearts that sought only to cause harm and bring war to all the neighboring nations that were asking for peace and union. I pointed out to them their bad policy and their folly in making war everywhere, without keeping any allies or friends; that if, on the contrary, they made friends with the western peoples, who are always well supplied with horses, they would receive from them a great many in exchange for small items that they [the western Indians] lack entirely and that the white men would trade with them for beaver and otter pelts, which are abundant in their land.

{119} Les viellards et les chefs m'approuverent et blamèrent fort leurs jeunes gens, mais, les voyant obstinés a vouloir partir pour la guerre, le chef du 1er village, nommé l'Ours Fou, dans la cabane duquel je fais ma résidençe, <se facha et> les a harangué avec aigreur, leur disant de tous partir pour la guerre, qu'il alloit renvoyer les hommes blancs a leur village avec leur poudre et leurs marchandises et que lui et sa famille iroit se retirer chez les Chaguiennes. Pour faire tenir cette jeunesse turbulente tranquille, j'ai proposé a ce chef l'Ours Fou, d'aller en calumet nous même chez ces nations qui demandoient si instamment la paix. Il m'a applaudit dans mon dessein, mais il m'a dit qu'il falloit auparavant convoquer une assemblée des principaux et des anciens de la nation pour leur communiquer notre dessein et le leur faire approuvé.

Le lendemain, septième du mois, il fit appeller tous les chefs et considérés dans sa cabane. Il planta le pavillon devant la porte et se mit la médaille au cou. Il exposa sur une petitte natte au fond de la cabane la lettre patente que son pere espagnol lui avoit envoyé par moy, ayant fait {120} mettre au devant quelques braises ardentes ou ils firent bruler d'un certain foin, dont la fumée jette une odeur forte qui sert a la même usage parmi eux que l'encens parmi nous. Ils ont ces sortes de choses, médailles, pavillon, et lettres, en si grande venération que toutes les fois qu'ils les sortent hors de leurs enveloppes, ils les font fumer et leurs offrent les prémices de leurs festins. Dans cette assemblée il leur rappella les intentions et recommandations du grand chef des hommes blancs, d'ont ils voyoient les marques, qui étoient dentretenir la paix et l'union et non la guerre avec toutes les nations voisines.

Je leur répétai ce que j'ai déja dit cy dessus au sujet de l'aquisition des cheveaux <ave[c] les peuples occidentaux>, car pour faire entrer toutes sortes de nations dans nos mêmes sentiments, il est bon dy mêler aussi leurs intérest et de leur y faire voire clairement leurs avantages.

Tous les chefs et considérés ne manquerent pas d'applaudire a nos discours et approuverent le dessein que le chef l'Ours Fou et moi avions formé d'aller en calumet chez les nations que jai nommé et faire alliance avec elles; que ce seroit un bon moyen d'arrêter les jeunes gens fous et sans oreille, disent-ils, qui veulent toujours leur faire la {121} guerre. Ils firent venir le chef de ce parti de guerre, qui se disposoit a partir; le firent fumer et il consenti a rester tranquil.

Ils appellerent les trois hommes de la nation chaguienne nouvellement arrivé, et ayant sçu par eux avec justesse les endroits ou ces peuples etrangers étoient <arrètées>, ils jugerent qu'ils étoient encore trop éloigné pour y aller incontinent et qu'il seroit plus a propos de leur envoyer du tabac pour les faire fumez au nom des hommes blancs et des Ricaras <Panis Ricaras>, les exhortant de sapprocher sans crainte, et de les assurer que les hommes blancs désiroient

The old men and the chiefs agreed with me and strongly censored their young men, but seeing them obstinate about wishing to go to war, the chief of the first village, named Crazy Bear, in whose lodge I made my residence, <became angry and> harangued them severely, telling them that if they left for war, he was going to send the white men back to their village [St. Louis] with their powder and merchandise and he and his family would withdraw to the Cheyennes. To quiet these impetuous youths, I proposed to Chief Crazy Bear that we ourselves take the calumet to the nations who requested peace so insistently. He applauded my plan, but he told me that it was necessary beforehand to call together an assembly of the leading men and elders of the nation to convey our plan and to have them approve it.

The next day, the 7th of the month, he called all of the chiefs and leading men to his lodge. He set up the flag before the door and put the medal around his neck. He laid out on a little mat at the back of the lodge the commission that his Spanish Father had sent to him through me, having placed in front of it some glowing embers on which they burned a certain dried grass, the smoke of which gave forth a strong odor that is used in the same way among them as incense is among us.[111] They venerate so highly such things as medals, flag, and commissions that every time they bring them out of their wrappings, they offer smoke to them and give them the first food of their feasts. In this gathering he reminded them of the intentions and recommendations of the Great Chief of the White Men, whose tokens they saw and who wanted to maintain peace and unity and not war with all the neighboring nations.

I repeated to them what I have already said above about the acquisition of horses <from the peoples to the west>, for in order to bring all kinds of nations into harmony with our sentiments, it is wise to include their interests also and to make them see clearly the advantages for them.

All the chiefs and leading men did not fail to applaud our speeches and approved the plan that Chief Crazy Bear and I had made to take the calumet to the nations that I have named and to make an alliance with them;[112] they said that this would be a good way to stop the young men, who were crazy and had no ears, who always want to make war. They summoned the chief of the war party, which was getting ready to leave; they had him smoke, and he consented to remain at peace.

They called the three men of the Cheyenne nation who had recently arrived, and having learned from them exactly where these other nations were <camped>, they decided that they were still too far away to go there at once and that it would be more appropriate to send them some tobacco to have them smoke in the name of the white men and of the Arikaras, urging them to approach without fear, and to assure them that the white men desired to see them; and

de les voir; et que les Ricaras, d'un consentement unanime, vouloient faire alliance avec eux; qu'ils trouveroient icy des couteaux, des fusils, un coup de poudre en echange de leurs cheveaux avec les Ris et de castors et de loutres avec les hommes blancs, qui leur recommandoient d'en faire la chasse <de castor> dans les saisons d'automne, d'hivers, et de primtems; que l'orsqu'on apprendroit qu'ils seroient près dicy, le chef l'Ours Fou et quelques considérés ricaras et moi nous irions en calumet chez eux pour y contracter une alliance sincere; et que si au contraire de sapprocher, ils séloignoient, ce seroit une marque quils se soucioient peu des hommes blancs, ainsi que d'avoir la paix avec les Ricaras. Toutes ces paroles furent répétés par un {122} interprête aux Chaguiennes car leur langue est tout a fait differente de celle des Ricaras <Panis>. Je leur donnai trois morçeaux de tabac pour etre portés a ces trois nations que jai nommé cy dessus, les Cayouas, les Caminanbiche, les Pitapahato. Les trois hommes chaguienne ont promis de bien sacquitter de ces commissions et après que je leur ai eu donné a chacun un couteau, un peu de vermillon, et un morçeau de tabac pour faire montre a leur village de quelques petits effets provenant des hommes blancs nouveaux. Ils ont partis le huit au matin.

Le dix, jai perdu malheureusement un de mes hommes, le nommé Joseph Chorette, qui s'est noyé en se beignant seul a lentrée de la nuit dans le Missouris environ a une demi lieuë du village. Deux petits garçon, agés d'environ dix a douze ans, sont venus a toute course rapporter qu'ils avoient vu un Francois se laver au bord du Missouris, et que sétant eloigné de lui en jouant, ayant regardé quelques moments après de son coté ils ne l'avoient plus vu — qu'ayant étés a lendroit ou ils s'étoient [*sic*, il s'était] mis a leau, ils y avoient trouvé ses vétêments, qui y étoient encore. Je courus promptement, accompagné de mes {123} autres hommes et de plusieurs sauvages, au bord de la rivierre. Nous y trouvâmes ses vétêment tel que ces enfants nous l'avoient rapporté. Les sauvages se jetterent a leau en cet endroits même et plus bas pour en faire la recherche, mais inutilement. Depuis plusieurs jour cet homme avoit pris la méthode de s'aller beigner dans le Missouris quoiqu'on puisse lui dire pour l'en empêcher, lui représentant que le fond de cette rivierre étant <inégal,> rempli de trous <et de précipice, et luy n'ayant point la faculté de savoir nager,> il s[']y noyeroit infailliblement; qu'il feroit mieux de se laver le corps dans une petitte rivierre peu profonde qui coule auprès du village, mais, incrédul au dernier point, il a toujours continué obstinément dy aller et si est noyé malheureusement.

Jai été bien peiné de ce malheur. Depuis vingt six ans et plus que je pratique les voyages, il ne m'a jamais arrivé, ni a ceux qui m'ont accompagné, aucun funeste accident.

Tous les sauvages jeunes et vieux ont paru fort affligé de cette mort, disant que cétoit bien de valeur qu'un homme blanc qui étoient venu de si loin leur

that the Arikaras, by unanimous agreement, wanted to make an alliance with them; that here they would find knives, fusils, and a charge of powder in exchange for their horses by the Rees and for beaver and otter furs by the white men, who urged them to hunt <beaver> in the fall, winter, and spring; that when they learned that they were near here, Chief Crazy Bear and some leading men of the Arikaras and I would carry the calumet to their camp to make a sincere alliance with them; and that, if instead of approaching, they go away, this would be an indication that they cared little for white men, as well as for having peace with the Arikaras. All these words were repeated by an interpreter to the Cheyennes because their language is entirely different from that of the Arikaras. I gave them three pieces of tobacco to be taken to the three nations that I named above—the Kiowas, Caminanbiche, and Pitapahato. The three Cheyenne men promised to carry out their mission faithfully, after which I gave to each a knife, a little vermillion, and a piece of tobacco to show to their village some small items coming from the newly arrived white men. They departed the morning of the 8th.

On the 10th I unfortunately lost one of my men, the one named Joseph Chorette, who drowned in the evening while bathing alone in the Missouri about a half league from the village. Two little boys, about ten to twelve years old, came running fast to report that they had seen a Frenchman washing himself at the edge of the Missouri, and that having moved away from him while playing, they no longer saw him when they looked moments later in his direction; that having gone to the place where he had entered the water, they found his clothes, which were still there. I ran promptly to the edge of the river, accompanied by my other men and several Indians. We found his clothes as the children had reported. The Indians jumped into the water at this very place and downstream to make a search, but it was useless. For the past several days this man had been bathing in the Missouri no matter what anyone might tell him in order to prevent it, explaining to him that since the bottom of this river was <uneven and> full of holes <and precipices, and since he did not know how to swim,> he would surely drown; that it would be better to wash his body in a shallow little river that runs near the village, but, absolutely unpersuaded, he obstinately continued to go there and, unfortunately, he drowned.

I have been very saddened by this mishap. For the twenty-six years and more that I have undertaken voyages, no disastrous accident has ever happened to me or to those with me.

All of the Indians, young and old, have appeared quite affected by this death, saying that it was very regrettable that a white man who had come from so far

apporter leurs besoins péri a la porte de leur village sans l'avoir vu ni lui avoir pu porter {124} secours. Je l'ai fait chercher pendant plusieurs jours de suitte mais inutilement.

Le quatorzieme du mois, les six sauvages envoyés aux Mendannes et aux Gros Ventres sont arrivés. Ils m[']ont apportés deux lettres des Srs Jussaume et Ménard, qui m'assurent que les nations mendannes et gros ventres ont reçu et fumé le tabac que je leur avois envoyé avec une joie inexprimable, levant leurs mains sans cesse vers leur pere, le chef des hommes blancs, en le remerciant de sa bienveillance pour eux; et qu'ils avoit jurés et promis qu'il ne feroient aucunes actions contre la volontée des hommes blancs; que ces sauvages (désiroient avec impatience mon arrivé chez eux, ainsi que tous les Français qui y faisoient leur demeure) étant touts disposé de faire tout ce qui dépendoit d'eux pour rendre service a la Compagnie; que, quant aux cheveaux volés que moi et les Ricaras reclamions, il n'y auroit aucune difficultée pour les renvoyer si ce fut les Mendannes, ou les Gros Ventres qui les eussent volés, mais que ce vol ayant été commis par des jeunes gens de la nation ricaras même, réfugiés auprès des Mendannes, ils navoient pu les faire consentir a les rendre, disant que ce vol de {125} cheveaux avoit été fait en revange d'autres cheveaux que ceux d'en bas leurs avoient volés a leur séparation, et que, d'ailleurs, ces discution et ces débats entre la même nation ne regardoient ni les François ni les Mendannes, et qu'ils méprisoient les menaces de leurs semblables. Ainsi nos espêces d'embassadeurs sont revenus sans cheveaux. On jugera aisément du mécontentement du deuzième village ricaras . . .*

Le six <seize> du mois au matin, un des principeaux chef de ce village, a qui appartenoit la plus forte partie des cheveaux volés et qui, depuis mon arrivé icy, m'a toujours fait paroitre beaucoup d'amitiée et de déférence pour les hommes blancs, est venu me visiter. Il me dit qu'il partoit avec beaucoup de jeunes gens pour aller en guerre sur les nations d'en haut; que depuis mon arrivée ils avoient consentis a tout ce que javois voulu pour la tranquilitée, mais que puisque les sauvages du haut Missouris n'avoient pas voulu écouter, ni ma parole ni la leur, il vouloit tirer vengeance de l'enlevement de ces cheveaux, mais quétant chef lui même, nayant pas les sentiments des jeunes gens sans esprit et sans oreilles, il {126} n'avoit pas voulu partir sans m'avertir et sans écouter ce que je lui dirois. Je compris facilement le but ou tendoit le discours de ce sauvage qui étoit d'être retenu par moy ou d'avoir mon consentement pour faire la guerre aux nations du haut Missouris.

Je fus indécis sur la réponse que je ferois a cet homme, si je l'arréterois ou le laisserois executer son dessein. L'arréter, il falloit faire de la depense, car vous

* Ellipses in manuscript.

to bring them their necessities should perish at the outskirts of their vllage without their seeing him or being able to help him. I sent out search parties for him for several days afterward, but in vain.

The 14th of the month the six Indians sent to the Mandans and Gros Ventres arrived. They brought me two letters from Sieurs Jussaume and Ménard, who assured me that the Mandan and Gros Ventre nations received and smoked the tobacco that I had sent to them with an inexpressible joy, raising their hands incessantly toward their father, the Chief of the White Men, thanking him for his goodwill toward them; that they had sworn and promised that they would not take any action contrary to the will of the white men; that these Indians (impatiently awaiting my arrival among them, just as did all the Frenchmen who make their dwelling-place there) were ready to do what they could to render service to the Company; that, as for the stolen horses that I and the Arikaras demanded, there would not be any difficulty in returning them if it were the Mandans or the Gros Ventres who had stolen them, but since the theft had been made by some young men of the Arikara nation itself, taking refuge near the Mandans, they had not been able to get them to agree to return them, saying that the theft of horses had been committed in revenge for other horses that had been stolen from them lower downriver when they had separated, and that, moreover, these discussions and disputes within the same nation did not concern either the French or the Mandans, and that they scorned the threats of their fellows. Thus our so-called ambassadors have returned without horses. The dissatisfaction of the second Arikara village may be easily imagined.

On the 6th <16th> of the month in the morning one of the principal chiefs of this village, to whom the greatest part of the stolen horses belonged, and who, since my arrival here, has always shown much friendship and respect for the white men, came to visit me. He told me that he was leaving with many young men to go to war against the nations upstream; that since my arrival they had consented to all that I had desired in order to maintain peace, but that because the Indians on the upper Missouri had not wished to listen, either to my word or to theirs, he wished to avenge the theft of those horses, but being a chief himself, not having the sentiments of the young men, without sense and without ears, he had not wished to leave without warning me and without hearing how I would respond to him. I easily understood that the object of this Indian's speech was either to be detained by me or to gain my consent to make war against the nations on the upper Missouri.

I was undecided as to what response I should give this man, whether I would stop him or let him carry out his plan. To stop him, I would have to make a

observerez que chez tous les peuples sauvages, les paroles et les discours les plus judicieux et les plus utils, tenus soit pour la paix, soit pour la guerre, soit pour la reception des etrangers, soit pour empecher de mauvaises actions ou en occasionner de bonnes, sont infructueux s'ils ne sont accompagnés de festins et de <présents en> cheveaux, <en fusils,> ou de marchandises quelquonques données a cette fin. Après tant de perte et de dépenses occasionnés par les evènement et les mauvaises rencontres depuis mon depart des Illinois, d'ont la Compagnie se trouve beaucoup lézée, et celle que j'ai été et que je suis forcé de faire depuis mon arrivée icy, soit pour maintenir en paix les Chaguiennes et le village sioux sédentaire icy, qui étoient brouillés ensemble (nations qu'il est néçessaire de conserver, étant celles qui peuvent le plus nous fournir de {127} de bonnes pelteries), soit pour les nouritures, et pour petits dons que je ne puis refuser de faire de fois et d'autres aux deux chefs a médaille des Ricaras quand ils me demandent. Nous étant util de menager leurs esprit naturellement jaloux l'un de l'autre et de ne point trop les rebuter par quelques refus déplacé, sans, cependant, y admettre aucun excès ni trop de facilitée <ce a quoi je prend bien garde>, non seulement pour éviter une grande dépense mais encore pour ne point donner une pernicieuse habitude a ces nouveaux chefs a médaille déxiger des traiteurs une quantitée de marchandises comme duës a leur qualitée de chef (methode que les Francois ont très mal a propos induit chez tous les nations situés sur le bas Missouris); observant de ne consentir a leurs demandes que dans les occasions nécessaires où il sagit de donner quelques petits éfféts a des étrangers qui viennent les visiter, ou appaiser quelques mutins ou des mecontents de leur propre nation qui viendroient quereller ou maltraiter leurs alliez, et leur aider a recompenser de quelques bagatelles les jeunes gens de nations étrangères qui viennent danser dans leurs cabanes pour les honorer. Les refuser {128} dans de pareils rencontres ce seroit leur causer un profond déplaisir, changer les bons sentiments que nous voulons leurs inspirer d'union entre eux et de bon accord avec leurs alliez et les étrangers en de mauvaise, et nous alliénez dans leurs esprits.

Toutes ces pertes et dépense sans retour de pelteries me faisoit donc hésiter sur la manierre que je devois agir cette fois cy avec ce chef. Lui renouveller toutes les recommandations de son pere, le chef des hommes blancs, et mes discours ordinaires pour maintenir la paix et les beaux chemins chez les nations du haut Missouris sans lui en donner, cétoit jetter des paroles au vent, auprès d'un homme surtout qui sortoit de perdre <touts> ses cheveaux, qui sont leurs richesses, et qui n'auroit pas manqué de me répondre, comme il m'avoit deja dit, que ces mêmes nations d'en haut commencoient les premiers a troubler lunion et l'accord que je voulois maintenir entre eux; lui répondre de faire ce que bon lui sembloient, c'étoit approuver tout le mal qu'il se proposoit de

payment, for you will find among all the Indian peoples that the most sensible and the most expedient speeches and discussions, whether for peace or war, for welcoming other nations, for preventing harmful actions or producing good ones, are unfruitful if they are not accompanied by feasts and <presents of> horses, <of fusils,> or whatever merchandise is given for this purpose. After so much loss and expense occasioned by the events and unfortunate encounters since my departure from the Illinois, by which the Company has been greatly wronged, and those I have had and that I am still forced to make since my arrival here—be it to keep the peace between the Cheyennes and the Sioux in the sedentary village here, who were quarreling with each other (nations that it is necessary to support, since they are the ones most able to supply us with good peltries), or for food, or for small gifts that I cannot refuse to make from time to time to the two medal chiefs of the Arikaras when they ask me, it being useful for us to humor their naturally jealous feelings toward one another and not to rebuff them too much by ill-timed refusals, without, however, giving in to any excess or too readily <against which I take careful guard>, not only to avoid a great expense but also to discourage the pernicious habit of those new medal chiefs to demand from the traders a large quantity of merchandise as if it were due them in their capacity as chiefs (a system that the French very unwisely introduced among all the nations located on the lower Missouri), taking care not to consent to their requests except on necessary occasions when it is a matter of their giving some small items to other nations who come to visit them, or appeasing some unruly or dissatisfied members of their own nation who would quarrel with or mistreat their allies, and help them to recompense with small items the young men of other nations who come to dance in their lodges to honor them—refusing them in such situations would cause them extreme displeasure, and would change the good feelings that we wish to inspire in them of unity among themselves and of harmony with their allies and other nations into bad feelings, and would alienate us in their minds.

All these losses and expenses without a return in peltries made me hesitate as to the way I ought to act at this time toward this chief. To repeat to him all the recommendations of his father, the Chief of the White Men, and my usual speech regarding the maintenance of peace and of good roads to the nations of the upper Missouri without giving him anything was to throw words to the wind, particularly with a man who had just lost <all> his horses, which are their wealth, and who would not have failed to answer me, as he had already said, that the same nations from upriver began first to disrupt the unity and harmony that I wish to maintain among them; to answer him that he should do whatever he wanted was to approve all the wrongdoing that he proposed,

commettre, mettre la bride sur le cou a toute la jeunesse de cette nation, sans que je puisse a lavenir ouvrir la bouche pour les retenir.

Je jugeai donc qu'il étoit plus a propos de faire encore quelque sacrifice, {129} quoi que onereux, en donnant quelques marchandises pour arêter ce parti de guerre que de le laisser aller, car il est certain que la guerre allumée entre les nations d'en haut et celle cy, le passage pour parvenir aux premiers nous sera fermé, ce qui ne peut que porter un grand préjudice a la Compagnie mettant un grand obstacle au projet de commerce qu'elle s'est proposée d'ouvrir chez toutes les nations située sur le haut Missouris.

J'appellai le chef Ours Fou et quelqu'autres considérés, qui le firent fumér de concert avec moi pour le détournér de son dessein. Je lui donnai pour la somme de soixante livres en pelteries de marchandises prix de facture, et nous lui recommandammes d'en faire part aux autres de son village qui avoient perdus des cheveaux dans ce vol, afin de [ne] point faire* de mécontens. Il accepta le calumet et le présent, disant que ce n'étoit pas pour le butin que je lui donnois, qui étoit peu de chose en comparaison de la perte de ses cheveaux, sil consentoit a se tenir tranquil, mais qu'en consideration des hommes blanc, a qui il ne vouloit pas déplaire, il les oublioit, et qu'il feroit ces éfforts pour appaiser ceux {130} qui, comme lui, avoient perdus des cheveaux. Ce chef executa ponctuellement ce qu'il m'avoit promis, et il ne fut plus parlé d'aller en guerre contre les nations d'en haut.

Le dix huit du mois, dix hommes de la nation chaguienne sont arrivés icy. Ils ont rapportés que leur village s'approchoit a petittes journées, étant trop chargée pour faire une marche prompte; que des jeunes gens de leur nation etoient partis pour porter le tabac que j'avois envoyé aux trois nations situées au dela deux, les Cayowas, les Caminanbiches, et les Pitapahato, et qu'ils n'étoient pas encore revenus. Ils m'apprirent aussi un accident funeste arrivé chez eux dernierement. Je ne vous le rapporterois pas si la cause ne nous en étoit pas attribué par la haute opinion qu'ils ont de nous et de tout ce qui nous appartient, nous regardant, comme je vous l'ai deja dit, comme des divinitées et tout ce qui vient de nous comme des merveilles qui surpassent la capacitée de lentendement de ces pauvres ignorants.

Lorsque je fis assembler les chefs et considérés des deux villages chaguiennes (qui vinrent icy après mon arrivée <le primptems derniers>) pour leur annoncer la parole de leur pere, le grand chef des hommes blancs espagnol, et donner la médaille, le pavillon, et la lettre {131} patente <et le présent qu'ils leur envoyoit> a un de leur chef, je voulus qu'il choisissent eux mêmes celui d'entre eux qu'ils trouveroient le plus capable de porter cette médaille et de tenir la place de grand

* The copyist mistakenly repeated the words "part aux autres de son village," which are omitted here.

and give free rein to the youths of this nation, without being able in the future to open my mouth to restrain them.

I judged then that it was more appropriate to make another sacrifice, although costly, by giving some merchandise to stop the war party rather than to allow it to proceed, for it is certain that, should war begin between the nations upriver and this one, the passage to reach the former will be closed to you, which could only cause great harm to the Company by creating a considerable obstacle for the commercial project that it proposes to start among all the nations located on the upper Missouri.

I called Chief Crazy Bear and some other leading men, who had him [the aggrieved chief] smoke with me to divert him from his plan. For the total of sixty *livres* in peltries I gave him some merchandise at invoice price, and we asked him to notify the others of his village who had lost horses in the robbery in order to prevent discontent. He accepted the calumet and the gift, saying that it was not for the goods that I gave him, which were insignificant compared to the loss of his horses, that he consented to remain at peace, but that it was out of consideration for the white men, whom he did not wish to displease, that he had forgotten them [the horses], and that he would make an effort to appease those who, like himself, had lost horses. The chief promptly did what he had promised, and there was no more talk of going to war against the nations upriver.

On the 18th of the month ten men of the Cheyenne nation arrived here. They reported that their village was approaching by short distances each day, being too heavily loaded to travel fast; that some young men of their nation had left to carry the tobacco that I had sent to the three nations located near them—the Kiowas, Caminanbiches, and Pitapahato—and that they had not yet returned. They told me also of a tragic accident that had happened among them not long ago. I would not report it to you if the reason were not attributed to us because of the high opinion that they have of us and of all that belongs to us, regarding us, as I have already said to you, as divinities and all that comes from us as marvels that surpass the capacity for understanding of these poor ignorant peoples.

When I assembled the chiefs and leading men of these two Cheyenne villages (who came here after my arrival <last spring>) in order to announce to them the words of their father, the Great Chief of the Spaniards, and to give the medal, flag, and commission <along with the present he sent to them> to one of their chiefs, I wanted them to choose one among them whom they would consider the most worthy to wear this medal and to hold the place of head chief

chef de leur nation. Ils me la firent donner d'une voix unanime a un jeune chef nommé La Lance, qui laccepta et promis de faire tout le bien qui lui étoit recommandé dans l'écrit que son pere, le grand chef des hommes blancs, lui envoyoit. Je lui dis que le Maitre de la vie, qui n'aime pas les méchants coeur, se facheroit, le priveroit de nouriture lui et ses gens, et leur donneroit peut être la mort, si portant cette médaille qui étoit le portrait du grand chef des Espagnols qui, en la lui donnant, lui donnoit son coeur, qui étoit bon et bienfaisant pour tout ses enfants; si, dis-je, en la portant sur sa poitrine il venoit a commettre quelques méchantes actions, soit contre les hommes blancs, soit contre les nations étrangères, ses alliez, ou contre sa propre nation, dont il devoit se regarder comme le pere; que le pavillon qu'il recevoit étoit le simbole de la paix et non la guerre; quen regardant lecrit que je lui remettois, il devoit toujours se ressouvenir des paroles qui y etoient contenus tel que je les lui avoit récité et les avoir profondément {132} gravés dans son coeur.

Ces jeunes hommes chaguiennes nouvellement venus m'ont donc rapporté que ce jeune chef nommé La Lance, bien loin d'avoir observé ce que je lui avois recommandé de faire en reçevant la médaille, le pavillon, et l'écrit qui venoit du grand chef des hommes blancs, avoit toujours continué d'avoir un mauvais coeur contre les étrangers et contre ses gens mêmes, se fachant a tous propos et les maltraitan[t]; qu'il étoit l'hauteur [*sic*, l'auteur] d'un meutre commis dernierement dans leur village même sur la personne d'un Sioux, de sa femme et de trois enfants qui demeuroit avec eux, quoiqu'il m'eut promis de vivre en bonne union avec le village sioux sédentaire aux Ricaras <dont cet homme et sa famille étoit>, et qu'il eut même fumé et mangé avec eux en ma présence; qu'au lieu d'entretenir la paix avec les Mendannes et Gros Ventres, tel que son pere espagnol le lui recommandoit, il avoit envoyé leur voler des cheveaux; que sans doute la médaille, le pavillon, et l'écrit, qui sont de Grands Esprit, s'étant fachés, avoient fait mourir trois de ses enfant et avoit fait tomber le tonnerre sur la cabane de son propre frere, qui avoit été mis en cendre lui, ses femmes, ses enfants, ses chiens, et même tous ces cheveaux attachés a la porte de sa loge.

Cet accident, arrivé par hasard sur la famille de cet homme plutôt {133} que sur tout autre, étant reconnu pour avoir faussé sa promesse aux hommes blancs et ne sêtre pas conduit de la maniere qui lui avoit été prescrit en présence des principaux de sa nation, de ceux des Ricaras, et des Sioux en reçevant la médaille, le pavillon, et la lettre qui sont donc de Grands Esprits, a fait un terrible effet dans lesprit de tous ces peuples et les a confirmé encore bien plus dans la croyance ou ils étoient que les hommes blancs sont des <de grands> esprit qui peuvent tous. Tous les viellards chaguiennes en général, selon le rapport de ceux cy, ont blamé ouvertement la conduitte de ce jeune chef et lui ont reproché son mauvais coeur, son peu dattention et de soumission aux paroles des hommes

of their nation. They unanimously said to give it to a young chief named The Lance, who accepted it and promised to do all the good deeds asked of him in the message that his father, the Great Chief of the White Men, had sent him. I said to him that the Master of Life, who does not love bad hearts, would be angered, would deprive him and his people of sustenance, and would perhaps kill them if, when wearing this medal that bore a portrait of the Great Spanish Chief [Carlos IV] who, in giving it, gave to him his heart, which was good and charitable toward all his children; if, I said, when wearing it on his chest he committed any bad deeds, be it against the white men or against other Indian nations, his allies, or against his own nation, of which he ought to regard himself as the father; that the flag that he received was the symbol of peace and not of war; that when he looked at the commission that I gave him, he should always remember the words that are contained therein such as I had recited to him and have them deeply engraved in his heart.

These newly arrived young Cheyenne men then reported to me that the young chief named The Lance, very far from observing what I had advised him to do upon receiving the medal, flag, and commission that came from the Great Chief of the White Men, had nevertheless continued to have a bad heart against other Indian nations and against his own people, losing his temper all the time and mistreating them; that he was the perpetrator of a murder committed recently in their own village on the persons of a Sioux, his wife, and three children who were living with them, although he had promised me to live in harmony with the sedentary Sioux village at the Arikaras <of which this man and his family were members>, and with whom he had even smoked and eaten in my presence; that instead of keeping the peace with the Mandans and Gros Ventres, as his Spanish Father advised him, he had had horses stolen from them; that without doubt the medal, flag, and commission, which are great spirits, being angered, had caused three of his children to die and had made lightning strike the dwelling of his own brother, which had reduced him to ashes, along with his wives, children, dogs, and even all of the horses picketed at the doorway of his lodge.

This accident, having happened coincidentally to the family of this man rather than to any other, he having been known to break his promise to the white men and not to have behaved in the manner prescribed to him in the presence of the leading men of his nation, of the Arikaras, and of the Sioux upon receiving the medal, flag, and commission, which are indeed great spirits, has had a powerful effect on the minds of all these peoples and has again strongly confirmed for them their belief that white men are <great> spirits who can do anything. All of the old Cheyenne men in general, according to the report of those here, openly reprimanded the young chief's conduct and had reproached him for his bad heart and his lack of attention and submission to the white men's words,

blancs, dont il étoit puni visiblement par le Maitre de la vie, comme je lui avois prédit.

Les Ricaras, comme jai deja dit, sont un peu plus éclaircy a notre sujet que ces peuples éloignés. Cependant, cet avanture leur donne beaucoup a penser.

Le 20e, un village sioux au nombre de quatre vingt loges, qu'ils appellent les Tacowas <Ta Corpâ>, s'est venu réunir avec le village des Sioux sédentaire icy, seuls estimés et veritables amis d'ancien tems {134} des Ricaras, ayant leur même caractêre et sentiment. Ces Sioux nouvellement arrivés, ainsi qu'un autre village qui se nomme Chaony <Chahony, qui doit bientôt venir icy>, parcourent ordinairement les païs au nord-est du Missouris, mais, manquant de boeufs et de vaches sauvages dans ces contrées, ils sont forcés de se jetter pour vivre sur la partie occidentale de cette rivierre ou ces animaux se trouvent en quantitée.

Les Ricaras et ce peuple sioux vivent ensemble politiquement. Les premiers les reçoivent pour tirer d[']eux des fusils, des habits, des chapeaux, <des chaudierres,> des draps, et autres marchandises provenantes des Anglois en échange de leur cheveaux. Ils les ménagent par crainte, voulant éviter une trop grande multitude d'ennemis de la nation siouse, qui les accableroient infailliblement. Les derniers les fréquentent et leurs font de grandes promesses de vivre en bonne union et en bon accord avec eux pour fumer leur tabac, manger leur bles dInde, faire librement la chasse des boeufs sauvages et des castors sur leurs terres dans la saison d'automne et d'hivers, et le primtemps, ils se retirent sur lautre rive d'ou ils reviennent ordinairement les tuer ou voler leur cheveaux. Ils ont coutume de se rejoindre tous les primtems avec les autres nations siouse qui se tiennent sur les rivierres St Pierre et des Moins, avec lesquelles ils trafiquent leurs pelteries pour des marchandises. On ne pourra jamais les retenir et faire {135} le commerce des pelteries avec eux a moins d'améliorer le prix établi icy sur les marchandises. Tous les jours ils prônent le bon marché de celles des Anglois sur le Missipy [*sic*], et conseillen[t] mal les Ricaras, les traitant de simples et dignorants de consentir a payer si cher ce que nous leurs vendons. . . .*

[Troisième partie]

Mais comme je parle et entend assez bien les deux langues, je repousse en présence des derniers leurs mauvais discours, et les traitant quoiqu'avec douceur et sans emportements, de menteurs et de fourbes qui, jaloux de nous voir apporter les besoins aux nations ricaras, chaguiennes, &c., ne cherchent qu'a les brouiller avec nous, afin que rebutés par quelques mauvais traitement nous les abandonnions dans leur ancienne misere et indigence dont les Sioux savoient très bien profiter. Les Ricaras, persuadés de la vérités de mes parolles et connoissant eux

* Ellipses in manuscript.

for which he had been obviously punished by the Master of Life, as I had predicted to him.

The Arikaras, as I already said, are a little more enlightened about us than those distant peoples. However, this chance event gives them much to ponder.

On the 20th a Sioux village numbering eighty lodges, which they call Tacowas <Ta Corpâ>,[113] came to join the sedentary village of the Sioux here, the only esteemed and true friends of the Arikaras from former times, having their same character and attitudes. These recently arrived Sioux, as well as another village called Chaony <Chahony,[114] which will soon be coming here>, usually roam the land to the northeast of the Missouri, but, lacking buffalo bulls and cows in those regions, they are forced to cross to the western side of the river where these animals are found in large numbers.

The Arikaras live together with these Sioux people as a matter of good policy. The former accept them in order to receive from them fusils, clothing, hats, <kettles,> cloth, and other merchandise obtained from the English in exchange for their horses. They get along with them out of fear, wishing to avoid making too great a multitude of enemies among the Sioux nation, who could certainly overpower them. The latter visit them and make great promises to live in harmony and friendship with them in order to smoke their tobacco, eat their corn, freely hunt buffalo and beaver on their lands in the autumn and winter, and in the spring they withdraw to the other bank of the river from where they usually return to kill them or to steal their horses. Every spring they are accustomed to joining the other Sioux nations who remain on the St. Peter's[115] and Des Moines Rivers, with whom they trade their peltries for merchandise.[116] We will never be able to retain them and to trade peltries with them unless a better price is established here on the merchandise. Every day they extol the cheapness of that of the English on the Mississippi, and give bad advice to the Arikaras, treating them as simple and ignorant for agreeing to pay so dearly for what we sell them.

<[Part 3]: From the Arikara Villages to St. Louis, July 22, 1795–June 4, 1796>

But as I speak and understand the two languages rather well, I countered their evil speeches in the presence of the last-named [the Arikaras], calling them [the Sioux], although quietly and without anger, liars and cheats who, jealous at seeing us bring necessities to the Arikaras, Cheyennes, &c., seek only to set us at odds with them, so that rebuffed by bad treatment we will leave them in their former misery and indigence from which the Sioux knew very well how to profit. The Arikaras, persuaded of the truth of my words and themselves

même le mauvais coeur des Sioux et leur peu de sincérités, {136} mapprouvent fort, rejettent leurs conseils, et méprisent leurs avis.

Deux jours après leur arrivée, m'ayant appellés dans une assemblée composée des principeaux de leur nation et des Ricaras, ils me dirent qu'ayant sçu qu'il étoit arrivés des hommes blancs nouveaux aux Ricaras qui avoit beaucoup de poudre et autres marchandises, ils etoient venus se reunir avec le village sioux sédentaire icy et avec les Ricaras, leurs amis, pour faire la chasse des castors et d'autres animeaux sur cette partie du Missouris cette automne; voulant vivre en paix avec toutes les nations qui y sont situés; et qu'ils esperoient que je leur feroit part des effets que javois apporté en echange de leurs pelleteries l'orsqu'ils auroient fait la chasse; que pour le present, les ayant donnés aux Sioux situés sur la rivierre des Moins, ils n'avoient que des viandes sêches a m'offrire; qu'ils esperoient que j'aurois pitié d'eux, leur donnant en échange quelques coup de poudre dont ils étoient tout a fait dénués, n'ayant pu en avoir des autres Sioux, qui en manquoient aussi.

{137} Ils donnerent milles louanges aux hommes blancs et exalterent fort leur puissance. Je leur dis que le grand chef des Espagnols, qui faisoit sa demeure à l'embouchure du Missouris, le pere commun de toutes les Peaux Rouges, en particulier de toutes les nations situées sur cette rivierre, m'avoient envoyé leur porter sa parole et des munitions pour faire vivre leur femmes et leurs enfants et les défendre contre leurs ennemis, en échange de leurs pelleteries; que tous les peuples sauvages qui fréquentent le Missouris qui voudroient écouter cette parole, qui étoit de bien traiter ses enfants, les Français, en tout lieu ou ils les rencontreroient de vivre en paix et en bon union avec nos alliez et nos amis qui sont les Ricaras, les Chaguiennes, les Mendannes, les Gros Ventres, &c., auroient part dans les bienfaits de ce pere commun des sauvages qui n'aiment [*sic,* n'aime] point les mauvais coeur; et qu'ainsi, si il vouloit [*sic,* ils voulaient] être du nombre de ces enfants {138} et tirer de nous leurs besoins, il falloient qu'ils vécussent en bon union avec les nations que je venois de nommer; qu'ils chassassent de leur coeur toute la méchancetée qui y étoit enfermé, qui parroissoit si souvent dans leurs discours que dans leurs actions; et qu'ils vinssent a se conformer sans disputes ni menaces aux prix établi sur les marchandises chez toutes les nations situés sur le Missouris, sans quoi ils nauroient pas un seul coup de poudre ni un couteaux de moi; que quand aux viandes seches qu'il me donneroit, en payement [ils recevraient] quelques couteaux et allaines, reservant ma poudre pour du castor et des loutres.

On jugera aisément qu'ils ont applaudit au moins de bouche a mes paroles, mais cela n'empêche que tous les jours les Ricaras me rapportent tous les conseils qu'ils leurs donnent a notre sujet, et que plusieurs d'entre eux sont venus avec une peau de castor ou de chevreuil détée demander une couverte ou plusieurs

knowing the bad hearts of the Sioux and their lack of sincerity, strongly support me, reject their advice, and scorn their opinions.

Two days after their arrival, having called me into a gathering composed of the leading men of their nation and of the Arikaras, they [the Tacowas] told me that, having learned that some new white men with much powder and other merchandise had arrived at the Arikaras, they had come to join the sedentary Sioux village here and the Arikaras, their friends, in order to hunt for beaver and other animals on this part of the Missouri this autumn, wishing to live in peace with all the nations that are located here; and that they hoped that I would give them a share of the goods that I had brought in exchange for their peltries when they had finished the hunt; that for the present, having given them [their peltries] to the Sioux located on the Des Moines River, they had only dried meat to offer me; that they hoped I would take pity on them, giving them in exchange some charges of powder of which they were entirely destitute, not having been able to get any from the other Sioux, who also lacked it.

They bestowed a thousand praises on the white men and greatly extolled their power. I told them that the Great Chief of the Spaniards, who had his dwelling-place at the mouth of the Missouri, the common father of all the Indians, in particular of all the nations located on this river, had sent me to bring them his message and some ammunition in order to provide for their women and children and to defend them against their enemies, in exchange for their peltries; that all the Indian peoples who frequent the Missouri who were willing to listen to this message, which was to treat his children, the French, well wherever they meet them and to live in peace and harmony with our allies and friends the Arikaras, Cheyennes, Mandans, Gros Ventres, &c., would have a share of the favors of the common father of the Indians, who does not like bad hearts; and that consequently, if they wished to number among his children and obtain their necessities from us, they must live in harmony with the nations that I had just named; they must banish from their hearts all the evil concealed therein that so often appeared both in their speech and their deeds; and that they must come to agreement without disputes or threats on the price established for merchandise among all the nations located on the Missouri, without which they would not receive a single charge of powder or a knife from me; that as for the dried meat they would give me, in payment [they would receive] some knives and awls, my powder being reserved for beaver and otter.

It is clear that they approved my words, at least by mouth, but that does not preclude the fact that every day the Arikaras report to me all the advice that they [the Sioux] give them regarding us, and that several among them have come with a summer beaver skin or deerskin to ask for a blanket or several

jointée de poudre, et après bien des {139} instances inutiles sont revenus a demander gros comme un pois de vermillon. Voila messieurs le caractere et la maniere dagir des Sioux partout ou ils mettent le pied.

Il est bien a propos icy, pour empêcher les progrès que pourroient faire les mauvais discours des Sioux dans les port des Ricaras, d'avoir un homme qui entend et parle la langue des Sioux et des Panis afin de pouvoir par soi même maintenir les premiers dans leur ancien caractère et combattre la méchancétée des derniers sans être obligé de se servir d'interprète sauvage, qui ne repette jamais les paroles de la maniere et dans le sens quelle sont dittes.

Je crois devoir rapporter icy une acte de justice exercé par une bande de Sioux nomme Chaony sur la personne de leur grand chef, lesquelles [*sic,* lesquels] sont venus me voir aux Ricaras quelques jours après avoir commis cette action, qu'ils m'ont racontés eux mêmes.

Ce sauvage que la nature avoit doué d'un esprit plus subtil {140} et d'un entendement plus eclairé que n'en ont ordinairement ceux de sa nation, sétoit élevé par ses talents pour la guerre, par ses médecines, et ses libéralités, et plus encore par quelques tours de charlatannerie qu'il avoit appris des Français sur le Mississipy, comme de changer de la terre en poudre a tirer, de la cendre en vermillon, &c., passant parmi eux tels que passent chez nous parmi les simples, les sorciers et les magiciens; sétoit élevé, dis je, dans un si haut dégrés d'authorité par la crainte qu'ils avoient de sa médecine, qu'il éxercoit impunément une espece de tirannie sur ses gens, comme de s'emparer de leur plus beaux cheveaux, d'arracher les femmes les plus jeunes et les plus a son gout a leurs maris, de s'aproprier les meilleures viandes dans la chasse des boeufs sauvages. Il lui etoit arrivé même de tuer de ses propres gens sans que personnes ce fut encore révolté contre lui.

Ce méchant homme ayant dernierement oté deux jeunes femmes a leurs maris, et ces femmes ne voulant {141} point habiter avec lui ni satisfaire a sa brutale passion, il les poignarda toutes deux dans le même tems, leur coupa le visage, les seins, et la partie du corps que la bienséance ne permet pas de nommer, et en jetta les morceaux de coté et d'autres dans la prairie.

Tous les sauvages en général de son village furent si indignés d'une telle action qu'il crièrent tous d'une voix qu'il falloit le faire mourir, et sans autre délibération ils sassemblèrent en foule autour de sa cabane, le fusillerent de toute part et décocherent sur lui quantitée de fléches. Après qu'il fut mort ils couperent son corps par morçeau et les disperçerent de ça, de là dans la prairie pour être mangé par les chiens et par les loups. Cet homme avoit fait croire a ses gens que l'orsqu'il seroit mort, soit qu'il fut tué ou autrement, qu'en jettant son corps dans leau, bien quil fut coupé par petites parties, il ressusciteroit et seroit encore bien plus de médecine qu'il étoit auparavant. Il avoit toujours

double handfuls of powder, and after many useless entreaties they returned to ask for a pea-sized amount of vermillion. That, Messieurs, is the character and behavior of the Sioux everywhere they set foot.

To prevent the headway that the mischievous discourse of the Sioux might make on the conduct of the Arikaras, it is opportune to have a man here who understands and speaks the languages of the Sioux and the Pawnees [Arikaras] so that by himself he can keep the latter in their previous character and fight the wickedness of the former without having to use an Indian interpreter, who never repeats words in the manner and sense in which they are said.

I think I should report here an act of justice carried out by a Sioux band called Chaony on the person of their head chief. They came to see me among the Arikaras several days after having committed this act, which they themselves related to me.

This Indian whom nature had endowed with a mind more crafty and an intellect more enlightened than the people of his nation ordinarily possessed, had risen by means of his talents in war, his medicines, and his generosity, and more especially through several tricks of charlatanism that he had learned from the French on the Mississippi, such as changing dirt into gunpowder, cinders into vermillion, &c., being perceived among them [his people] in the same way that sorcerers and magicians are perceived by the naive among us; he had risen, indeed, to such a high degree of authority by the fear that they had of his medicine that he exercised a kind of tyranny over his people with impunity; for example, he would seize their most handsome horses, take from their husbands the youngest women and those he fancied most, and appropriate the best meat on the buffalo hunt. He even killed some of his own people without anyone revolting against him.

When this evil man recently took two young women away from their husbands, and these women did not wish to live with him or to satisfy his brutal passion, he stabbed them both at the same time, cut up their faces, their breasts, and the part of the body that decency does not allow us to name, and threw the pieces in every direction on the prairie.

All the Indians in general from his village were so shocked by this act that they cried all in one voice that he must be killed, and without further deliberation they gathered in a crowd around his lodge, shot at it from all directions with fusils and let fly a large number of arrows at him. After he was dead they cut his body into pieces and scattered them here and there on the prairie to be eaten by dogs and wolves. This man had made his people think that when he died, whether he was killed or otherwise, that by throwing his body into the water, even if it was cut into little pieces, he would be restored to life and would have even more supernatural power than before. He had always advised his

recommandé a ses plus proches parents de le jetter dans la rivierre après {142} sa mort. Sa mere, qui étoit encore vivante dans le tems qu'ils fut tué, et ses soeurs voulurent rassembler touts les membres coupées et séparés de son corps pour les jetter dans leau mais tout le village si [=s'y] opposa, craignant que sa prédiction eû son éffet, tant ces peuples ignorants son faciles et legers de croyance.

Plusieurs anciens sauvages m'ont rapportés des faits semblables, arivés en différentes fois parmi ces peuples barbares, &c. Je ne rapporterai que celui cy nouvellement commis par les Sioux, qui démontre clairement que la justice divine, pour donnér de la terreur aux scélérats et aux monstres de l'humanité, permet quelques fois que le crime soit puni dans ce monde cy parmi des nations même qui, quoiqu'ils n'ayent pu acquérir la connoissance de la loix écrites, tant divine qu'humaine, que nous appelons jurisprudence, doivent néanmoins se conduire selon la loix de nature primitive que Dieu a gravé dans le coeur de chaque individû humain.

{143} La partie septentrionnalle et orientalle du Missouris est habitée par la grande nation des Sioux, dont plusieurs villages sont amis des Ricaras et d'autres leurs ennemis, et tous en générale ennemis des Mendannes et des Gros Ventres. Les nations siouses sont celles qui font le plus de chasse de castors de tous les peuples situés sur le haut Missouris. Tous les printems ils en enlêvent une grande quantitée d'ycy, qu'ils vont trafiquer <avec les autres Scioux qui fréquentent les rivierres St. Pierre et des Moin,> sur la partie anglaise. Les prix hauts établi icy sur les marchandises, et plus que toutes choses la mesure de poudre qu'on veut leur donner par castors, qui n'a contenu jusqu'a présent que dix coups <les chocque,> les irrite et les rebute. Ils exige<roient> une jointée de poudre par castor et par loutre. Ils ne consentiront jamais autrement à nous trafiquer leurs pelleteries.

Pour moi, mes ordres étant de maintenir des prix très haut sur les marchandises, quoi que je voye avec regret sortir de notre territoire tant de bonnes pelleteries pour être transportés chez les étrangérs, je ne puis en diminuer <améliorer> le prix sans un nouvel ordre des directeurs de la Compagnie.

{144} Il est certain que si les merchands de la partie angloise, qui sont sans contre dit beaucoup plus entreprenants que ceux des Illinois et de la Loüisiane, étoient en possession de cette rivierre, le Missouris, dont la navigation pour les plus grandes pirogues est si facile de puis son embouchure jusqu'a sa source, ne si [=s'y] trouvant aucunes cataractes, aucuns portages, ils étendroient un grand commerce chez toutes ces nations, tout [*sic*, tant] celle qui nous sont connus que celle qui nous sont encore inconnuës, et d'où par la suitte ils tireroient une grande quantitée de bonnes pelleteries, ce que messieurs les marchands des Illinois n'ont jamais osé et n'oseront peut être jamais entreprendre par le

nearest relatives to throw him into the river after his death. His mother, who was still living at the time he was killed, and his sisters wished to reassemble all the parts cut and separated from his body in order to throw them into the water but all the village opposed it, fearing that his prophecy might come true, to such a degree are these ignorant peoples easily influenced and irrational in their beliefs.[117]

Several old Indians have told me of similar happenings that occurred at different times among these barbaric peoples, &c. I will only report here this one recently committed by the Sioux, which demonstrates clearly that divine justice, to terrify the villains and monsters of humanity, sometimes allows crime to be punished in this world, even among nations that, although they have not been able to acquire knowledge of written laws, either divine or human, that we call jurisprudence, must nevertheless behave according to the primitive laws of nature that God has engraved on the heart of each individual human being.

The northern and eastern part of the Missouri is inhabited by the great Sioux nation, several villages of which are friends of the Arikaras and others their enemies, and all in general are enemies of the Mandans and Gros Ventres. Of all the peoples located on the upper Missouri, the Sioux nations are the ones who hunt the most for beaver. Every spring they take a great many here, which they take to trade <with the other Sioux who roam the St. Peter's and Des Moines Rivers> in the English sector. The high prices established here on merchandise, and more than anything else the measure of powder that we are willing to give them for one beaver—which until now has only contained enough for ten charges—shocks, irritates, and discourages them. They would insist on a double-handful of powder for a beaver and for an otter. Otherwise they will never agree to trade us their peltries.

As for me, my orders being to keep prices very high on the merchandise, although I see with regret so many good peltries leave our territory to be transported to foreigners, I cannot lower <improve> the price without a new order from the Directors of the Company.

It is certain that if the merchants of the English sector, who are unarguably much more enterprising than those of the Illinois and of Louisiana, were in possession of this river, the Missouri—on which navigation for the largest pirogues is so easy from its mouth up to its source, with no falls or portages—they would set up an extensive trading enterprise reaching all these nations, both those known to us and those yet unknown, where they would subsequently obtain a large quantity of good peltries, which Messieurs the merchants of the Illinois have never dared and perhaps will never dare to undertake because of the reluctance they have always had <and still have> to incur expenses, because of fear

peu de disposition ou ils ont toujours étés <et sont encore> d'en faire les frais, par la crainte de ne point reusir, ou trop facile a se rebuter des premiers obstacles <ou les pertes> qui peuvent si [=s'y] rencontrer, ce qui n'a jamais arreté les entreprises de commerce des Anglois.

On dira sans doute que c'est l'intention et le dessein de la Compagnie qui s'est formée a St Loüis pour le commerce du haut Missouris en établissant un magasin de marchandises aux Mandannes et découvrir les nations les plus éloignés, {145} de penétrer chez elles, et y ouvrir le trafic des pelleteries. Il est vraie que c'est son intention et qu'il m'est ordonné <dans mes instructions> d'envoyer en découverte au nord et au sud, a l'est et a l'ouest, les engagés de la société, mais ces engagés, qui la plus part sortiront de Canada, choisis tels par le peu de gages qu'on leur donnera et par conséquent nullement experts des sauvages ni des routes, feront ils ces découvertes sans guides et sans conducteurs? Ces guides et ces conducteurs, ne couteront-ils rien? Passeront-ils de nations en nations <toutes simples quelles sont> sans faire quelques depenses en petits presents aux chefs de ces différentes nations? Cependant, selon mes instructions, il faut éxécuter tous ces projets sans frais ni dépences.

M^{r} le directeur m'a enjoint de ne garder que deux hommes avec moi après l'hivernement faittes et de renvoyer les autres aux Illinois. Ces deux hommes seront-ils universelle? Pouront ils faire le service de létablissement et parcourir le païs du levant au ponant, du midi au septantrion? Ceci revolte la raison.

{146} Le plus grand obstacle pour les voyageurs du haut Missouris est le passage aux Mahas et aux Poncas. La Compagnie fera t[-]elle quelques efforts pour y avoir le chemin libre?

La rencontre des Sioux sur le Missouris n'est qu'un hazard. En prenant des précautions pour passer les endroits qu'ils ont coutûme de frequenter, on peut aisément les éviter, c'est surtout de sçavoir choisir le tems ou ils s'en éloignent, qui est le <bon> primtems. Je conclus et finis en disant que si les chemins étoient une fois ouverts, et que messieurs les marchands des Illinois voulussent employer les forces néçessaires pour pénétrer chez tant de peuples differents qui habitent les bords du hauts Missouris et les païs circonvoisins et se servir des moyens d'empecher les nations septentrionnales de cette rivierre de porter leur pelleteries aux marchands de la partie angloise, qui seroit de leur vendre moins cheres les marchandises, ils augmenteroient d'une double et triple valeur le trafic des pelleteries qui se fait dans le Missouris. Les gens experts parmi les sauvages et la jeunesse des Illinois qui reste dans l'inaction auroit dans ces longs voyages plus doccation [*sic*, d'occasion] de gagner leur vie et de payer leur dettes, {147} et par consequent ce païs, qui ne peut se soutenir que par le commerce de pelleteries et les voyages, seroit beaucoup meilleure qu'il n'est.

of failure, or being too easily deterred by the first obstacles <or losses> they might encounter, which has never stopped the commercial enterprises of the English.

It will be said no doubt that the intention and plan of the Company that was formed in St. Louis for trade on the upper Missouri by establishing a storehouse for merchandise at the Mandans is to discover the most distant nations, to reach them, and to begin the trade in peltries there. It is true that this is its intention and that I am directed <in my instructions> to send the *engagés* of the Company to make discoveries to the north and south, to the east and west, but will these *engagés*, who for the most part will come from Canada, chosen as such for the low wages they will be given and consequently no experts on Indians or on routes, make those discoveries without guides and without leaders? Will those guides and leaders cost nothing? Will they go from nation to nation <however simple they are> without incurring any expenses for little presents for the chiefs of the various nations? Nevertheless, according to my instructions, I have to carry out all these projects without cost or expenditures.

Monsieur the Director urged me to keep only two men with me after the winter was over and to send back the others to the Illinois. Will these two men do everything? Will they be able to handle the activities of the establishment and to roam the land from the east to the west, from the north to the south? This makes no sense.

The greatest obstacle for the voyageurs of the upper Missouri is the river passage past the Omahas and the Poncas. Will the Company make some effort to keep the route unobstructed?

An encounter with the Sioux on the Missouri happens only by chance. By taking some precautions to pass the places they customarily frequent, one might easily avoid them; this is above all by knowing to choose the time when they go away from it, which is in the <early> spring. I conclude and finish by saying that if the roads were opened once and for all, and if Messieurs the merchants of the Illinois were willing to use the forces necessary to reach so many different peoples who live on the banks of the upper Missouri and in the neighboring lands and were willing to take measures to prevent the northern nations of this river from carrying their peltries to the merchants of the English sector by selling merchandise to them at a lower price, they would double or triple the value of the trade in peltries made on the Missouri. Men skilled among the Indians and youths from the Illinois who remain idle would find in these long voyages greater opportunity to earn their living and pay their debts, and consequently this land, which can only sustain itself by trade in peltries and voyages, would be much better off than it is.

Mais tant que les marchands de la première classe auront seuls les protections et faveurs du gouvernement général de cette province, et qu'il ne sera permis qu'à eux, je ne dis pas de vivre, mais d'accumuler biens sur biens, et que les marchands voyageurs expert parmi les sauvages ne pourront sortir, soit paraport [=par rapport] au prix exhorbitant des marchandises de traitte que les equippeurs a qui les postes du Missouris appartiennent leur veulent vendre, soit par le peu de gages qu'ils leurs offrent, préferant des voyageurs sans capacitée mais a bas prix, etant parvenus par leurs cabales et intrigues a fermer la porte de la répartition des postes du Missouris a tous les voyageurs, qu'ils tiennent depuis biens des années courbés sous le poid de leur joug onereux, il n'y a pas d'apparence que le commerce du Missouris sétende beaucoup plus qu'il n'est. Une ample liberté de commerce accordé a tous les voyageurs égalements, sujets d'un même roi, seroit le plus sur moyen pour y parvenir.

{148} Le deuzième jours du mois d'aouts [*sic*], ce village de Sioux dont j'ai parlé plus haut, appéllé Chaony, au nombre de cent vingt loges, est arrivé icy, et cinquante loges d'un autre village sioux nommé Hanctonnans ont restés campés sur l'autre bord du Missouris, et après quelques jours de résidence, ayant fait le trafic de maillis, de tabac et de cheveaux avec les Ricaras, sont partis pour se rendre sur le haut de la rivierre St Pierre, leurs endroits ordinaires.

Les trois villages sioux qui vont faire la chasse des castors et du boeuf sauvage sur cette partie occidentale du Missouris font nombres de deux cent soixante loges. Ils seroient a souhaiter qu'ils nous trafiquassent toutes leurs pelleteries.

Le dix du même mois d'aoust, j'ai fait partir deux hommes dans un canot chargée de vivres pour aller au devant de la voiture que la Compagnie doit envoyer. J'ai jugé qu'il étoit très a propos de le faire, ayant moi même jeuné l'étée derniere. J'ai prémédité que par les retardement que les montages d'eau, les pluyes, et les vents, occasionneroient aux gens qui doivent monter, ils seroient infailliblement exposé a manqué de vivre.

{149} Le vingt d'aouts [*sic*], plusieurs jeunes hommes de la nation chaguienne sont arrivés icy. Ils ont rapporté que leur village étoit a une journée de marche; que les Sioux ayant été en calumet chez eux, leurs chefs n'avoient pas voulu les reçevoir, connoissant leur perfidie; qu'ils demandoient les deux grands chefs ricaras et moi afin de nous parler au sujet des Sioux avant d'arriver, sachant qu'il y en avoit un grand nombre avec nous. Ils m'ont dit aussi que les nations caminanbiche, cayowas, a qui j'avois envoyé du tabac en parole, n'avoient osé sapprocher paraport [=par rapport] aux Sioux; que, cependant, il étoit venu quelques chefs de ces nations avec eux pour voir les hommes blancs et écouter leurs paroles.

Le vingt quatre, les principeaux des Ricaras et moi sommes partis pour aller au devant des deux villages de Chaguienne qui n'étoient pas encore venus icy,

But as long as only merchants of the first rank enjoy the protections and favors of the general government of this province and only they are permitted—I do not mean to live, but to accumulate goods upon goods—and as long as the merchant voyageurs skilled among the Indians cannot go out, either because of the exorbitant price of the trade merchandise that the outfitters who own the posts of the Missouri would sell to them, or because of the low wages that they give them, preferring instead unfit voyageurs at a low price, having succeeded through their cabals and intrigues in closing the door to the allotment of the Missouri posts to all voyageurs, whom they have kept bent under the weight of their onerous yoke for many years, it is unlikely that trade on the Missouri will expand much more than it has. Full freedom of trade granted to all voyageurs equally, as subjects of the same King, would be the surest means of accomplishing it.

On the 2nd day of August the Sioux village that I mentioned above, called Chaony, numbering 120 lodges, arrived here, and fifty lodges of another Sioux village called Hanctonnans[118] remained camped on the other side of the Missouri, and after a few days of residence, having conducted trade in corn, tobacco, and horses with the Arikaras, they left to return to the upper reaches of the St. Peter's River, their usual location.

The three Sioux villages that go to hunt beaver and buffalo on the western side of the Missouri number 260 lodges. It would be desirable if they traded all of their peltries to us.

On the 10th of August I sent out two men in a canoe loaded with food supplies to go meet the boat that the Company was supposed to send. I considered this a very suitable thing to do, having myself gone without food the summer before. I thought that due to the delay that the rising river waters, rains, and winds would occasion for the men who ought to be coming upstream, they would certainly be in danger of lacking food.

On the 20th of August several young men of the Cheyenne nation arrived here. They reported that their village was a day's travel away; that the Sioux had brought the calumet to them, but that their chiefs had refused to receive them, knowing their treachery; that they wanted to see the two head chiefs of the Arikaras and myself to speak to us about the Sioux before their arrival, knowing that there was a large number of them with us. They also told me that the Caminanbiche and Kiowa nations, to whom I had sent some tobacco as an invitation, have not dared to approach because of the Sioux; that, however, several chiefs of those nations had come with them to see the white men and listen to their words.

On the 24th the leading men of the Arikaras and I left to go in advance of these two Cheyenne villages that had not yet arrived here, the one called Wuisy

l'un appelé Wuisy et l'autre Chouta. Il y avoit parmi eux dix loges de la nation caminanbiche, parmi lesquelles s'est trouvé un grand chef de cette nation. Nous y avons été bien reçu. Ils m'importunoient de leurs caresses, tous les chef et viellards passant continuellement leurs mains sur {150} moi, en me frottant de la tête aux pieds. Ils m[']ont dit qu'ils avoient peu de castors parcequ'ils avoient appris trop tard mon arrivée aux Ricaras, et que pour l'ors, le castor ayant perdu son poil, ils n'avoient pas voulu en tuer, mais que le primtems prochain ils mapporteroient une grande quantitée.

Ils fut déterminé entre eux et les Ricaras qu'ils ne viendroient aux village des derniers qu'après le départ de tous les Sioux, crainte que parmi tant de monde ils ne séléva quelques disputes qui ne manqueroient pas d'allumer la guerre. Les Sioux, ayant sçu cela, sont tous partis d'icy le trentième du mois, très mal contents des Chaguéennes et des Ricaras, disant hautement que cetoit en ma consideration s'ils ne tuoient pas des Chaguéennes et des Ricaras.

Quelques jours après leur départ j'ai sçu qu'ils avoient volés quelques cheveaux aux Chaguiennes; que ces derniers avoient été paisiblement leurs demander les cheveaux volés, leur disant qu'ils ne craignoient point du tout de se battre contre eux, mais qu'ayant entendu la parole des hommes blancs qui leur recommandoient la tranquilitée, ils désiroient vivre en bonne union avec les Sioux. Les c[h]efs de ces derniers {151} leurs ont fait rendre les cheveaux, disant aussi que cétoit pour le même sujet, c'est a dire, paraport aux hommes blancs, s'il les leur rendoient. Et tous les anciens sauvages de chaque nation sont surpris jusqu'a l'étonnement de voire tant de sauvages, surtout de la nation siouse, rassemblés dans un même lieux et y resider près de deux mois sans querelles ni batailles sanglantes. Un ancien chef sioux me disoit un jour, en parlant de moi, qu'il ne pouvoit comprendre qu'un homme qui avoit un si petit corps put faire peur a tant de monde et mettre l'union et l'accord par ses seules paroles entre tant de méchants coeurs. Je lui dis que je souhaitois que ces bonnes dispositions et cette docilitée put durer longtems, mais que je craignois bien que sa nation fut la premiere a rompre le noeud dailliance [*sic,* d'alliance] avec les autres.

Les Chaguiennes m'ont assuré que les paroles que j'avois envoyé aux trois nations situés au delà d'eux avoit fait un tel effet qu'il sembloit que la même genie d'union et de paix que je leur insinuois s'étoit répandu chez d'autres peuples encore plus eloignés, puisque les Pitapahato, les {152} Caminanbiche, qui avoient toujours étés en guerre contre les nations Têtes Pelées (ou autrement Halitanne), ainsi que d'autres qui habitent en déçà des montagnes de roches, avoient fait alliance dans le cours de cette étée et sétoient réunis ensemble.

Le sixième du mois de septembre, les deux villages chaguiennes que je viens de nommer sont arrivés icy. Le lendemain, les chefs de cette nation ont rassemblé le peu de peaux de castors qu'ils pouvoient y avoir dans toutes les loges et m'en

and the other Chouta. They had among them ten lodges of the Caminanbiche nation, among whom was a head chief of that nation. We were well received there. They importuned me with their caresses, all the chiefs and old men continually passing their hands over me, rubbing me from head to foot. They said that they had few beaver because they had learned too late of my arrival among the Arikaras, and that by then, the beaver had shed their fur, and they had not wished to kill them, but that the following spring they would bring me a great quantity.

It was decided between themselves and the Arikaras that they would come to the latter's village only after the departure of all the Sioux, fearing that among so many people disputes would arise that would not fail to start a war. The Sioux, having learned of that, all left here on the 30th of the month, very unhappy with the Cheyennes and the Arikaras, saying openly that it was in consideration of me that they did not kill some Cheyennes and Arikaras.

Some days after their departure I learned that they had stolen some horses from the Cheyennes; that the latter had gone peaceably to request the stolen horses, saying to them that they did not fear at all to fight them, but having heard the words of the white men who urged them to maintain peace, they desired to live in harmony with the Sioux. The chiefs of the latter had the horses returned to them, also saying that it was for the same reason, that is, on account of the white men, that they gave them back. And all the elderly Indians of each nation are surprised to the point of astonishment to see so many Indians, especially of the Sioux nation, together in the same place and residing there nearly two months without quarrels or bloody battles. An old Sioux chief told me one day, in speaking of me, that he was not able to understand how one man who had such a small body was able by his words alone to cause fear in so many people and to bring about harmony and friendship among so many bad hearts. I said to him that I hoped that these good intentions and this docility would last for a long time, but that I feared greatly that his nation might be the first to untie the knot of alliance with the others.

The Cheyennes assured me that the messages I had sent to the three nations located beyond them had had such an effect that it seemed that the same spirit of harmony and peace that I had instilled in them had spread to other peoples still farther away, because the Pitapahato and the Caminanbiche, who had always been at war against the Têtes Pelées nations (or otherwise Halitanne),[119] as well as others who live on this side of the Rocky Mountains, had made an alliance during the summer and had met together.

On the 6th of September the two Cheyenne villages that I just named arrived here. The next day the chiefs of this nation gathered the few beaver pelts that they could get from all the lodges and made a present of them to me that amounted

ont fait un présent qui s'est monté a environ cent livres de castor, accompagné de vingt robes de boeufs, trente pieces de viandes séches. Le chef caminanbiche m'a couvert d'une robe de boeufs garnie en porteepic [=porc-épic], disant qu'il étoit honteux dêtre venu les mains vuides. J'ai payé leur présent sur le pied de la traitte et quelques bagatelles de plus en tabac et autres menuitées que jai données au deux principeaux chefs de ces deux bandes. Ils auroient bien voulu reçevoir les mêmes honneurs que le chef du premier village chaguienne qui est venu icy, cest a dire, réçevoir médaille et pavillon. Je leur ai fait esperer que leur pere espagnol {153} pouvoit peut être leur en envoyer une autre année. Jai couvert ce grand chef caminanbiche d'une couverte blanche. Le chef ricaras, l'Ours Fou, lui a donné un calumet garni de plumage, et moy une carotte de tabac pour faire fumer tous les braves et considérés de son village, ainsi que ceux des nations cayouas et pitapahato, leurs voisins, l'encourageans de faire la chasse des castors et loutres, de s'approcher le primtems prochain lorsque les Sioux seroient retirés sur l'autre bord du Missouris.

Le treize du même mois, ces deux villages sont partis dicy après bien des danses et des présents fait de part et d'autres.

Le quinze, les deux nommés Généreux et La Voye, que javois envoyé a la rencontre de la voiture qui devoit monter jusqu'auprès de lisle aux Cedre, vingt lieues plus haut que le village des Poncas, ayant restés douze jours dans le même lieu en esperant cette voiture qui n'est point venu, ils ont pris le parti de remonter. Ils m'ont rapportés que depuis le haut du grand detour jusquaux environs de la rivierre Blanche, le Missouris étoit bordé de Sioux qui traversoient sur la partie occidentale de cette rivierre; qu'ayant échappés trois fois de leurs mains {154} par la fuitte, ils avoient étés pris la quatrieme par une bande qui les avoient cerné de chaque coté de la rivierre, et qui les ayant menés a leur [village,] ils leurs avoient oté toutes leurs viandes séches, au nombre de quarante cinq piéces, que j'envoyois au devant de la pirogue qui devoit monter, et les avoient dépouillés de leurs fusils, poudre, balles, capots, haches, couteaux, &c., leur ayant donnés d'autres fusils plus mauvais et quelques coups de poudre pour se conduire.

Il est certain, messieurs, que ces passages sont très dangereux paraport aux Sioux depuis la mi d'aoust jusqu'à la dernierre saison de l'automne, et que si les marchandises destinés pour les nations du haut Missouris ne partoient qu'au primptems du village des Mahas, elles se rendroient aux Ricaras et aux Mendannes en toute suretée les Sioux dans cette saison étant tous eloignés des bords du Missouris.

Le vingt et un de septembre, le S^{r} Ménard, résidant aux Mandannes, est arrivé icy accompagné de deux sauvages. Il me dit que les Français et tous les sauvages {155} den haut étoients [surpris] de ne me point voire arrivé qu'ils l'avoient députés pour apprendre les raisons qui me retenoient icy. Il me dit aussi que le

to about 100 *livres* of beaver, along with 20 buffalo robes and 30 pieces of dried meat. The Caminanbiche chief covered me with a buffalo robe decorated with porcupine quills, saying that he was ashamed to have come empty-handed. I paid for those presents at the rate of the trade and some trinkets, tobacco, and other small items that I gave to the two leading chiefs of these two bands. They would have liked very much to receive the same marks of esteem as the chief of the first Cheyenne village who came here, that is, to receive a medal and a flag. I gave them hope that their Spanish Father would perhaps send those to them another year. I covered the head chief of the Caminanbiche with a white blanket. The Arikara chief, Crazy Bear, gave him a calumet decorated with feathers, and I gave him a carrot of tobacco in order to have all the braves and leading men of his village smoke, as well as those of the Kiowa and Pitapahato nations, their neighbors, encouraging him to hunt beaver and otter and to come the following spring when the Sioux will have withdrawn to the other side of the Missouri.

On the 13th of the same month these two villages left here after many dances and presents were made on both sides.

On the 15th the two men named Généreux and La Voye, whom I had sent to meet the boat that should have ascended almost to Cedar Island, twenty leagues above the Ponca village, having remained twelve days in the same place waiting for the boat that did not arrive, decided to come back upriver. They reported to me that from the upper part of the Great Bend upstream to the vicinity of White River, the Missouri was bordered by Sioux who were crossing to the western side of the river; that having escaped from their hands three times by taking flight, they had been seized the fourth time by a band that had surrounded them on each side of the river, and having brought them to their [village], they had taken away all their dried meat, numbering forty-five pieces, which I had sent to meet the pirogue that was to ascend, and had robbed them of their fusils, powder, balls, capotes, axes, knives, &c., giving them other inferior fusils and a few charges of powder for their journey.

It is certain, Messieurs, that because of the Sioux these passages are very dangerous from the middle of August to the end of autumn, and if the merchandise destined for the nations of the upper Missouri only left in the spring from the village of the Omahas, it would arrive at the Arikaras and Mandans in complete safety, the Sioux in this season being all far away from the banks of the Missouri.

On the 21st of September Sieur Ménard, resident at the Mandans, arrived here accompanied by two Indians. He told me that the French and all the Indians above were so surprised not to see me arrive that they had sent him to learn the reasons for my remaining here. He told me also that the man named Jussaume

nommé Jussaume étoit allé au fort des Anglois y regler ses affaires; que quant a lui, il sétoit déterminé a venir me trouvé sur les lettres que je leur avoit écris des intentions des messieurs de la Compagnie pour eux. Quoi que les marchands anglois de la riviere Rouge lui fissent de grandes offres, ils préfereroient faire des affaires avec les propriétaires des postes ou ils faisoit sa résidence.

Plusieurs sauvages de la nation du Corbeau, qui habitent aux montagnes de roches, ont attendus longtems mon arrivée cette etée chez les Mandannes. Il en fait rester quelques uns des principeaux jusqu'à son rétour, ayant dessein d'aller en commerce chez eux si je voulois lui confier quelques marchandises propices pour ces nations qui sont, dit il, situés dans le centre du castor. Etant instruit par plusieurs Français qui ont fréquenté cet homme de sa bonne conduitte et de sa probitée; et d'ailleurs, me voyant incapable de pouvoir parvenir aux Mandannes encore {156} cette année, tant par l'opposition que les Ricara[s] ne manqueroient pas d'y apporter si je voulois les laisser pour aller plus loin sans quitter des marchandises chez eux et du monde pour les commercer, ce qu'il m'est impossible de faire n'ayant personne capable et étant trop foible de monde pour me séparer en deux; et que faute de pirogue pour monter les effets en haut; la voiture qui devoit arrivé icy des Illinois dans le cours de juillet ou d'aoust n'étant point venu, jai donc crû bien faire de vendre au sieur Ménard quelques marchandises les plus propices pour les nations ou il se propose daller, esperant tirer de lui quelques paquets de castors de plus que je ne ferai icy. Je lui ai vendu pour la somme de deux milles livres en pelteries, au deux cent cinquante pour cent de bénéfice prix de ma facture. J'ai envoyé le nommé Genereux, engagé a la Compagnie, avec lui pour mener ces marchandises dans un canot que j'avois acheté du nommé Quebec cette étée pour envoyer au devant de la pirogue de la Compagnie avec des vivres.

{157} Le nommé La Voye monte de compagnie avec eux dans un petit canot pour faire la pêche [au castor] de consert avec Généreux au dessus des Mandannes cet automne. Le sieur Ménard m'ayant assuré qu'il y avoit auprès des villages mandannes des bois assez gros pour faire des voitures, j'ai recommandés au nommés Généreux et Lavoie de me construire deux grandes pirogues dans le cours de l'hivers, leurs ayant donnés des menuités pour acheter des vivres pour se nourir pendant leurs traveaux. Le S^{r} Ménard m'a promis de descendre avec les pelleteries qu'il fera le primtems dans les voitures qui seront faittes en haut.

J'ai pris de lui toutes les connoissances qu'il a de la situation des nations du haut Missouris, de leur caractere, de leur nombre, de la direction des rivierres, ou habitant plusieurs peuples sauvages. Il me dit que les Mandannes et Gros Ventres étoient situés dans lendroit le plus propice du monde pour y construire maisons et fort par la proximitée des bois dont le Missouris est très bien fournie dans ce lieu; que la nation mandannes pouvoit mettre sur pied trois cent

had gone to the English fort to settle his affairs; that as for him, he had decided to come find me because of the letters that I had written them concerning the intentions of the Messieurs of the Company for them. Although the English merchants of Red River made him some fine offers, he would prefer to do business with the proprietors of the posts where he lives.

Several Indians of the Crow nation, who live at the Rocky Mountains, have long awaited my arrival this summer among the Mandans. He arranged for some of the leading men to remain until his return, planning to go trade among them if I was willing to give him some suitable merchandise for those nations that are, he said, located in the center of beaver country. Since I had learned from several Frenchmen who have been associated with this man of his good conduct and his integrity; and, besides, seeing myself incapable of reaching the Mandans again this year, as much from the opposition that the Arikaras would not fail to make if I wished to leave them and go farther without leaving behind merchandise and men to trade with them, which it is impossible for me to do with no one capable and too few men to separate into two groups; and without a pirogue to take the goods higher upstream; and the boat that should have arrived here from the Illinois during the course of July or August having not come, I thought it advisable to sell to Sieur Ménard some of the most suitable merchandise for the nations where he proposes to go, hoping to get more packs of beaver from him than I would get here. I sold it to him for the sum of two thousand *livres* in peltries, at two hundred fifty percent profit over the price of my invoice. I sent the man named Généreux, an *engagé* of the Company, with him to take this merchandise in a canoe that I had bought from the man named Québec this summer for sending provisions downriver in advance of the Company pirogue.

The man named La Voye went along with them in a little canoe to fish[120] this autumn above the Mandans, together with Généreux. Sieur Ménard having assured me that near the Mandan villages there was timber of sufficient size for the construction of boats, I requested that Généreux and La Voye construct for me two large pirogues during the course of the winter, having given them some little things to barter for food to sustain themselves during their labors. Sieur Ménard promised me to descend in the spring with the peltries that he will have obtained in the boats that will be made upstream.

I learned from him all of the information that he has on the state of affairs among the nations on the upper Missouri, on their character, their number, the direction of the rivers, and where several of the Indian peoples live. He told me that the Mandans and Gros Ventres were situated in the most favorable place in the world for building houses and forts due to the proximity of timber with which the Missouri is well supplied in that place; that the Mandan nation

guerriers, et les Gros {158} Ventres huit cent; tous gens fort humain, très doux, respectant beaucoup les hommes blancs; que pour la chasse des castors ils y étoient peu porté, personne ne les ayant encore induit; qu'il croyoit qu'avec le tems on pouroit leur en faire faire la chasse, n'ayant été fréquenté jusqu'à présent que par quelques coureurs de bois venant du nord, qui se contentoient du trafic des robes, gros loups, loups cerviers, gros et petits renards, pelleteries fort estimées par les marchands anglois; mais que pour le certain on tireroient des nations situés au couchant des Mandannes, qui sont nombreux, et avec beaucoup de facilitée, une très grandes quantitée de belles pelleteries, surtout de castors. Voicy comme il prouve la facilitée d'avoir commerce avec tous ces peuples qui n'ont point encore été fréquentées par aucunes nations policées et qui sont, dit il, les plus humains de tous les peuples de l'univers.

Environ a cinquante lieuës au dessus des Mendannes se decharge une grande rivierre que les sauvages nomment aux Roches Jaunes, aussi large et aussi profonde a peu de chose près que le Missouris, dont les eaux sont aussi pure et aussi claires que les eaux des lacs qui se trouvent au nord du Canada. {159} Sur ses bords se trouvent des bêtes fauves de toutes especes. Un grand nombre de petittes rivierres qui se déchargent dedans sont abondantes en castors audelà de toute croyance. La nation du Corbeau, peuple des plus nombreux de ce continent, chez lesquels le S^{r} Ménard a été plusieurs fois en calumet avec les Gros Ventres, leurs aliez, habite les bords de cette grande rivierre, et plus haut, en remontant vers sa source sont situés quantitée d'autres nations qui nous sont encore inconnuës. Il assura qu'on pourroit y naviguer en pirogue en toute saison jusqu'à plus de cent lieuës de son embouchure; qu'aucunes nations ni [=n'y] mettroient obstacle; qu'un fort bati a lentrée de cette rivierre seroit fort avantageux pour attirer un grand commerce de pelleteries avec d'autres nations situés plus haut sur le Missouris, tels que sont les Chiouitounes et les nations du Serpent, qui habitent en deçà et audelà des montagnes de roches, toujours sur les païs dependants de la partie occidentale du Missouris; que de plus, la plus forte partie de la nation des Assiboines [=Assiniboines] qui parcourent les terres septentrionalles du Missouris au dessus des Mandannes auroit bien plus près pour venir trafiquer ses pelleteries a ce fort que non pas de les porter aux forts des {160} Anglois de la rivierre Rouge, etant presque toujours exposée dans ce chemin a mourir de faim ou a être tué par quelques ennemis. Il ma promis que dans son voyage chez la nation du Corbeau, ou il doit se rendre par terre en vingt petites journées de marche avec des cheveaux chargés, il prendroit encore plus de connoissances des differentes nations chez lesquels on pourroit parvenir, et de la situation des païs qu'ils parcourent; et qu'il me feroit part de ces connoissances a son arrivée le primptems prochaim [*sic*].

could furnish 300 warriors, and the Gros Ventres 800; that they are all very kind-hearted, very gentle people, having great respect for white men; that they had little inclination to hunt beaver, no one having yet induced them to do so; that he thought in time it would be possible to get them to hunt [beaver], they having as yet been visited only by some coureurs de bois coming from the north, who are satisfied with trade in robes, large wolves, lynxes, and large and small foxes, which are very valuable peltries to the English merchants; but that it was certain that a very great quantity of fine peltries, especially beaver, could be procured easily from the numerous nations located to the west of the Mandans. This is how he gives proof of the ease with which trade could be established with all those peoples who have not yet been visited by any civilized nation and who are, he says, the most humane of all the peoples in the world.

About fifty leagues above the Mandans a great river enters [the Missouri] that the Indians call the Yellowstone River,[121] almost as wide and deep as the Missouri, the waters of which are as pure and clear as the waters of the lakes that are found in northern Canada.[122] On its banks are found wild animals of all kinds. A great number of small rivers that enter it abound in beaver beyond all belief. The Crow nation, one of the most numerous people of this region, where Sieur Ménard has been several times with the Gros Ventres, their allies, to smoke the calumet, inhabit the banks of this great river, and farther upstream toward its source are located a large number of other nations that are yet unknown to us. He asserts that we could navigate it in a pirogue in all seasons for more than one hundred leagues from its mouth; that no nations would oppose it; that a fort built at the mouth of this river[123] would be very advantageous in attracting a large trade in peltries with other nations located higher on the Missouri, such as the Chiouitounes[124] and the Snake nations, who live on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, always on the lands on the west side of the Missouri; that, moreover, the largest part of the Assiniboine nation that roams the lands north of the Missouri above the Mandans would be considerably closer to come to trade their peltries at this fort than if they took them to the English forts on Red River, since they are almost always in danger of starving to death or of being killed by enemies along the route. He promised me that on his journey to the Crow nation, where he should be able to go overland in twenty short days of travel with loaded horses, he would gather still more knowledge concerning various other nations that we could reach, and the situation of the lands over which they roam; and that he would share this information with me upon his arrival the following spring.

Tous les jeunes hommes et tous les jeunes femmes des deux villages ricaras sont partis pour la chasse a la mi septembre. A peine ont ils étés arrivés dans les endroits de chasse que les Sioux leurs ont volés leurs cheveaux et ont tués trois de leurs gens occupés a travailler un trou à castor. Ils se sont tous sauvés et sont revenu en pleurant. Ils m'ont réprésenté qu'il leur etoit impossible de séloigner de leur village sans étre tués par les Sioux. La mort de ces trois personnes a rejaillis sur moi pour les avoir induït si fort a partir pour la chasse, car c'est une maxime générale chez toute les nations sauvages que celui qui employe, sollicite, ou conseil quelqu'un {161} a faire quelqu'action, tout le mal qui lui arrive en léxécutant lui est imputé.

Depuis ce temps, il n'a plus été question que de tuer de la vache pour vivre et de se bien garder des Sioux. Pour moi, il ne m'a pas été possible d'aller plus loin, tant faute d'hommes et de voitures que par l'opposition que les Ricaras y ont toujours apporté, s'étant déclaré plusieurs fois que je ne partirois pas dicy que je ne leur quitasses des marchandises et du monde pour les convertir, ce que je ne pouvois faire.

Dans le cours de novembre, le deuzieme village des Ricaras est partis pour aller hiverner a cinq lieuës plus haut pour être plus a la proximitée du bois de chauffage. Le 1er village, ou je suis, voulant en faire autant, j'ai tant sollicité le chef pour le faire rester afin deviter la dépence d'un portage, qu'ils ont consenti de rester avec moi. Nous y avons enduré tout le froid possible car il a été excesif icy cet hivers. Les Ricaras parle fort dabandonner leur village au premier beau tems pour aller se placer a quarante ou cinquante lieuës plus haut. Ils alléguent pour raison que leau et les bois sont trop loin de cette [endroit] {162} et que le sol y est steril. Les uns veulent sen aller aux Mandannes. Je prevois une grande division entre eux aux primtems qui va me mettre dans un grand embaras.

Le nommé Quebec est partis dans le cours de ce mois pour aller aux Mandannes par terre. J'ai mandé a Genereux, a La Voye et a Déloge, de concert avec Quebec, qui est un homme adroit, de faire toute la deligence possible pour faire trois ou quatre voitures dans le cours de l'automne et de l'hivers, sans aucun retardement. Je les ai même payé davance en amonition. J'ai fait dire a Genereux de prendre Déloge et un autre homme pour lui aider a descendre ces pirogues allége au premier dégel sans délai; que je les payerois; et que si le S^{r} Ménard, que je crois être allé a la montagnes de roche, lui a laissé quelques pelleteries en garde, de les laisser entre les mains du sieur Jussaume jusqu'à mon arrivée aux Mandannes, prévoyant bien qu'il ne me sera pas possible de les envoyer par le premierre envoie. Jai bien prié le sieur Québec de dire a Genereux de se presser de mettre toute la déligence possible a exécuter ce que je lui mandois, sans quoi il méxposeroit a peut être tout perdre ce primptems par son retardement et sa mauvaise manoeuvre.

All the young men and all the young women of the two Arikara villages left for the hunt in mid-September. Scarcely had they arrived at the hunting grounds than the Sioux stole their horses and killed three of their men who were busy working at a beaver lodge. All of the rest escaped and returned weeping. They told me that it was impossible for them to go away from their village without being killed by Sioux. The death of those three people has rebounded on me for having urged them so strongly to leave on the hunt, for it is a general maxim among all Indian nations that the one who employs, entreats, or advises someone to do something receives the blame for all harm that comes to the one who does it.

Since this time, it has been nothing but a matter of killing buffalo to subsist on and protecting themselves carefully from the Sioux. As for me, it has not been possible to go farther, as much from lack of men and boats as from the opposition that the Arikaras have always raised, having declared several times that I would not leave here unless I left them merchandise and men to trade with them, which I could not do.

In the course of November the second Arikara village left to winter five leagues upstream to be nearer firewood. Since the first village, where I am, wishes to do the same, I have so earnestly appealed to the chief to have it remain here in order to avoid the expense of a portage that they have consented to remain with me. We have endured all the cold imaginable for it has been excessive here this winter. The Arikaras speak firmly of abandoning their village at the first good weather to locate forty to fifty leagues higher. The reason that they give is that water and wood are too far from here and the soil here is sterile. Some wish to go to the Mandans. I foresee a great division among them in the spring that will place me in an awkward position.

The man named Québec left during the course of this month to go overland to the Mandans. I have ordered Généreux, La Voye, and Déloge, together with Québec, who is a skillful man, to construct with all possible haste three or four boats in the course of the autumn and winter, without any delay. I even paid them in advance in ammunition. I sent a message to Généreux to take Déloge and another man to help him bring down the empty pirogues without delay at the first thaw; that I would pay them; and that if Sieur Ménard, who I think has gone to the Rocky Mountains, left him [Généreux] some peltries to look after, to place them in the care of Sieur Jussaume until my arrival at the Mandans, clearly foreseeing that it will be impossible for me to send them downriver by the first shipment. I also requested Sieur Québec to tell Généreux to hasten with all possible speed to carry out what I had ordered him to do, without which he would perhaps put me in jeopardy of losing everything this spring through his delay and bad conduct.

{163} Au commencement de descembre, le village des Sioux nommés Occononas, anciens amis des Ris, sont sortis sur le Missouris et s'est campé a trois a quatre lieuës plus bas dicy pour y passer l'hivers. J'ai trafiqué avec eux environ un paquet et demi de castors pour de la poudre. Ils ont apportés icy un calumet envoyé par un gros village de Sioux campés sur le Missouris plus bas que les premiers, la paix avec les Ricaras promettant de rendre les cheveaux volés et de payer les trois hommes que leurs jeunes gens avoient massacré dernierement avec des fusils et des peaux de castors en quantitée. Les derniers, plutôt par crainte que de bonne volontée, ont acceptés le calumet aux conditions proposés.

J'ai travaillé encore dans cette occasion du mieux qu'il m'a été possible pour les accorder au moins pour un moment. La nouvelle qu'ils ont rapporté, qu'ils avoient beaucoup de castors, m'a fait faire tous le[s] efforts possibles pour les faire venir ici esperant en arracher beaucoup d'eux pour de la poudre et des couteaux, dont ils étoient tout a fait dénués. Les Ricaras se proposoient d'en tirer aussi une bonne partie pour leur {164} tabac et bled dInde, qui me seroit toujours revenus. Ayant appris qu'ils n'étoient plus qu'a deux campements dicy, jai été moi même, avec le chef ris et quelqu'autres, a leur camps. Nous y avon été bien reçus. Jai vu dans toute des loges ou j'ai été appelé en festins de gros paquetons de peaux de castors, et selon leur rapport ils pouvoient en avoir huit a dix paquets. Jai dit et représenté a cette nation, dont je parle passablement la langue, tout ce qu'il etoit a propos de dire et de leur représentér pour notre interèst et leur bien être. Ils n'ont pas manqué, sans doute, de me donner de grands applodissements. J'ai reconnu parmi eux plus sieurs de ceux qui mavoient pris et pillés lautomne derniere.

Le onze du même mois, sur les trois heures après midi, ce village est arrivée et s'est campé a deux portée de mousquet du fort des Ris. Les chefs se sont présentés a quelques pas de la porte du fort les calumets de paix a la main. Les Ricaras les ont fait fumer et leurs ont fait des presents a la manierre accoutumée. On les a fait ensuitte entrer dans la grande {165} cabane des vieux et on les a festinés de toute part. Au soleil couchant, le chef du deuzième village ris a envoyé deux hommes avertir qu'un de ses gens revenant de la chasse chargé de viande venoit dêtre tué tout auprès de son village par les Sioux, et qu'un autre setoit sauvé avec une flèche a travers le corps. Cette nouvelle a ranimé la colère et la rage des Ris. «Trois hommes de tués,» disoient ils, «le primptems dernier par ces mêmes Sioux; trois autres tués tout nouvellement cette automne; nous oublions tout, et ils entrent en calumet par une porte et nous tuent a l'autre.»

Toute la jeunesse des deux villages ris resolut de frapper sur eux sans écouter ni chefs, ni viellards, ni moi. A lentrée de la nuit, les hommes du deuzieme village étant arrivés, ils ont fusillés tous ensemble le camp des Sioux. Ces derniers

At the beginning of December the village of the Sioux named Occononas,[125] former friends of the Rees, went to the Missouri and camped three to four leagues below here to spend the winter. I traded powder with them for about a pack and a half of beaver. They brought a calumet here, sent by a large village of Sioux camped on the Missouri lower down than the first, to make peace with the Arikaras, promising to return the stolen horses, and to pay with fusils and a large number of beaver pelts for the three men whom their young men had recently massacred. The latter, more from fear rather than from goodwill, accepted the calumet under the proposed conditions.

I worked again on this occasion as much as possible to reconcile them for at least a while. The information that they related, that they had many beaver, caused me to make all possible efforts to have them come here in hopes of taking many from them in exchange for powder and knives, of which they were entirely destitute. The Arikaras also proposed to take a good share of them in exchange for their tobacco and corn, which would all the same come to me. Having learned that they were no more than two overnight camps from here, I went to their camps myself, along with the Ree chief and some others. We were well received there. I saw in all of the lodges where I was invited to feast large bundles of beaver pelts, and according to their report they might have eight to ten packs of them. I said and set forth to this nation, whose language I speak passably, all that was appropriate to say and to set forth in our interest and for their well-being. They did not fail, to be sure, to give me great applause. I recognized among them several of those who had seized and pillaged me last autumn.

On the 11th of the same month at about 3 p.m., this village arrived and camped the distance of two musket shots away from the fort of the Rees. The chiefs appeared a few steps from the entrance to the fort with calumets of peace in their hands. The Arikaras had them smoke and made them presents in the customary manner. They next had them enter the big lodge of the elders[126] and everyone feasted them. At sunset, the chief of the second Ree village sent two men to notify them that one of their people returning from the hunt loaded with meat had just been killed quite close to his village by the Sioux, and that another had escaped with an arrow through his body. This news has rekindled the anger and rage of the Rees. "Three men were killed," they said, "last spring by these same Sioux; three others were killed not long ago during this past autumn; we forget everything, then they enter with the calumet through one door and kill us at the other."

All the youths of the two Ree villages resolved to attack them without listening to the chiefs, the old men, or me. At nightfall, the men of the second village having arrived, they fired together on the Sioux camp. The latter stoutly defended

se sont défendus fermement, donnant le tems a leurs femmes de plier leurs bagages et de se retirer. Lobscuritée de la nuit a empéché le combat de durer plus longtems. {166} Les Sioux ont perdu deux hommes et trois femmes; les Ris n'ont perdus personnes. Les premiers ont criés a ceux cy qu'ils reviendroient le lendemain prendre leur revange. Pour moi je n'ay pas voulu, ni que les deux François qui étoient avec moy paroissent dans aucuns de leur combat, quoi que les Ris m'ayent beaucoup sollicité de tirer des coups despingolles sur-eux. Ce n'es pas qu'il n'en sera toujours ni plus ni moins pour nous auprès des Sioux . . .* mais pour éviter la crétique des François qui ne manqueroient pas de m'imputer le mal qui pouvoient arriver par la suitte, soit [à] moy même, soit a dautres qui tomberont entre les mains de ce village sioux, pour avoir tirer sur eux, si je lusse [*sic*, l'eusse] fait.

Après cette affaire, les chefs, les viellards, les vielles femmes sont venus en foule dans ma cabanne me pleurer sur la tête, me priant davoir pitié d[']eux et de leurs enfants, qu'ils avoient bien des fusils mais sans poudre. Ayant toujours rebuté leurs robes, et dailleurs, la saison des bonnes robes {167} nétant pas encore arrivée, je savois tres bien qu'il manquoit de poudre, et il métoit impossible de les refuser dans cette occasion présente. Je consentis de leur en distribuer un sac de vingt cinq a trente livres et les balles sous promesses qu'ils me donneroit avant de commencer la traitte une robe par fusils ou par loge. Ils me l'ont bien promis, mais ils n'ont rien tenus.

Le lendemain, les Sioux sont revenus a la charge et se sont battus une demie journée en rase campagne près du village. Les Sioux se sont retirés a petits pas avec perte emportant avec eux leurs morts et leurs bléssés. Les Ris n'ont eu que deux hommes bléssés légerement. Il ny a sortes de caresses, d'applaudissement et de bons traitement que les Ris ne mayent fait après ces affaires. Jétois leur dieu tutelaire, le pere de toutes leurs familles, leur appui, leur soutient; tout devoit aller par ma voix, &c. Les Sioux n'avoient point de poudre, car s'ils en eussent eu comme les Ris, outre qu'ils étoient nombreux, ils sont beaucoup plus braves et plus alertes que les derniers, ils auroient très maltraité les Ricaras. {168} On verra par la suitte le coeur et les sentiments des barbares, et le peu de fond qu'il y a a faire sur leurs discours et sur leurs promesses, qui ne tendent en tout lieu et en tout tems qu'à leur propre intérest, en depit de notre perte.

Ce village sioux s'est retiré sur l'autre bord du Missouris, a cinq a six lieües plus bas dicy, pour y passer l'hivers. Ils ne craignent point les Panis. Plusieurs autres bandes qui étoient plus au large se sont joint a eux. La plus forte partie des Occonona, amis des Ris, ont pris parti avec eux; une petitte bande des mêmes se sont rangés avec les Panis et se battent contre leur propre gens. (Tout est en

* Ellipses in manuscript.

themselves, giving time for their women to pack up their baggage and retreat. The darkness of night prevented the attack from lasting longer. The Sioux lost two men and three women; the Rees lost none. The former cried out to the latter that they would return the next day to take their revenge. I have refused for myself and the two Frenchmen with me to be seen in any of their fights, although the Rees have very strongly urged me to fire some blunderbuss shots at them. This decision was made not because it will affect the Sioux opinion of us one way or the other, but to avoid criticism from Frenchmen who would not fail to blame me for any misfortune that might happen afterward, either to myself or to others who fall into the hands of this Sioux village, as a result of our having shot at them, if I had done so.

After this incident, the chiefs, old men, and old women crowded into my lodge to cry on my head, begging me to have pity on them and their children, saying that they had many fusils but no powder. Having heretofore rejected their robes, and, besides, the season for good robes having not yet arrived, I knew very well that they lacked powder and that it was impossible for me to refuse them in the present circumstance. I consented to distribute to them a sack of twenty-five to thirty *livres* [of gunpowder] and balls on their word that before beginning the trade they would give me a robe per fusil or per lodge. They indeed made the promise, but they did not keep it.

The next day the Sioux returned to attack and fought for half a day on flat land near the village. The Sioux withdrew slowly, with losses, carrying with them their dead and wounded. The Rees had only two men slightly wounded. The Rees gave me all kinds of flattering expressions of praise and good treatment after this affair. I was their tutelary god, the father of all their families, their mainstay, their support; everything was subject to my approval, etc. The Sioux had no powder, for if they had as much as the Rees, in addition to being many in number they are much more brave and alert than the latter, and they would have used the Arikaras very badly. The spirit and sentiments of Indians will be seen later, as well as the little faith that can be placed in their speeches and promises, which apply everywhere and always only to their own interests, regardless of our loss.

The Sioux village has withdrawn to the other side of the Missouri, five or six leagues below here, to spend the winter. They do not fear the Arikaras. Several other bands that were farther off have joined them. The largest part of the Occonona, friends of the Rees, have sided with them [the other Sioux]; a little band of the same have aligned themselves with the Arikaras and fight against

désordre.) Les deux gros villages de ce même peuple qui ont résidés une partie de létée icy, les Chaony et les Takorpa, a qui javois donné des paroles pour la paix et la tranquilitée, sont en hivernement a environ quinze lieuës plus haut sur le Missouris. Ils tiennent la neutralitée, esperant toujours de trafiquer leur pelleteries avec moy. Depuis ces differents, ils ont apportés des fusils aux Ris en échange {169} de tabac, mais ceux cy craignent dêtre trahis par eux comme par les autres, et ils se sont même appercu que la jeunesse de ces deux village s'étoit mélé dans la bataille précédente avec les Sioux ennemis.

Le vingt et un de décembre, un corps considerable de guerriers sioux a paru sur lautre bord du Missouris, descendant sur la glace pour venir attaquer le fort des Panis. Ces derniers ont étés au devant d[']eux et se sont battus plusieurs heures. Il y a eu autant de perte d'une part que dautres.

Le trentieme du même mois un petit nombre de cette même nation sont venus se montrer sur les côtes de lautre coté de la rivierre, défiant les Panis au combat par des signaux. La jeunesse ricaras a eu limprudence de courir sur eux. Les premiers on feint de fuire; les derniers se sont obstinés a les poursuivre et ont tombé dans une ambuscade que les Sioux leurs avoient dréssés, qui, les ayant cernés, en ont tués cinq et enlevés les chevelures. Ce dernier coup a jété la consternation et lépouvante parmi les Panis Aricaras. La peur et le découragement s'est emparé d[']eux. Ils ne {170} parlent plus que de lever le pied et senfuire. Ce n'est qu'assemblée sur assemblée; ils ne sont plus d'accord. Les uns veulent se retirer aux Mandannes, les autres aux Chaguiennes, et quelques uns chez les Loups. Je les vois sur le point de mabandonner entre les mains meutrieres [*sic*] des Sioux qui menvironnent de toute part, qui ne me feront aucun quartier ainsi qu'à tous ceux qu'ils attraperont portants des marchandises aux nations du haut Missouris. Je fais tous mes éfforts pour les retenir et les accorder. Je flatte tous les chefs les uns après les autres.

Touts les jours ils me pressent de traiter leur robes; je les remet ferme[me]nt jusqu'a larrivée des pirogues, qui doivent me venir des Mendannes. Ils y consente une journée; le lendemain ils reïtèrent leurs poursuittes. Ils commencent a me dire de mauvaises paroles. Ils me traitent de dur, disant que je les mêne comme des enfants; que jagis avec eux tout autrement que Jacques dEglise, qui traitoit sans difficulté tout ce qu'ils lui apportoient, et que moi, il ne me falloit que du castors; que je n'avois jamais rien donné {171} aux chefs, aux viellards, aux considérés, comme ont fait mes prédécesseurs. Enfin, ils me disent tous les jours milles mauvaises raison, une troupe de cinquante a soixante jeunes coquins de la nation des Panis Mahas qui sont arrivés icy dans le cours de février augmentant par leurs instructions et leurs conseils les mauvaises dispositions ou ils sont déjà contre moi. Je répouse touts leurs discours de toute ma force, mais je crains bien de succomber sous le poids de tant de ligues qui se forment

their own people. (All is in turmoil.) The two large villages of this same [people] who resided for part of the summer here, the Chaony and the Takorpa, to whom I had made speeches for peace and tranquillity, are wintering about fifteen leagues higher on the Missouri. They maintain neutrality, still hoping to trade their peltries with me. Since these disputes, they have brought some fusils to the Rees in exchange for tobacco, but the latter fear betrayal by them as by the others, and they even noticed that the young men of these two villages had joined the enemy Sioux in the previous battle.

On the 21st of December a considerable body of Sioux warriors appeared on the opposite bank of the Missouri, descending on the ice to come attack the Arikara fort. The latter went to meet them and fought for several hours. The losses were the same on one side as on the other.

On the 30th of the same month a small number of the same nation appeared on the banks on the opposite side of the river, using signs to challenge the Arikaras to fight. The Arikara youths had the imprudence to charge them. The former pretended to flee; the latter persisted in following them and fell into an ambush set for them by the Sioux, who, having surrounded them, killed five and scalped them. This last blow caused consternation and terror among the Arikaras. Fear and despondency have taken hold of them. They speak of nothing but running away and escaping. They hold meeting after meeting; they are no longer in agreement. Some wish to withdraw to the Mandans, others to the Cheyennes, and some to the Skiri Pawnees. I see them on the verge of abandoning me to the murderous hands of the Sioux who surround me in all directions, who would give no quarter to me or to anyone they catch transporting merchandise to the nations of the upper Missouri. I expend all my efforts to retain them [the Arikaras] and to bring them into agreement. I flatter all the chiefs, one after the other.

Every day they urge me to trade for their robes; I firmly postpone doing so until the arrival of the pirogues, which ought to come to me from the Mandans. They consent to this one day; the next day they repeat their appeals. They are beginning to say spiteful things to me. They accuse me of harshness, saying that I treat them like children; that I behave toward them very differently than did Jacques d'Église, who traded for all that they brought to him without raising objections, whereas I would accept only beaver; that I had never given anything to the chiefs, old men, or leading men, as my predecessors had done. Finally, they give me every day thousands of unreasonable arguments; a troop of fifty to sixty young rascals of the Skiri Pawnee nation who arrived here during February, intensifying through their instructions and counsel the bad disposition that they [the Arikaras] already show me. I rebuff all their speeches with all my might, but I really fear that I might succumb to the weight of so many factions allied against me. The

contre moi. Le chef ris chez qui je demeure est le seul qui me soutienne. Il me coute beaucoup, et d'ailleurs, ces villages étant divisés en tant de bande dont chacune a son chef, ils ne sont point d'accord et se moquent les uns des autres.

Le premier de mars, un chef ris accompagné de six hommes est partis pour aller aux Mandannes.

Jai ecris lerechef [*sic,* derechef] au sieur Jussaume une lettre pour être lu a Généreux dans la qu'elle je lui reïtère de descendre avec les glaces les pirogues qu'il y auroit de faitte dès lautomne sans aucun retardement; {172} que je suis sur la veille dêtre abandonné seul icy par les Ris; que s'il retarde, je suis perdu, moi et les effets. #Je lui repette encore de laisser les pelleteries du S^{r} Ménard entre les mains du Sr Jussaume jusqu'à mon arrivée aux Mandannes, étant plus sûr de les quitter là que dêtre exposé a les abandonner sur la gréve, n'ayant ni assez de monde, ni assez de voiture pour les descendre aux Illinois. Je suis incapable de faire aucune cache icy.#*

En qualitée damis en apparence, mais pour epier ce qui s[']y passe et ce que je deviendrai avec mon butin après leur départ, je sai que les nouvelles se portent tous les jours de bande en bandes. Je suis dans la derniere des peines et embaras. Je n'ose mêm[e] me fier aux Ris. Je vois clairement que dans le trouble et la division ou ils sont, ils ne cherchent qu'à me voler ou me piller, croyant bien que je vais être la proie des Sioux et voulant plutôt profiter de mon butin que de la quitter a ces derniers. Les glaces se perçent et s'en vont. Il me pressent vivement de prendre mon partis et de traiter leurs robes. Je mobstine a les faire attendre l'arrivée des pirogues. Ils me reprochent tous les jours qu'ils n'ont plus de vivres, que leurs enfants crient la faim, et qu'ils n'ont pas un coup de poudre pour aller tuer un boeuf, une vache pour leur donner a manger; que si les Sioux tombent sur eux, ils sont incapables de se défendre faute de poudre.

{173} Ils me reprochent encore quayant été l'autheur de la mort de trois de leurs gens tués a la chasse aux castors, pour les y avoir induit, je serai encore l'autheur qu'ils seront touts défaits en marche, par le retardement que je leur occasionne, s'ils ne se sauvent pas paraport a moi tandis que les Sioux ne peuvent traverser pour venir fondre sur eux dans leur routes. Ils me mettent lesprit a la torture. Je tien toujours bon a ne point traiter leurs robes que les [pirogues] ne soyent arrivés d'en haut. Je consentis a leur distribuer encore vingt cinq a trente livres de poudre et les balles pour les tirer; une demi grosse de couteaux et un sac ou deux de vermillon pour les arrêter, sans conter ce que les chefs des bandes marrachent tous les jours pour les faire esperer les pirogues. Ils consentent un jour, deux jours, le troisième ils recommencent leurs poursuittes et leurs

* The significance of the symbol # preceding and following these two sentences is not apparent.

Ree chief with whom I live is the only one who stands by me. It costs me a great deal, and besides, these villages, divided into so many bands, each of which has its own chief, are not in agreement and mock one another.

On the 1st of March a Ree chief left accompanied by six men to go to the Mandans.

I again wrote a letter to Sieur Jussaume to be read to Généreux in which I repeated to him to bring downriver with the ice, without any delay, the pirogues that he should have made since the autumn; that I am on the verge of being left alone to leave the peltries of Sieur Ménard in the hands of Sieur Jussaume until my arrival at the Mandans, it being safer to leave them there than to risk abandoning them on the bank, since I have neither enough men nor enough boats to take them down to the Illinois. I am unable to make any caches here.

In the guise of friendship, but in order to watch closely what is going on and what will become of my goods after their departure, I know that every day they spread information from band to band. I am in the most extreme trouble and difficulty. I do not even dare rely on the Rees. I see clearly that in the trouble and the divisiveness they are experiencing, they seek only to steal from me or to pillage me, thinking for certain that I will fall prey to the Sioux and wishing to profit from my goods rather than abandon them to the latter. The ice is breaking up and going away. They are urging me to resign myself and to trade for their robes. I persist in making them await the arrival of the pirogues. They reproach me every day that they have no more food, that their children cry from hunger, and that they do not have a single charge of powder to go kill a buffalo bull or cow to feed them; that if the Sioux fall upon them, they are incapable of defending themselves for lack of powder.

They further reproach me that, since I was responsible for the death of three of their men who were killed hunting beaver because I induced them to do so, I will again be responsible if they are all killed as they travel, due to the delay that I have occasioned them, if they do not escape out of regard for me while the Sioux are unable to cross the river and attack them on their way. They put me through mental torture. I still firmly refuse to trade for their robes until they [the pirogues] have arrived from upstream. To detain them, I agreed to distribute to them again twenty-five to thirty *livres* of powder and balls to shoot [hunt], a half-gross of knives, and a packet or two of vermillion, not counting what the band chiefs wrest from me every day to get them to wait for the pirogues. They consent one day, two days, and on the third day they renew their urgings and

presécutions. Je ne puis pu [*sic,* plus] tenir. Je passe les nuits a méditer et chercher quelques moyens pour me sauver du peril ou je suis ét eviter une perte total. Je n'en trouve aucuns. {174} Le jour je suis occupé a me débattre contre eux par les raisons les plus fortes, qui nont aucun effet aujourdhui chez eux parcequ'ils voyent que je ne leur suis plus d'aucuns secours et que je suis dans lembaras.

Le vingt du mois, ce chef ris que jai dis être allé en parole aux Mandannes est arrivé icy. Il a achevé de mettre tous en désordre et en feu. Il a rapporté qu'une quantitée d'hommes blancs du nord étoient arrivé chez les Mandannes et les Gros Ventres avec beaucoup de marchandises qu'ils vendoient bien meilleure marché que moi; que sept bandes assiboine y étoient venu[s] en parole chez les Mandannes; et que ces derniers avoient dans toutes les cabanes de gros sacs de poudre, fusils et autres marchandises de toutes espece en échange de leur tabac et de leur bled dInde, outre les marchandises qu'ils avoient trafiqués avec les hommes blancs du nord pour leurs robes a grand marché. Il a aussi rapporté des paroles des chefs mandannes et gros ventres, qui {175} demandoient instamment les Ricaras pour se réunir a eux.

Quoiqu'il y eu plus de mensonges que de véritée dans touts ces rapports, il n'y eu plus moyen de tenir contre de si bonnes nouvelles. Dès le lendemain, les Ris du deuzieme village [partirent] et emportèrent leurs robes avec eux. On entend partout que rejouissance et empressement de partir et que discours dédaigneux de moi. Le chef du premier village ou je demeure ma toujours promis de ne point mabandonner, mais tous veulent le quitter, et il craint de sexposér seul en marche avec sa famille.

Pour comble de malheur, Jussaume m'écrit que les pirogues ne sont pas commencé et qu'ils ne doivent commencer que le quatorze du present mois de mars; que je puis me fier sur deux moyennes pirogues et un grand canot; qu'il y a plusieurs François du nord qui doivent descendre aux Illinois avec Généreux; que La Voye, Déloge, et dautres Francois travaillent fortement aux voyturres.

Les sauvages m[']ont rapporté que les nommés Garaux et Québec leurs avoient {176} dit de me dire que Généreux n'avoit rien fait de l'automne et de l'hivers, passant son tems a manger, dormir, se promener, et que sans le secours des autres François, je me trouverois tout a fait sur la grêve. Je suis au déséspoir de la négligence de cet homme a qui javois grande confiance, étant un vieux voyageur. A qu'elle perte et dépençe ne me porte t[-]il pas, outre un danger évident de perdre les effets et peut être la vie par retardement par sa faute, si les Sioux tombent sur moi avant son arrivée?

Toutes ces mauvaises nouvelles ont occasionnés le chef a me forcer de faire des canots de peaux de boeuf, me déclarant pour dernier ressort qu'il ne me donnoit plus que quatre jours; qu'au bout de ce tems il falloit traiter de force ou

their persecution. I can no longer endure it. I spend the nights meditating and searching for some means to escape from the peril in which I am and to avoid a total loss. I find none. During the day I am busy arguing with them, presenting the soundest arguments, which now have no effect on them because they see that I am no longer of any help to them and that I am in a predicament.

On the 20th of the month the Ree chief who I said had taken a message to the Mandans arrived here. He has managed to put everything in turmoil and to inflame things. He reported that a large number of white men from the north had arrived among the Mandans and Gros Ventres with a great deal of merchandise that they sold at much lower prices than I; that seven Assiniboine bands had come to talk to the Mandans; and that the latter had large sacks of powder, fusils, and other merchandise of all kinds in all the lodges in exchange for their tobacco and corn, besides the merchandise that they had traded for their robes at a very good price with the white men from the north. He has also brought a message from the Mandan and Gros Ventre chiefs, who urgently requested the Arikaras to come join them.

Although there were more lies than truths in all these reports, there was no longer any way to hold out against such good news. First thing the next day the Arikaras of the second village [departed], carrying their robes with them. Everywhere one hears rejoicing and eagerness to leave and disdainful talk about me. The chief of the first village where I live has always promised not to abandon me, but everyone wishes to leave him, and he fears the danger of being alone on the journey with his family.

To make matters worse, Jussaume wrote me that the pirogues have not started and that they would not set out until the 14th of the current month of March; that I can expect two medium-sized pirogues and a large canoe; that there are several Frenchmen from the north who intend to descend to the Illinois with Généreux; that La Voye, Déloge, and other Frenchmen are working hard on the boats.

The Indians reported to me that the men named Garaux [Garreau] and Québec had told them to tell me that Généreux had done nothing this autumn and winter, spending his time eating, sleeping, and taking walks, and that without the help of the other Frenchmen, I would find myself completely stranded. I am in despair over the negligence of this man in whom I had great confidence, since he is an old voyageur. What loss and expense will he not cause me, in addition to the obvious danger of losing the goods and perhaps my life as a result of the delay caused by him, if the Sioux attack me before his arrival?

All this bad news caused the chief to force me to make some buffalo skin boats, declaring that this was his final word and that he was giving me no more than four days; that after that time I must trade either under coercion or in cordial

de bonne amitié; et qu'il me levoit le pied. Je vis bien qu'il n'y avois plus d'autres ressource pour moi que de faire a leur volontée si je ne voulois pas tout perdre entierement. Seul avec un homme, comment exécuter tant douvrages a la fois? Faire des canots, traiter, lier les robes, et être toujours en garde contre des gens qui ne cherchoient qu'à me voler. Je priai le chef denvoyer {177} quelqu'uns de ses gens chercherent des saules. Il a fait partir huit hommes qui ont étés a près de trois lieuës m'en quérir. J'ai été contraint de payer bien cher un chasseur aux castors nommé Noraut, que jai retenu icy depuis un mois, en l'empéchant de partir pour la pêche [au castor] afin de maider dans mon embaras jusqu'à l'arrivée de Généreux. Jai employé les sauvages a faire ces canots, les femmes a coudre les peaux, ce qu'ils ont très mal fagotés, et tout c'est trouvé fait dans une journée et demie. Comme je n'ai pu contenter tant douvriers et douvrieres, ils m'auroient fallu deux fois plus de butin que je n'en avois, une partie de mes menuités ayant déjà passé pour les saules, les perches, les peaux, les cordes, il s'est trouvé beaucoup de mécontens qui ont voulus couper les canots. Le chef s'est mis dans une furieuse colere, et prenant ses armes a la main, il mit au défit le plus brave du village de le faire. Il a gardé lui même ces canots la nuit et les a fait gardér par quatre des siens le jour.

Le troisieme jour, il m'a fallu traitér leurs robes et lier tout a la fois. Ca été un grand {178} tumulte. Pour commencer je me suis déclaré fortement que je voulois pas traiter plus de cent cinquante robes joint a cent cinquante que javois dès lautomne, métant impossible de les emporter. Mais une fois commencé, je n'ai pu arrété la traitte qu'à près plus de trois cent.

Les Loups (ou Panis Mahas) icy présent ont animés les Ricaras a profiter de mon embaras et a me faire payer le service qu'ils m'avoit rendu en restant avec moi jusqu'à ce moment bien cher. Ils m'ont forcé de leur donner le double de ce que javois coutume de donner par robe; cest a dire, au lieu de quinze coup de poudre et quinze bal par castor et par robes, il m'en ont fait donner trente. De cette manierre ils ont emporté pour trois cent et quelques robes et quelques castors tout ce qui a paru a leurs yeux de plus convenable pour eux.

Heureusement que, craignant toujours a mon ordinaire quelques mauvaises evènement, jai eu la précaution depuis un certain tems de cacher moi même dans des paquets de robes des poudres et autres marchandises de toutes especes. Non contents d'avoir a si bon {179} marché, ils m'ont volés peut être plus de vingt robes qu'ils ont traité deux fois. Mes deux Francois étoient ôccuper a lier en paquet ces robes. Le chef se tenoit avec moi dans le petit reduit ou je traitois. Deux sauvages que javois employe pour mettre ces robes en lieu de suretée a mesure que je les traitois les voloient de consert avec la foule du monde. Mes gens [s'en] sont apperçus; ils les ont fait passer pour des menteur, et peu s'en

friendship; and that he would leave me. I clearly saw that there was no other expedient for me than to submit to their wishes if I did not want to lose absolutely everything. Alone with one man, how would I perform so much work at the same time—make bullboats, trade, tie up the robes, and be always on guard against people who were only seeking to steal from me? I entreated the chief to send some of his men to search for willows. He sent eight men who have been nearly three leagues away to find some for me. I was forced to pay a great deal to a beaver hunter named Noraut,[127] whom I have detained here for a month, preventing him from leaving to go fishing[128] in order to help me in my difficulty until the arrival of Généreux. I hired Indians to make these boats, and women to sew the hides, which they did very poorly, and all has been finished in a day and a half. Because I have not been able to satisfy so many male and female workers, which would have required of me twice as many goods as I have for them, a portion of the small items having already been spent for the willows, poles, hides, and cords, there were many who were dissatisfied and wished to slash the boats. The chief became furiously angry, and taking his weapons in hand, he defied the most brave in the village to do it. He himself guarded these boats at night and had them guarded by four of his men in the daytime.

On the third day I had to trade for their robes and tie them up all at the same time. There was a great commotion. Because at the beginning I declared firmly that I did not wish to trade for more than one hundred fifty robes in addition to the one hundred fifty that I had from the autumn, since it was impossible for me to transport them. But once it began I was not able to stop the trading until the number reached more than three hundred.

The Loups (or Skiri Pawnees) present here urged the Arikaras to take advantage of my predicament and make me pay very dearly for the favor that they have done by remaining with me until now. They forced me to give them double what I customarily give for a robe; that is to say, in place of fifteen charges of powder and fifteen balls for each beaver and robe, they made me give thirty. By this means, for three hundred and some robes and some beaver, they carried off everything that seemed to be most appropriate for them.

Fortunately, always fearing unfortunate occurrences as is my wont, I had taken the precaution for some time to hide powder and other merchandise of all kinds in packs of robes. Not content to have made such a good bargain, they stole from me perhaps more than twenty robes, which they traded twice. My two Frenchmen were busy tying these robes in packs. The chief remained with me in the little room where I was trading. Two Indians whom I had hired to put these robes in a safe place as I was trading them stole them in connivance with the crowd of people. My men noticed this; they [the Arikaras] accused them of lying, and they very nearly struck them. I stopped the trading

fallu qu'ils ne les frappassent. Jai arreté de traité avec bien de la peine. Je me voyois incapable d'emporter toutes ces robes dans ces deux méchants canots de peaux, et d'ailleurs, j'étois trop faible, seul avec un homme, pour lentreprendre.

Le lendemain, premier d'avril, ils ont levés le camp et ont mis le feu en partant a toutes les cabanes, qui ne sont construits que de pailles et de bois secs, dans l'intention ce fut un incendie généralle, car ces cabanes se touchent toutes. Heureusement que le vent, quoi que impetueux ce jour là, ne portoit pas sur celle ou jétois. Quelques uns, poussant leur méchancetée au dernier point, voyant que le feu ne pouvoit se communiquer a la mienne, le vent étant contraire, mirent le feu {180} a une cabane auprès d'elle et au dessus du vent. Peu s'en fallu que la loge ne brula et tout ce qui étoit dedans. Le chef et quelques uns des siens étaignirent le feu avec bien de la peine. Ces gens là ne cherchoient qua mettre le feu pour m'obliger de sortir mes effets de la cabane et pouvoir dans le trouble d'un incendie voler avec plus de facilitée. Il fallu que le chef et moi nous mîmes des gardes aux environ de ma cabane et aux portes de quelqu'autres voisines d'elles le jour et la nuit jusqu'a ce qu'ils fussent tous partis, et toujours en payant.

Je priai le chef de garder avec lui une vingtaine d'hommes pour transporter les paquets plus bas que le village ou je résolus dattandre les pirogues d'en haut.

Il est certain, M^ess^, que si malgré mon dépit, ma rage et mon désespoir, je n'eusse pas depuis un mois parlé avec toute la douceur possible, que je me fusse emporté contre eux en paroles dures, et neusses pas consenti presqu'à toute leurs demandes, quoiqu'onéreuses, ils n'auroient pas attendu que les Sioux tombassent sur moi pour me piller. Ils m'auroient fait bruler tout rond dans ma cabane.

{181} Le lendemain ils ont transporté les paquets et les canots au lieu que j'avois marqué. Mes gens et moi ne pouvant être partout, ils ont volé autant qu'ils leur a été possible. Jai payé ces coquins là encore bien chêre. Le chef ne m'a quitté que sur le soir. Cet homme ma beaucoup couté, mais il s'est donné toutes les peines possible pour me soulager et m'aider dans mon embaras.

Voila, messieurs, le traitement que j'ai reçu des Ricaras pour remerciment de ce que j'ai fait pour eux. Depuis mon arrivée icy le primtems dernier jusqu'au moment de leur division, jai vécu dans une parfaitte tranquilitée parmi eux. Je leur faisois entendre raison facilement. Je traitois paisiblement et aux prix que j'avois établi. Je refusois ou acceptois ce que je trouvois a propos sans aucunes contradiction. Ils ne m'ont pas volés jusqu'à ce moment une seule aiguille. Il est vrai que étant informé de touts leurs defauts, j'ai pris toutes les précautions possibles pour n'en être point la duppe. Ils ont faits tous leurs effort dans le cour de létée pour me faire dépensé des marchandises, soit pour des femmes

with much difficulty. I saw that I was unable to carry all these robes in the two miserable skin boats, and besides, I was too defenseless with only one man to undertake it.

The next day, the 1st of April, they struck camp and as they left set fire to all the lodges, which are constructed only of dried grass and dry wood,[129] with the intention of starting a general fire, for these lodges all adjoin one another. Fortunately, the wind, although brisk that day, was not blowing toward the lodge where I was. Some, pushing their malice to the highest degree, seeing that the fire could not reach my lodge because the wind was blowing the other way, set fire to a nearby lodge upwind from it. The lodge and everything within it very nearly burned. The chief and some of his men put out the fire with much difficulty. The only thing those people wanted was to start a fire to force me to remove my goods from the lodge and to be able in the confusion of the fire to steal more easily. The chief and I had to post guards near my lodge and at the doors of several other adjacent ones day and night until they were all gone, I all the while paying for this service.

I entreated the chief to keep with him twenty or so men to carry the packs below the village where I resolved to await the pirogues from upstream.

It is certain, Messieurs, that if despite my resentment, rage, and despair, I had for a month not spoken with all possible gentleness; if I had lost my temper with them and used harsh words, and if I had not consented to almost all their demands, however onerous, they would not have waited for the Sioux to attack me in order to pillage me. They would have burned me right there in my lodge.

The next day they carried the packs and the boats to the place that I had indicated. Since my men and I could not be everywhere, they [the Arikaras] stole as much as possible. I again paid these rascals very dearly. The chief did not leave me until evening. This man has cost me much but he has taken all pains possible to comfort me and help me in my predicament.

Such, Messieurs, is the treatment that I received from the Arikaras in thanks for what I did for them. From my arrival here last spring until the moment of their division I lived in perfect tranquility among them. I made them listen to reason easily. I traded peaceably and at the prices that I had established. I refused or accepted whatever I found appropriate without any contradiction. They did not steal from me, until now, even a single needle. It is true that being informed of all their faults, I took every possible precaution not to be duped. They did their utmost during the course of the summer to make me distribute some merchandise, either by means of women of all shapes and

qu'ils m'on[t] offerts et amenés nombre de fois de toute forme et àge; soit par leur façon première de nourir les hommes blancs; soit par les {182} flateries des chefs, mensonges, ruses, ou nouvelles fomentées a dessein; mais rien de tout cela ne mâ ébranlé. Jai toujours tenu ferme contre leurs tentatives et leurs ruses, et jai fait exactement mon devoir. Ne pouvant reusir auprès de moi par toutes ces manoeuvres, ils maprouvoient souvent en riant, mais je voyois bien que dans leur ame ils étoient chagrins de ce que je tenois une conduitte toute differente de celle de mes prédécesseurs chez cette nation.

Si cette tranquilitée et ses [*sic*, ces] bons sentiments eussent continués chez eux et qu'ils eussent résidés au même lieu, jétois aussuré [*sic*, assuré] de réparé largement les pertes de la premiere année. Je me voyois cinquante paquets dassuré dès lautomne; cest a dire, vingt de liés et trente qui me sont du, tant par le S^{r} Ménard que par ses engagés et chasseurs dicy haut, dont je suis assuré dêtre bien payé; et, selon le calcul des marchandises qui me restoit au commencement de descembre, d'ont javois pris une vérification, jétois certain, au prix de sa traitte, de lier encore quatre vingt paquets au moins, et d'avoir des marchandises de reste. Les Sioux, les Chaguiennes, les Cayouas, les Caminanbiche, les Pitapahato, a qui j'avois envoyé des paroles pour les faire chasser aux castors et pour se rendre au commencement de létée ici, m'auroient fournis quantitée de peaux de castors, {183} car les nommés Noraut, Quebec, qui ont étés chez eux lautomne dernierre en péchant des castors, m'ont rapportés qu'ils étoient fort animés a la chasse et qu'ils se proposoient tous de venir au primtems trafiquer leur pelleteries avec moi pour avoir leur besoin.

Mais, M^{es}, tout est changé. La perte est certaine. Cette mauditte guerre des Sioux; la division des Ricaras; les conseil des Panis Mahas; le manque de monde et de pirogues; le retardement pernicieux de celles que l'on devoit m'amener icy a la fonte des glaces, non seulement par la mauvaise conduitte du conducteur que dans le tems quelle devoit partir pour venir me donner secours. Votre envoie de létée derniere qui ne s'est point rendu icy, laquelle, si elle fut venue, non seulement m'auroit fait éviter les frais excessif que je suis obligé de faire pour sauver les débris de l'équipement, mais encore mauroit donné facilitée de me rendre létée dernier aux Mendannes, en laissant quelque marchandise aux Ricaras avec deux ou trois hommes de plus capables pour les comvertir, et moy jaurois été a la tête des traveaux nécessaires, pirogues, &c. Tout cela joint ensemble a contribués a tout le mal qui m'arrive aujourdhui.

Les sauvages, qui sont tout {184} coquins de leur nature, nayant pu par leur manége me faire faire des dépences volontaires, ont saisis a propos l'instant de mon embarras, de ma peine et de mon isolation pour envahir et, pour ainsi dire, m'arracher ce qu'ils n'avoient pu gagner sur moi avant ces troubles. Et je

ages whom they offered and brought to me a number of times; or through their old manner of feeding white men; or by the flattering words of chiefs, by lies, tricks, or rumors purposefully fomented; but none of all that has shaken me. I have always held firm against their attempts and their tricks, and I have performed my duty exactly. Unable to succeed with me by means of all these schemes, they often laughed in approval of me, but I clearly saw that they were upset that I persisted in behaving quite differently from my predecessors among this nation.

If this tranquility and these good feelings had continued among them and they had resided at the same place, I was assured of amply making up for the losses of the first year. I imagined that I would surely have fifty packs by autumn; that is to say, twenty tied up and thirty that were owed to me, both by Sieur Ménard and by his *engagés* and hunters from upstream, by whom I am certain to be well-paid; and, according to the calculation of the merchandise that remained with me at the beginning of December, which I had inspected, I was certain, considering its trade price, to tie up at least another eighty packs, and to have some merchandise remaining. The Sioux, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Caminanbiche, and Pitapahato, to whom I had sent messages asking them to hunt beaver and to bring them here at the beginning of summer, would have furnished me a large quantity of beaver pelts, for the men named Noraut and Québec, who were among them hunting beaver last autumn, reported to me that they were very busy hunting and that they all intended to come in the spring to trade their peltries with me to get their necessities.

But, Messieurs, all is changed. Loss is certain. This cursed war of the Sioux; the division of the Arikaras; the counsel of the Skiri Pawnees; the lack of men and pirogues; the injurious delay of those that should have been brought to me here at the break-up of the ice, due not only to the misbehavior of the leader [Généreux] but also to the time they were to leave to come give me help; if your consignment of last summer, which has not arrived here, had come, not only would it have permitted me to avoid the excessive expenses that I was obliged to incur to save the remains of the outfit, and also would have provided me with the means to go last summer to the Mandans while leaving some merchandise among the Arikaras with two or three more men capable of trading with them, and I myself would have been in charge of necessary projects, such as pirogues, &c. All this together contributed to all the misfortune that befalls me today.

The Indians, who are all rascals by their nature, being unable to trick me into making voluntary expenditures have seized opportunely the moment of my predicament, my difficulty, and my isolation to encroach upon me, so to speak, and to seize from me what they had not been able to earn from me before these

suis icy sur la greve, exposé aux ennemis, a attendre depuis six jours un malheureux homme qui n'arrive point, quoiqu'il soit déja venu un grand montage d'eau . . .* Je me trouvai donc seul, isolé sur la rive, partagé entre l'espoir et la crainte. Je restai ainsi sept jours sans voir qui que ce soit.

Le huitieme, sur les quatre a cinq heures du soir, nous vimes paroitre sur les cotes de l'autre bord du Missouris un certain nombre de Sioux qui descendoient sur la rive vis a vis de nous, criant, pleurant et hurlant comme des loups en nous appellant. Comme je ne pouvois attendre qu'une mort assuré s'ils m'étoient [*sic*, mettaient] la main sur moi, et n'ayant pour me sauver qu'un petit canot qui ne pouvoit porter que deux hommes, jembarquai sur le soir avec un homme, méttant munis de quelques provisions {185} de viandes seches et de poudre a tirer; et je me retirai crainte d'être surpris dans une isle qui est tout auprès de lendroit que je quittois, ou je passai la nuit caché dans des petits saules, faisant bon cart [=quart].

Une partie de ces sauvages traversèrent avant le jour sur des radeaux et arriverent au butin que j'avois quitté. Jentendis toute la nuit des cris en bas et en haut et des deux cotés de la rivierre. Lorsqu'ils fut jour je mapperçus qu'ils traversoient mes effets dans des boucots de peaux de boeufs dans la même isle où jétois caché. Un dentre eux ayant approché a cent pas de moi. Jembarquai promptement dans notre petit canot, et je lui parlai en fuyant, et il me sollicita d'aller a lui, mais je n'en voulus rien faire.

Plus bas que lisle nous en vimes plusieurs qui faisoient des radeaux a la hâte pour traverser, ayant dessein de nous couper le chemin, mais je meloignai d'eux {186}** promptement en descendant. Vingt lieuës plus bas nous fumes surpris par un gros vent tempetueux sur leau. Nous faillimes y perdre la vie. Notre canot fut dans un mo[ment] engloutit sous les eaux. Nous ne sauvâme[s] que nos armes et quatre a cinq livres de poud[re]. Tout le reste fut perdu. Quelques lieuës plus bas je me brulai par inadvertance, avec cette même poudre, le visage et les mains, et peu s'en fallu que je ne perdis la vie.

Je me rendis enfin chez la nation des Mahas, situées a environ cent cinqua[n]t[e] lieuës plus bas que les Ricaras, parmi toute siouffrances [*sic*, souffrances] et peines possible. Je trouvai dans ce poste le Sr Makai, ch[argé] des interèt de la Compagnie sur tout le h[aut] Missouris. Je reçus de cet homme tous les services et secours d'ont il fut capable. Quelques jours après mon arrivée en ce lieu l[es] hommes qui devoient descendre les pirogues construites aux Mandannes arrivèrent. Ils avoient ramassés sur la gréve aup[rés] du village des Ricaras quelques paquets [de] robes de boeufs que les Sioux n'avoient

* Ellipses in manuscript.

** Damage to the right-hand edge of the folio; bracketed letters are conjectural.

misfortunes. And I am here on the river bank, exposed to enemies, waiting for six days for a wretched man who has not arrived, although already the water level has greatly risen. I then found myself alone, isolated on the bank, divided between hope and fear. I remained thus seven days without seeing anyone at all.

On the eighth, between four and five o'clock in the evening, we saw appear on the hills on the other bank of the Missouri a certain number of Sioux who were descending to the shore opposite us, crying out, wailing, and yelling like wolves as they called to us. Since I could only expect certain death if they laid hands on me, and having only a small boat able to carry just two men in which to save myself, I embarked in the evening with one man, supplied with a few provisions of dried meat and gunpowder; and from fear of being discovered, I retreated to an island that is quite near the place that I left, where I spent the night hidden in some little willows, keeping a careful watch.

Some of these Indians crossed before daybreak on rafts and arrived at the goods that I had abandoned. All night I heard cries from above and below on the two sides of the river. When it was day, I realized that they were taking my goods across the river in bullboats to the same island where I was hidden. One of them passed within a hundred steps of me. I embarked promptly in our little boat, and I spoke to him in fleeing; he begged me to come to him but I did not wish to do anything of the sort.

Downstream from the island we saw several of them [the Sioux] who were hastily making rafts to cross, planning to cut off our route, but I promptly distanced myself from them while descending. Twenty leagues lower we were surprised by a strong, tempestuous wind on the water. We narrowly missed losing our lives there. Our canoe was in a moment submerged under the waters. We saved only our firearms and four to five *livres* of powder. All the rest was lost. Some leagues lower I inadvertently burned my face and hands with this same powder and I very nearly lost my life.

Experiencing all possible suffering and pain, I arrived finally at the Omaha nation, situated about one hundred fifty leagues below the Arikaras. I found at this post Sieur Mackay, charged with the interests of the Company on all the Upper Missouri. I received from this man all the services and aid of which he was capable. Some days after my arrival at this place the men who were to bring down the pirogues constructed at the Mandans arrived. They had picked up from the shore near the Arikara village some packs of buffalo robes that the

pa[s] emporté, ayant seulement enlevé le[s] {187} meilleures pelleteries, castor et peaux [de] chevreuil, les plus belles robes et les marchandises.

Jembarquai de la sur ces mêmes pirogues et me rendit a St Louis le 4 juin 1796.

Tous ces malheureux évenements ont causé une perte notable aux interests de la Compagnie du Haut Missouris et ont imterrompu les projets de commerce, d'etablissement et de découverte qu'elle setoit proposée d'y faire sous ma gestion.

Sioux had not carried away, having taken only the better peltries, beaver furs, and deerskins, the most beautiful robes, and the merchandise.

I embarked from there in these same pirogues and arrived at St. Louis on the 4th of June 1796.

All these unfortunate events caused a notable loss to the interests of the Company of the Upper Missouri, and interrupted the projects of commerce, settlement, and exploration that it had proposed to make under my management.

{unnumbered folio}

Description abrégée du haut Missouris

Adressée à Monsieur don Zénon Trudeau,
lieutenant-gouverneur de la partie occidentale
des Illinois, &c., &c., &c.
par J-Bte Trudeau, voyageur

1^er^ Cahier

[Com]me ces écrits ont étés copiées par des jeunes enfants [inat]tentifs, je prie les personnes qui les liront de supléer [les dé]ffauts qui s[']y rencontreront, et de les corriger.*{1}

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

Monsieur,

Je n'aurois osé entreprendre une ouvrage qui est hors de mes forces, ny vous la présenter, si vous neussiez paru le désirer de moy dans la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, en datte du trois de may, mil sept cent quatre vingt quinze, lorsque jétois chez ces peuples lointains. Jhésiterois encore de le faire si je ne connoissois votre indulgence, et que je ne fus persuadé que vous ne ferez point attention au peu d'élégance qui regne dans cet ouvrage et au manque des belles expression[s] et des termes recherchés, que vous ny rencontrerez point. J'espère que vous vous souviendrez en le lisant que l'autheur, bien loin d'être un accadémiçien, n'est qu'un pauvre voyageur, qui, qoiqu'il [*sic*] ait reçu dans sa jeunesse une certaine éducation, l'a si fort négligé depuis, qu'un stile fleuri et embelli de toutes les graçes de la réthorique n'est plus de son usage. Je ne puis vous présenter qu'un ouvrage dicté dans le langage le plus simple et le plus familier; mais je vous proteste que tout y est conformé a la vérité, car jai observé dans ces mémoires de ne rien marquer qui soyent faux et incroyables, comme vous me l'avez prescrit dans votre lettre.

{2} Jai fait un rapport exacte dans mes journaux, que vous avez lû, des assemblés, conseils, et parlements que jai tenu avec les nations arricaras, chaguiennes, et siouses au nom de Sa Majesté catholique, aux quelles vous avez envoyé par moy pavillons, lettres patentes et présents. Jai aussi envoyé des paroles a toutes les nations circonvoisines, aux Mendannes, aux Gros Ventres, aux Cayowas,

* Damage to the upper-left edge of folio resulted in loss of letters, which are supplied here in brackets.

Abridged Description of the Upper Missouri

Addressed to Monsieur Zenon Trudeau,
Lieutenant Governor of the Western Part
of the Illinois Country, &c., &c., &c.
by J.-Bte. Trudeau [Truteau], Voyageur

Notebook 1

As these writings were copied by inattentive young children, I ask the people who read them to make up for the defects that they find within and to correct them.[1]

PART 1

Monsieur,

I would not have dared to undertake a work that is beyond my abilities, nor to present it to you, if you had not seemed to desire it of me in the letter that you so kindly sent to me, dated the 3rd of May, 1795, when I was among those distant peoples. I would still hesitate to do so if I were not familiar with your forbearance, and if I had not been persuaded that you would pay no attention to the lack of elegance that pervades this work or to the absence of elegant expressions and refined wording, which you will not find here. I hope you will remember in reading it that the author, far from being an academician, is only a poor voyageur,[2] who, although he received some education in his youth, has since then so badly neglected it that a flowery style embellished with all the graces of rhetoric is no longer his practice. I can only present you with a work dictated in the simplest and most familiar language; but I declare that everything here is in keeping with the truth, because I have taken care in these memoirs to put down nothing false or unbelievable, as you stipulated in your letter.

I made an exact report in my journals, which you have read, of the gatherings, councils, and parleys that I held in the name of his Catholic Majesty with the Arikara, Cheyenne, and Sioux nations, to whom you sent flags, commissions, and presents through me. I also sent messages to all the surrounding nations, the Mandans, Gros Ventres, Kiowas, Tocaminanbiches, Pitapahato, and

aux Tocaminanbiches, aux Pitapahato et Tokiwako, dont plusieurs chefs sont venus me voir dans le cours de l'étée que je passai au village des Aricaras pour les maintenir en paix et en union et par là faciliter les entreprises de commerce et de découverte que la nouvelle Compagnie du Haut Missouris se proposoit dy faire sous ma gestion. Les presents que vous leurs avez envoyez par moy et les paroles que vous leurs avez addressées au nom du roy ont été reçu de tous ces peuples situés a l'occident de cette rivierre avec les plus grandes marques de joië et d'applaudissement. Jai fait réunir avec les Arricaras et les Chaguiennes quatre gros villages de Sioux qui faisoient une cruelle guerre au premier.

{3} COMMENCEMENT

Comme jentends et parle passablement la langue des Sioux, jai moi même été en calumet chez eux avec les Aricaras pour faire un accord et une paix solide entre-eux et les nations que jai nommé plus haut. Nous y avons été bien reçus, et ils ont accepté dans ce moment tout ce qu'on leur a proposer et ont applaudit a tout ce que je leur ai dit. Tout parroissoit reussir selon nos desirs; chaque nation se fréquentoit paisiblement et jesperois que les chemins nous alloient devenir sûrs et faciles.

Mais les peuples sioux, dont le nom seul fait trembler tous les occidentaux de cette rivierre, et qui sont de leur naturel aussi légers, inconstant et traitres qu'ils sont braves et nombreux, mirent le trouble et jettèrent l'épouvante parmi la nation aricaras par le massacre qu'ils firent au commencement de l'hyvers de usieu[rs] de ces derniers, tant a la chasse qu'alentour de leurs habitations, dans un tems ou ils si [=s'y] attendoient le moins. Ceux cy se vengerent en tuant plusieurs de leurs chefs et considérés qui etoient venus en parole chez eux. Cette action irrita tous les Sioux en genéral, qui se rassenblerent de toute part et vinrent en grand nombre attaquer par quatre fois differentes les Aricaras. Ceux cy, quoi que en plus petit nombre et moins braves que les premiers, {4} mais se sentant soutenu par moi et bien munis d'armes a feu et de poudre, n'hésiterent pas daller au devant d'eux et de les combattre a quelques distances de leur fort. Car les Sioux noserent en approcher, craignant leffet des deux espingolles dont jétois munis; ces derniers se retirerent chaques fois avec beaucoup de perte de leurs gens, ce qui les a si fort irrité contre nous, attribuant la mort des plus braves de leur nation a notre poudre, qu'ils ont juré de ne faire aucun quartiers ny a moi ny a touts autres Blancs quil attraperont portant des marchandises aux nations situés sur le haut Missouris.

Les Aricaras, ayant sçu pour certain que toutes les nations siouses en général se rassembloient pour venir fondre sur eux au primtems, en furent si fort epouvanté qu'ils abandonnerent a la fin du mois de mars leurs habitations et leur territoire et s'enfuirent, les un aux Mendannes, les autres aux Chaguiennes

Tokiwako,[3] several chiefs of which came to see me in the course of the summer that I spent at the village of the Arikaras to keep them in peace and unity and thereby facilitate the enterprises of commerce and discovery that the new Company of the Upper Missouri proposed to undertake under my management. The presents that you sent them through me and the words that you addressed to them in the King's name were received by all the peoples located to the west of this river with the greatest signs of joy and approval. I brought together the Arikaras and Cheyennes with four large villages of Sioux that were waging a cruel war against the first-named.

BEGINNING

As I understand and speak passably the language of the Sioux, I myself, with the Arikaras, took the calumet to them to make an agreement and solid peace between them and the nations that I named above. We were well-received there, and they accepted at that time all that was proposed to them and approved of all that I told them. Everything appeared to succeed according to our wishes; each nation was associating peacefully with the other and I hoped that the roads would become safe and easy for us.

But the Sioux peoples, whose very name makes all those west of this river tremble, and who are by their nature as volatile, fickle, and treacherous as they are brave and numerous, stirred up trouble and threw terror into the Arikara nation by the massacre that they committed of several of the latter at the beginning of winter, both while they were on the hunt and in the vicinity of their dwellings, at a time when they least expected it. The latter avenged themselves by killing several of their [the Sioux] chiefs and leading men who had come to parley with them. This deed angered all the Sioux in general, who gathered from all around and came in large numbers to attack the Arikaras four different times. The latter, although much smaller in number and less brave than the former, but feeling themselves supported by me and well-furnished with firearms and gunpowder, did not hesitate to go directly to them and fight them at some distance from their fort. For the Sioux did not dare to approach, fearing the effect of the two blunderbusses with which I was armed; the latter retreated each time with great losses of men, which angered them so much against us, attributing the death of the bravest of their nation to our gunpowder, that they swore that they would give no quarter either to me or to any other whites whom they catch carrying merchandise to the nations located on the upper Missouri.

The Arikaras, having learned for certain that all the Sioux nations in general were gathering to come and attack them in the spring, were so greatly frightened by it that at the end of March [1796] they abandoned their dwellings and their territory and fled, some to the Mandans, others to the Cheyennes. Despite

quelque effort que je fisses pour les retenir. Ils me laisserent seul avec un homme engagés de la compagnie sur la grêve ou [j']avois fait transportér les pelletries [et les] marchandises, espérant avoir prompte[ment] du secours de quelques François cha[sseurs] {5} et dun engagé que javois envoyé aux Mendannes pour y construire des pirogues dans le cours de l'hivers, ny ayant pas plus près aucun bois assez gros pour faire ni canots ny pirogues.

Javois renvoyé aux Illinois le primtems dauparavent, comme il me letoit ordonné par le directeur de la compagnie, les hommes engagés qui étoient montés avec moy pour y descendre les pelleteries que javois traité la premiere année de mon depart, n'ayant gardé avec moy que trois hommes, dont un s'est noyé au commencement de létée 1795. Et pour comble de mal'heurs, la deuxième envoie de la compagnie parti de St Loüis le 15 avril 1795, et une troisième parti du village des Poncas dans le cours de mars de lanné d'ensuitte, ne sont point parvenus a moi, la premierre par la mauaise conduite du conducteueur [*sic*, conducteur], la seconde par la rencontre d'une bande de Sioux campé sur la route, dont ils se sont heureusement échappé par la fuite. [. . .]

{8} La rivierre des Missouris vient du ouest-nord-ouest et du nord-ouest en qu'elques endroits, et va à l'est-sud-est se décharger dans le fleuve du Mississipy <ou Michacippÿ, La Grande Riviere> a cinq lieues plus haut que St Loüis des Illinois. On na pu e[n]core savoir au juste le lieu ou cette rivierre prend sa source. On croit, selon le rapport de quelques sauvages, qu'elle sort des grandes montagnes de roche qui, disent ils, traverse du nord-au sud ce vaste païs encore inconnu aux nations policées. Cette grande rivierre, jusqu'a lembouchure de la rivierre Platte, {9} coule entre deux chaines de cotes escarpées <qui serpentent comme elle,> couvertes d'herbe fort courtes, <et> en quelques endroits elles sont assez éloignés des bords quentre les cotes et la rivierre il y a de grandes prairies basses dans lesquelles ont voit communément des troupeaux de beufs sauvages qui y paturent. Au delà de ces côtes on découvre de vastes prairies qui s'étendent sans interruption jusquauprès <jusqu'au pied> des grandes montagnes de roches qui se trouvent <qui s[']elevent> du côté du couchant, nétant coupées que par les différentes rivierres qui les traversent, aux bord desquelles on ne trouve que des petits bois claires <petit bois menus> et de basses futayes.

Ces grandes prairies <ou grande landes> sont tout a fait stériles; a peine l'herbe <y> croit elle. On trouve sur les bords du Missouris de distance en distance quelques pointes de bois étroites et peu longues fournies <seulement> en petits liards et petits saules et autre petits bois. Cette rivierre est divisée par quantitée d'isles couvertes d'arbres entre-lassez de tant de vignes qu'on a peine a y passer. Elle a presque partout une demie lieuë, et en quelques endroits plus, de largeur. Son lit est moins profond que dans le bas, et <il> se trouve souvent divisé par {10} des <batures ou> bancs de sable fort larges qui forment plusieur

the effort I made to hold them back, they left me alone with an *engagé* of the Company on the river bank where [I] had had the peltries [and] merchandise transported, hoping soon [to have] help from some Frenchmen [. . .][4] and an *engagé* whom I had sent to the Mandans to construct pirogues during the course of the winter, not having any wood closer that was large enough to make either canoes or pirogues.

I had sent back to the Illinois the previous spring [1795], as I had been ordered by the Director of the Company, the *engagés* who had come upriver with me to take downriver the peltries for which I had traded during the first year of my voyage, keeping with me only three men, one of whom drowned at the beginning of the summer of 1795.[5] And as a crowning misfortune, the second convoy sent by the Company that left St. Louis April 15, 1795,[6] and a third that left the village of the Poncas in the course of March of the following year,[7] did not reach me, the first because of the mismanagement of its leader, the second because of encountering a band of Sioux camped on the route, from whom they fortunately escaped by taking flight. [. . .][8]

The Missouri River comes from the west-northwest, and from the northwest in some places, and goes east-southeast to empty into the Mississippi River <(or Michacippÿ,[9] the Great River)>[10] at five leagues above St. Louis of the Illinois. The exact place where the river has its source is not yet known. It is thought, according to the report of some Indians, that it comes from some great rocky mountains that, they say, traverse from north to south this vast country as yet unknown to civilized nations. This great river, down to the mouth of the Platte River, flows between two chains of steep hills <that wind as it does,> covered with very short grass and in some places they are so far away from the banks that between the hills and the river there are extensive low prairies on which herds of buffalo are commonly seen grazing. Beyond those hills are found vast prairies that extend without interruption to near <to the foot of> the great rocky mountains that are found <that rise> toward the west, being dissected only by the different rivers that cross them, along the banks of which are found only small scattered groves and low-growing trees.

These large prairies <or large moors> are entirely barren; grass can scarcely grow there. On the banks of the Missouri are found at intervals wooded points, narrow and not very long, furnished <only> with small cottonwoods, small willows, and other small trees. This river is divided by many islands covered with trees interlaced with so many vines that one can scarcely pass through. It is almost everywhere a half-league in width, and in some places more. Its bed is more shallow than downstream, and it is often divided by very large <sandbars or> sandbanks that form several channels, making the route difficult in certain

chenaux qui <en> rendent le chemin en certains endroits difficil, mais il y a toujours assez deau pour porter en tout tems les plus grandes pirogues. Les petits batteaux plats, ou berges, seroient <les voitures> les plus convenables pour y naviguer. On n'y trouve en aucun endroit de ces amas de bois de dérive que l'on nomme embaras, tel qu'il sen trouve communément dans le bas de cette rivierre et que l'on ne franchit qu'avec risque et peines, ni aucune batture dangéreuse soit coupée, soit <en> mauvais rapicage <rapiquage>. Plus on marche en remontant vers sa source, moins on y trouve de forts courants.

La seule incomoditée que l'on y souffre est de ne trouver dans le tems des eaux basses aucun lieu propice pour y mettre des pirogues a l'abri des vents, qui sont fougueux et très commun dans ce païs là, et <que l'>on est souvent contraint de décharger les pirogues des marchandises toutes les fois qu'il vente, ce qui arrive presque tous les jours.

A l'orient du Missouris on trouve peu de rivierre considérable. Je ne ferai mention que de celles qu'il reçoit au dessus de la Grande {11} rivierre Platteen remontant jusqua la Grande rivierre aux Roches Jaunes, où sont situés les nations du Corbeau, qui sont a cinquante liëüës au dessus des nations mendannes et gros ventre. La Grande rivierre Platte se décharge dans le Missouris <a la gauche en montant> a deux cent liëüës de son embouchure. A cinquante liëüës plus haut, a la droite en remontant, on trouve la Petite rivierre des Sioux, qui n'est naviguable qu'avec des canots de chasse; sa source est peu éloigné de son embouchure.

Trente lieuës au dessus a la gauche habitent les Mahas. Leurs cabannes sont baties dans une belle campagne <a deux lieux de distence des bords du Missouri>. Il coule auprès de leurs habitations une petite rivierre dont leau est très pure et claire. Cette nation est sédentaire en certain tems de lannée. Elle cultive des champs de maÿs, de citrouilles, de fves, et de tabac. Toutes les étées au mois de juin ces sauvages partent tous pour faire la chasse des boeufs sauvages et ne reviennent que dans le courant du mois daoust pour recolter leurs champs. A la proche [*sic,* l'approche] de l'automne ils se divisent en plusieurs brigades qui ont chacune leurs chefs a leurs tête. Les unes s'éloignent fort loin de leurs habitations â la recherche des boeufs sauvages, des castors, des loutres, {12} et autres pelleteries, et dautres font la chasse des chevreuils sur le Missouri peu loin de leur village, et reviennent ordinairement passer les plus grands froids de l'hivers auprès des cabannes des François qui vont toutes les automnes en commerce chez eux. Le primtems ils se rassemblent tous auprès de leurs traiteurs, et après qu'ils ont payés leurs crédits et fait le trafic de leurs pelleteries pour des marchandises, ils retournent a leurs habitations fixées.

On trouve a six lieuës plus haut <des Mahas> a lorient <du côté du nord> la Grande rivierre des Sioux, qui vient du nord-est nord. <Elle n'est navigable quavec des petite pirogues.> Les nations siouses qui habitent les rivierres

places, but there is always enough water to carry even the largest pirogues. Small flatboats, or barges, would be <the> most suitable <boats> for navigating there. Nowhere does one find those accumulations of driftwood called *embarras*, such as are commonly found downstream in this river and that can only be cleared with risk and trouble, nor any dangerous sandbars, either cut sandbars or *mauvais rapicage*.[11] The farther one goes upstream toward its source, the less one finds strong currents.

The only inconvenience suffered there is that during times of low water one cannot find any suitable place to shelter pirogues from the winds, which are fierce and very common in that country, and <that> one is often forced to unload the merchandise from the pirogues every time the wind blows, which happens almost every day.

To the east of the Missouri are found few important rivers. I shall mention only those that flow into it above the Big Platte River upstream to the Big Yellowstone River, where the Crow nations are located, fifty leagues above the Mandan and Gros Ventre nations. The Big Platte River empties into the Missouri <on the left going upriver> at two hundred leagues from its mouth. Fifty leagues higher, on the right going upstream, is found the Little Sioux River, which is navigable only with hunting canoes; its source is not far from its mouth.

Thirty leagues above on the left live the Omahas. Their lodges are built on a beautiful plain <two leagues distant from the bank of the Missouri>. Near their dwellings flows a little river whose water is very pure and clear. This nation is sedentary at certain times of the year. It cultivates fields of corn, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco. Every summer in the month of June these Indians all leave to hunt buffalo and do not return until during the month of August to harvest their fields. At the approach of autumn they divide into several brigades, each headed by their chiefs. Some go very far away from their dwellings in search of buffalo, beaver, otter, and other peltries, while others hunt deer on the Missouri not far from their village, and usually return to spend the coldest weather of the winter near the cabins of the French who go every autumn to trade with them. In the spring they all reassemble near their traders, and after they have paid off their credits and traded their peltries for merchandise, they return to their permanent dwellings.

At six leagues above <the Omahas> on the east side <on the north side> is found the Big Sioux River, which comes from the north-northeast. <It is navigable only with little pirogues.> The Sioux nations that live on the Des Moines[12]

des Moins et St Pierre viennent en différents tems de lanné y faire la chasse des boeufs sauvages et d'autres animaux.

A quarante cinq liëüës au dessus de celle cy, du même côté, se décharge la rivierre Saint Jacques. Cette rivierre est ainsi nommée par tous les voyageurs parce que le nommé Jacques dÉglise est le premier François qui est [=ait] navigué dessus à la chasse des castors, et non pas la rivierre au Calumet, comme il est marqué sur une nouvelle carte. C'est une belle rivierre, trés abondantes en castor et autres animaux. Selon le rapport des sauvages elle a plus de cent {13} liëüës de cours. Elle vient aussi du nord. Il s[']y décharge plusieurs autres petites rivierres dedans, dont une est nommée la rivierre a la Pierre Rouge. Elle est ainsi nommé parce que sur le haut de cette rivierre il y a une carière de cette pierre, dont les sauvages font des pipes et des calumets fort estimés. Il ne sen trouve point de semblable en aucun lieu de ce vaste païs. Les sauvages creusent jusqua quatre et cinq pieds dans la terre pour l'en tirer.

A vingt cinq lieues au dessus de la rivierre de St Jacques, a loccident du Missouris, on trouve la rivierre Qui Court. Elle prend ses source du coté du ouest-sud-ouest et fort loin de son embouchure. Selon le rapport de tous les sauvages, elle est la plus abondante en castors et en loutres de toutes les rivierres connues, mais elle coule avec tant de rapiditée et est si rempli de ca[ta]ractes qu'il est impossible dÿ naviguer soit en pirogues soit en canot <soit en mont[ant] soit en dessendent>.

La nation des Poncas a ses habitations situés a deux lieuës plus haut que l'embouchure de cette rivierre. Leurs cabanes sont baties sur une eminence au bord dune grande campagne du plus bel aspect du monde, éloigné d'une lieu environ du Missouris. Quoi que ces sauvages aient leurs demeures fixés en ce liëu, {14} ils cultivent peu les champs, ne vivant que de la chasse de boeufs et des vaches sauvages, qui sont en grande abondance dans leurs païs. Ils tuent aussi beaucoup de castors, loutres et chevreuil dans la saison de l'automne et du primtems. <Le boeuf, le chevreuille & castors est commun dans cette endroit.>

A trente cinq lieus plus haut que la riviere Qui Court, du même coté, sort une rivierre appellée la rivierre Blanche, dont les eaux sont aussi blanche que de leau de chaux. Cette rivierre est peu considérable et sa source est peu éloignée de son embouchure. De cette rivierre au grand détour, quinze lieues. Ce détour a dix lieues de long; en cet endroit la rivierre se jette au ouest-sud-ouest et revient prendre son cour ordinaire après dix lieues de tour. A quinze liëuës au dessus, environ, au couchant du Missouris, on trouve une petite rivierre appellée par quelques chasseurs le Petit Missouris, et par les sauvages l[']Eau Tranquille. Cette rivierre est de peu de conséquense. Leau ni coule qu'au primtems a la fonte des neiges ou après quelques abondances de pluie, car autrement on y

and Saint Peter's[13] rivers come at different times of the year to hunt buffalo and other animals.

At forty-five leagues above the latter [the Big Sioux River], on the same side, the James River[14] empties in. This river is so called by all the voyageurs because Jacques d'Église was the first Frenchman to navigate it while hunting beaver, and not the Calumet River, as it is shown on a new map.[15] This is a beautiful river, very abundant in beaver and other animals. According to the report of the Indians its course is more than one hundred leagues long. It also comes from the north. Several other small rivers empty into it, one of which is named the Red Stone River.[16] It is so named because on the upper part of the river there is a quarry of this stone, from which Indians make highly prized pipes and calumets. Nothing similar is found in any other place in this vast country.[17] The Indians dig as much as four to five feet into the ground to extract it.

At twenty-five leagues above the James River, to the west of the Missouri, is found the L'Eau Qui Court River.[18] It takes its source in the west-southwest very far from its mouth. According to the report of all the Indians, it is the most abundant in beaver and otter of all the known rivers, but it flows so fast and is so full of cataracts that it is impossible to navigate either in pirogues or canoes <either ascending or descending>.

The Ponca nation has its dwellings located two leagues above the mouth of this river.[19] Their lodges are built on an elevation at the edge of a broad plain with the most beautiful view in the world, about a league's distance from the Missouri. Although these Indians have their permanent lodges in this place, they hardly cultivate the fields, living only by hunting buffalo bulls and cows, which are found in great abundance in their country. They also kill many beaver, otter, and deer in the autumn and spring. <Buffalo, antelope, and beaver are common in this region.>

At thirty-five leagues above the L'Eau Qui Court River, on the same side, a river enters called the White River, the waters of which are as white as limewater.[20] This river is not large and its source is not distant from its mouth. From this river to the Great Bend is fifteen leagues. The bend is ten leagues long; in this place the river flows to the west-southwest and returns to take its usual course after a circuit of ten leagues. At about fifteen leagues above, to the west of the Missouri, is found a little river called by some hunters the Little Missouri, and by the Indians the Quiet Water.[21] This river is of little consequence. The water flows only in the spring at the melting of the snows or after heavy rains, but otherwise one sees there only pools of water that have no current. A group

voit que des étangts <que quelque bassins> d'eau qui na aucun cours. Une horde de Sioux appellée Oconona, cy devant amis et alliez des Ricaras, parcouroit {15} habituellement les bords de cette rivierre.

Les Ricaras (appellés par abregée les Ris) avoient leurs habitations a dix lieues plus haut, a la gauche en montant du Missouris, qu'ils ont abandonnés depuis peu pendant ma résidence chez-eux pour se retirer auprès des Mandannes, comme je lai rapporté cy devant. Ce peuple etoit autrefois très nombreux; ils comptent trente deux gros villages, en partie détruits par les Sioux et presqu'entierement dépeuplés par la petite vérôle, qui a passé chez eux par plusieur fois. Il n'en a resté que très peu de chaque village qui rassemblés font nombre de cinq cent guerriers.*

A deux lieues au dessus des Arricaras, la rivierre des Chaguiennes se décharge dans le Misouris, que quelques chasseurs on nommée la Fourche. Cette rivierre est assez large mais peu profonde. On ne pourroit y naviguer qu'avec beaucoup de peine. Elle prend ses sources <fort loin de son embouchure> dans des cotes de roches escarpés du coté du soleil couchant. Elle se sépare en plusieurs fourches sur le haut, toutes bien fournies en bois de hautes futayes et très abondantes en castors.

A trente lieues environ de son embouchure, sur une de ses fourches appellés la rivierre aux Cérises a Grappes, les Chaguiennes y ont {16} bati quelques cabannes fixées autour desqu'elles ils cultivent quelques petits chams de blé dIndes <mays> et de tabac. Mais dailleurs, cette nation, qui est divisée en trois <bandes ou> hordes, dont la plus considérable porte le nom de Chaguiennes, la deuxieme est appellée Ouisy, et la troisieme Chouta, erre sans cesse le long de cette rivierre du haut au bas, et traversent même plusieurs rangées de cotes escarpés qui séparent, disent ils, en plusieurs endroits ces vastes prairies, à la recherche des boeufs sauvages. Au delà de ces différentes cotes, en deça de la Grande rivierre Platte, se trouvent plusieurs petits lacs ou marais qui semblent, disent ils, être les endroits d'ou sont sortis tous les castors et les loutres qui se trouvent dans les autres rivierres, par la quantitée et la grandeur enorme des cabannes que ces animaux y ont construits et quils y habitent.

Ils racontent une histoire fabuleuse a ce sujet. Ils disent qu'il y a un de ces lacs ou marais beaucoup plus grand que les autres, autour duquel aucun animal n'approche n'y pour y boire ni pour y paturer, quoiqu'il y est [=ait] toujours une grande quantitée de boeufs sauvages aux environ; que les peuples mêmes qui

* "Le petit nombre qui a échappé à cette maladie (laquelle a chez ces peuples des suites bien plus fâcheuses encore que chez nous), s'est réuni depuis quelques années en une seule peuplade, qui compte mille à douze cents guerriers. Ainsi que ceux qui se trouvent plus au nord et au nord-ouest, ils n'ont eu jusqu'à présent que très-peu de commincation avec les Blancs, et ont conservé, presque dans leur intégrité, les moeurs, les coutumes, les armes et les vêtemens de leurs ancêtres" (Perrin du Lac 1805:257).

of Sioux called Oconona,[22] formerly friends and allies of the Arikaras, used to roam habitually the banks of this river.

The Arikaras (called for short the Rees) had their dwellings ten leagues higher, on the left of the Missouri going upstream, which they recently abandoned during my residence among them to move near the Mandans, as I reported previously. This people was formerly very numerous; they had thirty-two large villages, destroyed in part by the Sioux and almost entirely depopulated by smallpox, which passed among them several times. There remain only a very few from each village who together number five hundred warriors.[23]

At two leagues above the Arikaras, the Cheyenne River, which some hunters have called the Fork, empties into the Missouri. This river is quite wide but shallow. It could only be navigated with much difficulty. It takes its source <very far from its mouth> in the steep rocky hills to the west. It divides into several forks in its upper course, all of them very well supplied with forests of tall trees and very abundant in beaver.

At about thirty leagues from its mouth, on one of its forks called the River of the Chokecherries,[24] the Cheyennes built some permanent lodges around which they cultivate small fields of corn and tobacco. Moreover, this nation—which is divided into three <bands or> groups, the largest of which bears the name Cheyenne, the second is called Ouisy, and the third Chouta—wanders unceasingly along this river from its upper to its lower reaches in search of buffalo, even crossing several ranges of steep hills that divide, they say, those vast prairies in several places. Beyond those various hills, on this side of the Big Platte River, are found several small lakes or marshes that seem, they say, to be the places from which came all the beaver and otter that are found in the other rivers, given the quantity and the enormous size of the lodges that those animals constructed and that they inhabit there.

They tell a mythical tale on this subject. They say that there is one of those lakes or marshes that is much larger than the others, around which no animal approaches either to drink or to graze, although there is always a large number of buffalo nearby; that even the peoples who roam this country fear to approach it. They report that in the middle of this lake is seen a beaver lodge of enormous

parcourent ce païs craignent {17} den approcher. Ils rapportent qu'au milieu de ce lac on y voit une cabanne dune grandeur enorme environnée d'une infinité dautres plus petites; que toutes les nuits on entend un bruit sur ce lac semblable a une mer agitée par le vent, quoi que le tems soit bien calme. Deux jeunes sauvages poussés par [la] curiosité, se cacherent pendant quatre jours et quatre nuits dans des brossailles au bord de cette étendue d'eau pour découvrir qui pouvoit occasionner ce grand soulêvement des eaux, qui faisoient tant de bruit, et ce terible castors qui habite dans cette grande loge, ainsi que le leur avoit toujours raconté leurs anciens. Ils ne virent rien pendant trois jours, sinon que la nuit ils entendoient un grand bruit dans ce lac, dont les eaux croissoient bien avant sur la rive et rebaissoient le jour.

La quatrième sur le soir, ils virent sur sommet de cette grande cabane un castor d'une grosseur prodigieuse dont le poil étoit aussi blanc que le plumage d'un cigne. Quantitée dautres castors moins gros que lui mais beaucoup plus que les castors ordinaires étoient aussi autour de lui. A certain cris qu'il fit, qui sembloit articuler quelques paroles, tout ce marais fut en mouvement, les eaux gonflerent beaucoup plus qu'à {18} lordinaire. Les jeunes hommes épouvantés séloignerent à toute course de ce lieu et rejoignirent leurs gens, a qui ils raconterent cette fable, qui a toujours passé parmi eux pour veritable.

Je répondis a ceux qui me raconterent cette histoire que si les hommes blanc pénétroient jusques là avec leurs trappes de fers, ils auroient bien vïte fait prisonniers et détruit ce grand esprit, roy des castors. Ils me répondirent que rien netoit impossible aux hommes blancs, qui étoient les plus grands esprit ou genies qui soyent dans la nature.

Si quelque colonie de peuple catholique romain habitoit ce païs si abondant en castors, ceux d'entre eux qui en aimeroient les viandes seroient bien redevable aux docteurs qui ont persuadés a nos papes de métamorphoser cet animal en poisson puis qu'ils pouroient en user librement en tems de carême et d'autres jours de jeunes et dabstinences en satisfaisant leurs gouts.

Plusieurs peuples sauvages non sédentaires parcourent ce pays, tels que sont les Cayouas, les Tocaminanbiche <Tocaninanbiche>, les Pitapahato, les Tokiwaco <Tokiouaho>, tous alliez des Chaguiennes, mais de langues différentes. Les Chaguiennes savent très bien chasser au castors, dont ils trafiquent <troquent> les peaux avec les {19} les Sioux en échange de quelques marchandises de leur utilitée, et les autres ne manqueroient pas d'en tuer beaucoup s'ils y étoient induits par des traiteurs <marchands>, qui le leur échangeroient pour des marchandises. La grande nation des Pados qui parcourent les bords de la rivierre Platte n'est éloignée du Missouris a l'endroit du territoire des Aricaras que de dix jours de marche de guerriers, qui peuvent être evaluée a soixante et quatre vingt de nos lieues <communes>. Les Halitannes <Hahitannes> ou Têtes Pelées,

size surrounded by an infinite number of smaller ones; that every night a sound is heard on the lake like a sea stirred by the wind, even though the weather be very calm. Two young Indians, impelled by curiosity, hid for four days and four nights in the brush at the edge of this body of water to discover what could cause this great disturbance of the waters, which made so much noise, and of the terrible beaver that lived in that large lodge, as they had always heard their elders tell them. They saw nothing for three days, but at night they would hear a great noise in the lake, the waters of which would rise very far up the shore and lower again by day.

On the fourth evening they saw on the top of that large lodge a beaver of prodigious size whose fur was as white as the plumage of a swan. A large number of other beaver, smaller than he but much larger than ordinary beaver, were also around him. When he made certain cries, which seemed to articulate words, the entire marsh was set into motion, the waters rising much more than usual. The frightened young men fled from this place at full speed and rejoined their people, to whom they recounted this tale, which always passed among them as true.[25]

I answered those who told me this story that, if white men had penetrated that far with their steel traps, they would have very quickly taken prisoner and destroyed this great spirit, king of the beaver. They replied that nothing was impossible for white men, who were the greatest spirits or genies that exist in nature.

If some colony of Roman Catholic people inhabited this country, so abundant in beaver, those among them who love meat would be indebted to the doctors who persuaded our popes to metamorphose this animal into a fish; then they would be able to use it liberally during Lent and on other days of fasting and abstinence to satisfy their tastes.[26]

Several non-sedentary Indian peoples roam this country, such as the Kiowas, the Tocaminanbiche <Tocaninanbiche>, the Pitapahato, the Tokiwaco <Tokiouaho>, all allies of the Cheyennes, but of different languages. The Cheyennes know very well how to hunt beaver, the pelts of which they trade to the Sioux in exchange for merchandise useful to them, and the others would not fail to kill many of them if they were induced to do so by the traders, who would trade them [the pelts] with them for merchandise. The great nation of the Pados that roams the banks of the Platte River is only a ten-day journey by foot for warriors from the Arikara territory on the Missouri, which may be estimated at sixty to eighty of our <common> leagues.[27] The Halitannes <Hahitannes> or Têtes Pelées [Bald Heads], nomadic peoples, occupy all the country

peuples errants, occupent tout le païs au delà de la rivierre Platte jusques sur les bords de la rivierre des Arkansas, et s'étendent le long des grandes montagnes qui séparent le Nouveau Mexique de cette partie de lAmérique méridionnale.

Lorsque je fus en parole a la nation chaguienne dans le cours de létée de lannée mil sept cent quatre vingt quinze, ou je vis et parlai a plusieurs chefs et considérés des nations tocaminanbiche <tocaninanbiche> et cayowas, je minformai de tous si dans les longues courses de guerres au dela des montagnes ils nauroient pas découverts quelques rivierres dont les eaux allassent au soleil couchant. Ils me dirent qu'il y avoit deux ans que les Chaguiennes et les Cayouas, leurs alliez, avoient formés un parti de guerre considerable dont le grand chef de Chaguiennes {20} étoit pa[r]tisant, lequel ma raporté lui même ce fait pour certain, qu'ayant passé au delà des montagnes ils avoi[e]nt arrivés après plusieur jours de marche sur le bord d'une rivierre large et profonde et bien fournies en bois, dont les eaux couroient <paroissoient aller> au ponant <au couchan[t]> d'hivers; que le long de cette ri[vi]erre <qu>ils avoient <suivis en descendant ils avoient> découvert sept cabannes de sauvages a eux inconnus. Les ayant attaqués et défaits, ils navoient trouvés dans leur butin aucun des <moindres> effets provenant des hommes blancs, tous leurs ustanciles etant de leur proppre invention. Leurs cabannes étoient composées de nattes de joncs et de longues pailles. Les boeufs sauvages, les cerfs, et touts autres gros animaux, desquels les sauvages ont coutume de faire leurs tentes, manquant <absolument> dans ce païs, leurs vetements et chaussures <et même les housses de leur cheveaux> sont faits de peaux de loups, de renards, de cabri, <de chevreuille, de lievre,> de loutres et de castors.

Ils ont comme tous les autres lusage de larc et de la flèche dont larmure est de pierre ou d[']os. Un petit sac rempli de maïs <de bleddInde qu'il trouverent parmi leur bagage> leur donna occasion de demander a quelques femmes prisonnieres si leur nation cultivoit cette plante. Elle répondirent que non, {21} mais que dans le bas de cette rivierre il y avoit un grand village de sauvages qui en semoient et en recueilloient une grande quantitée. Ces femmes avoient pendu au col et aux oreilles des coquillages de différentes <espece &> formes, percées et enfillés dans des petits cordons de cuir. Ils leur demanderent d'où elles tenoient ces espèces de rassades. Elles répondirent qu'a lentrée de cette rivierre parroissoit une grande etendue d'eau, où elle se déchargeoit, dont on ne voyoit point la rive de l'autre bord; que leau montoit et baissoit considérablement en certain tems du jour et de la nuit; que les sauvages qui faisoient leur résidence aux environ attachoient des gros morceaux de viandes au bout d'une longue corde qu'ils j'ettoient dans leau haute et retiroient lorsquelle perdoit; que quantitée de ces coquillages se tenoient attachés a ces morceaux de viandes, et les en ayant oté, ils les perçoient et se les pendoient au cou et aux oreilles <pour parures>.

beyond the Platte River as far as the banks of the Arkansas River, and they extend along the great mountains that separate New Mexico from this part of southern America.[28]

When I parleyed with the Cheyenne nation in the course of the summer of 1795, where I saw and spoke with several chiefs and leading men of the Tocaminanbiche <Tocaninanbiche> and Kiowa nations, I asked them all whether in the course of long war paths beyond the mountains they had not discovered any rivers whose waters went toward the setting sun. They told me that two years ago the Cheyennes and the Kiowas, their allies, had formed a considerable war party of which the head chief of the Cheyennes was the *partisan*,[29] who himself reported to me this fact as certain, that having passed beyond the mountains they had arrived after several days' journey at the bank of a wide and deep river, well-timbered, whose waters flowed <appeared to go> to the winter sunset;[30] that along this river <that they had followed down> they had discovered seven lodges of Indians unknown to them. Having attacked and defeated them, they had not found in their belongings any goods coming from white men, all their utensils being of their own making. Their lodges were made of mats of rushes and long dried straw. Since buffalo, elk, and all other large animals, from which Indians are accustomed to make their tents, are <completely> lacking in this country, their clothing and footwear <and even the blankets of their horses> are made from skins of wolves, foxes, antelope, <deer, hares,> otter, and beaver.

Like all the others, they use bows and arrows with points of stone or bone. A little bag filled with corn <that was found in their baggage> prompted them to ask of some women prisoners if their nation cultivated this plant. They answered no, but that on the lower part of this river there was a big village of Indians who planted and harvested a large quantity of it. Those women had suspended from the neck and ears shells of different <kinds and> shapes, pierced and strung on little hide cords. They asked them where they got those kinds of beads. They answered that at the mouth of this river appears a broad expanse of water, into which it discharges, where one cannot see the shore on the other side; that the water rose and fell considerably at certain times of the day and night; that the Indians who made their residence nearby attached large pieces of meat to the end of a long cord that they threw into the high water and pulled out when it lowered; that a large number of these shells remained attached to those pieces of meat, and having removed them, they pierced them and hung them from their neck and ears <as ornaments>.[31]

Voila tout ce que jai pu apprendre des sauvages touchant les païs et les nations situées au delà des grandes montagnes de roches qui sélevent du coté du nord-ouest, encore inconnue a toute la terre.

{22} SUITE DE LA DESCRIPTION DU HAUT MISSOURIS

Le Missouri, au dessus de la rivierre des Chaguiennes, détourne au nord-est l'espace de <quatre ou> cinq lieues, et de là il retourne à l'ouest jusqu'au Mandannes. Il né reçoit du cote du nord depuis la rivierre des Chaguiennes jusqu'aux nations gros ventres qu'une seule rivierre, qui sort a soixante lieues environ des habitations des Arricaras <au dessus de l'embouchure de cette riviere des Chaguienne>. A l'ouest du Missouris, on trouve <cinq riviere peu considerable. On estime> les villages mendannes éloignés de cent lieues de l'embouchure de la rivierre des Chaguiennes.

Ce peuple mendanne étoit aussi très nombreux autrefois, mais il a été plusieurs fois ravagé par les nations sauvages situés au nord du Missouris et dépeuplés par la petite vérole. Ils ne comptent que trois cents hommes capables de faire la guerre. Cette nation est divisée en trois villages, dont le plus grand est situé sur la partie occidentale du Missouris et les deux autres plus petits sont situés sur lautre rive, a l'opposîte les uns des autres, et tout {23} auprès de cette rivierre. Les Gros Ventres sont plus nombreux; ils peuvent mettre sur pied huit cent guerriers. Ils sont partagés en deux villages situés sur le bord du Missouris a la gauche en montant, <a> environ a deux lieus plus haut que les Mendannes. Ils sont tous fixés dans leurs habitations et ne sortent que par brigade, soit pour la guerre, soit pour la chasse des boeufs sauvages. Auprès des villages mendannes et gros ventres les pointes de bois sur les bords du Missouris sont beaucoup plus spacieuse et de plus grosse et haute futaye que sur le bas de cette rivierre, c'est a dire, depuis la rivierre Platte en remontant jusqua ce lieu.

Les Assiboines [*sic,* Assiniboines], nations errantes situés au nord du Missouris, chez lesquelles les marchands anglois du Canada et de la baie d'Hudson font le trafic des pelleteries, fréquentent les Mandannes et les Gros Ventres, dou il tirent des cheveaux, du maïs et du tabac en echange des fusils, chaudierre, couteaux, &c., qu'ils y apportent depuis quelques années.

{24} Les marchands anglois, qui ont des petits forts batits sur les bords dune rivierre nommée la rivierre Rouge, qui a son cours au nord et dont le haut approche le Missouris vers la partie des Mandannes, envoyent leurs engagés par terre, soit avec des cheveaux dans la saison de lautomne et du primtems, soit avec des gros chiens qui menent des trainaux minces et légers sur la neige l'hivers, y faire le trafic des robes de boeufs, des peaux de loup, de pichoux, de renards en échange de quelque peu de poudre, de couteaux, de vermillon quils

This is all I have been able to learn from the Indians pertaining to the country and the nations located beyond the great rocky mountains that extend from the northwest, still unknown to all the world.

CONTINUATION OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE UPPER MISSOURI

Above the Cheyenne River the Missouri turns to the northeast for a distance of <four or> five leagues, and from there it turns back to the west up to the Mandans. On the north side, from the Cheyenne River up to the Gros Ventre nation, it receives but one river, which enters at about sixty leagues from the settlements of the Arikaras <above the mouth of the Cheyenne River>.[32] On the west side of the Missouri are found <five small rivers>. The Mandan villages <are estimated to be> one hundred leagues distant from the mouth of the Cheyenne River.[33]

The Mandan people also used to be very numerous, but they were ravaged several times by Indian nations living north of the Missouri and depopulated by smallpox. They comprise only three hundred men capable of making war. This nation is divided into three villages, the largest of which is located on the west side of the Missouri and the two other smaller ones are located on the opposite bank, across from one other, and quite near the river. The Gros Ventres[34] are more numerous; they can deploy eight hundred warriors. They are divided into two villages located on the bank of the Missouri on the left going upstream, about two leagues higher than the Mandans.[35] They are all sedentary in their settlements and leave only in brigades, either for war or for the buffalo hunt. Near the Mandan and Gros Ventre villages the wooded points on the banks of the Missouri are much wider, and with larger and taller trees, than those on the lower part of this river, that is to say, from the Platte River coming upstream to this place.

The Assiniboines, nomadic nations located north of the Missouri, among whom English merchants from Canada and Hudson Bay conduct trade in peltries, visit the Mandans and Gros Ventres, from whom they get horses, corn, and tobacco in exchange for the fusils, kettles, knives, etc., that they have brought there for some years.

The English merchants, who have small forts[36] built on the banks of a river named the Red River, which flows to the north and whose upper course approaches the Missouri near the region of the Mandans, send their *engagés* overland—with horses in the autumn and spring, or with large dogs that drag light, slender sleds over the snow in winter—to trade buffalo robes and skins of wolf, bobcat, and fox in exchange for small quantities of gunpowder, knives, or vermillion that they give in return. The journey from the Missouri to that

leurs donnent en payement. Ce trajet de chemin du Missouris a cette rivierre est estimé par des voyageurs qui y ont passés plusieurs fois a cent de nos lieues communes.

A cinquante <lieuës> au dessus des Gros Ventres, a l'occident du Missouris, se décharge une grande rivierre nommée la rivierre aux Roches Jaunes, <qui est> {25} aussi large et aussi profonde a peu de choses prés que le Missouris. Cette grande rivierre prend sa source dans des montagnes de roches dans la partie du ouest; ses bords sont bien fournis en bois. Il s['']y voit des pins, des sapins, des épinettes, des bouleaux, des cêdres, et de toutes autres espèces de bois. Le boeuf, la vache sauvage et autres bêtes fauves courent par troupeaux le long de ses bords. Plusieurs petites rivierres qui se jettent dedans sont abondantes en castors au dela de toute croyance. La nation du Corbeau, peuple nombreux, habitent ses bords, et plus haut en remontant vers sa source sont situés plusieurs autres nations sauvages qui nous sont encore inconnues. Les sauvages m['']ont assurés quelle étoit très profonde fort loin de son embouchure. Un Canadien voyageur nommé Ménard, qui depuis seize années fait sa résidence aux Mendannes, ou il est venu par le nord et qui a été en différentes fois chez la nation du Corbeau avec les Gros Ventres, leurs alliez, m'a assuré que cette rivierre etoit navigable avec de grandes pirogues jusqua plus de cent {26} cinquante et peut être deux cent lieues de son embouchure, sans qu'il s['']y rencontre aucune chute ny aucun rapide. Ils mettent ordinairement quinze a vingt jours dune marche lente par terre pour se rendre des Mendannes a la nation du Corbeau.

Un fort bâti a l'entré de cette rivierre seroit fort avantageux pour ouvrir un grand commerçe de pelleteries, non seulement chez les nations situées sur le bord de cette belle rivierre, mais encore avec celles qui parcourent les bords du Missouris au dessus de sa sortie, tels que sont les Chiouitounes et les nations du Serpent, dont nous n'avons que de foibles connoissances. Une grande partie de la nation assiboine qui parcourent les terres septentrionales du Missouris au dessus des Mendannes auroit bien plus prés de venir trafiquer leurs pelleteries au fort, que non pas de les porter au fort des Anglois de la rivierre Rouge.

La partie orientalle et septentrionnale du Missouris, depuis la rivierre Blanche trente cinq {27} lieues au dessus des Poncas jusqu'a cette rivierre, que jai dit se décharge <dan le Missouri> a soixante lieues au dessus de la rivierre des Chaguiennes, n'est fréquenté que par les nations siouses appellés Tithons, qui sont divisées en quatre grandes peuplades errantes. Ils traversent aussi sur la partie occidentale du Missouris pour y faire la chasse des boeufs sauvages et des castors, qui si [=s'y] trouvent ordinairement en plus grand nombre que sur lautre partie.

Ce peuple sioux a pour habitude de fréquenter les Chaguiennes, les Aricaras, et quelques fois les Mendannes pour tirer des premiers des cheveaux et

river is estimated by the voyageurs who have made it several times to be one hundred of our common leagues.

At fifty <leagues> above the Gros Ventres, to the west of the Missouri, enters a large river called the Yellowstone River, <which is> nearly as broad and deep as the Missouri. This large river takes its source in the rocky mountains to the west; its banks are well-supplied with wood. Pines, yews, spruces, birches, cedars, and many other kinds of trees are seen there. Buffalo and other wild animals rove in herds along its banks. Several little rivers that flow into it are abundant in beaver beyond all belief. The Crow nation, a numerous people, lives on its banks, and higher up toward its source are located several other Indian nations that are yet unknown to us.[37] The Indians have assured me that it is very deep quite far from its mouth. A Canadian voyageur named Ménard, who has resided for sixteen years among the Mandans, where he came from the north and who at different times was among the Crows with the Gros Ventres, their allies, assured me that this river was navigable with large pirogues more than one hundred fifty and perhaps two hundred leagues from its mouth, without encountering any falls or rapids. They ordinarily spend fifteen to twenty days on a slow trip overland by foot to go from the Mandans to the Crow nation.[38]

A fort built at the mouth of this river would be very advantageous to opening an extensive commerce in peltries, not only with the nations located on the banks of this beautiful river, but also with those who roam the banks of the Missouri above its mouth, such as the Chiouitounes and the Snake nations, of which we have only slight knowledge. A large part of the Assiniboine nation that roams the lands north of the Missouri above the Mandans would have much less distance to come to trade their peltries at this fort, rather than carrying them to the English fort on Red River.

The eastern and northern side of the Missouri, from the White River thirty-five leagues above the Poncas up to this river, which I said enters <the Missouri> at sixty leagues above the Cheyenne River, is frequented only by the Sioux nations called Tetons, who are divided into four large nomadic tribes.[39] They also cross to the west side of the Missouri to hunt buffalo and beaver, which are ordinarily found in larger number there than on the other side.

The Sioux people customarily visit the Cheyennes, the Arikaras, and sometimes the Mandans to obtain horses and clothing in their style from the first,

des habillements a leur mode, et les derniers pour en tirer du bled dInde et du tabac. Ils ne manquent jamais de leur faire de grandes promesses de vivre en union et en paix avec eux, mais des quiles [*sic,* qu'ils] ont eu ce qu'ils desiroient avoir d'eux, et qu'ils se sont retirés sur l'autre rive, ils reviennent en partie de guerre pour les tuer ou voler leurs cheveaux. Les premiers les ont toujours reçu et ont souffert leur trahison et leurs hostilités sans presque se venger pour se {28} procurer par eux quelques fusils, poudre, balles, couteaux, et autres besoins qui leur sont si necessaires, mais depuis que nous sommes parvenus chez eux ils usent de représailles contre eux a toutes les fois qu'ils leur font du mal, ce qui a fort irrité les Sioux contre nous, qui, jaloux de nous voir fournir des forces contre eux et de porter les besoins a des peuples qu'ils voudroient toujours tenir sous leur domination, sont disposés a faire tout le mal possible a tous ceux qu'ils attrapperont sur les routes portants des marchandises aux nations ulterieures.

Les nations siouses sont celles qui font <le> plus de chasses aux castors et autres bonnes pelleteries du haut Missouris. Ils parcourent toutes les rivierres et les ruisseaux sans craindre personne. Ils en enlevent tous les primtems de notre territoire une grande quantitée quils vont échanger pour des marchandises avec les autres peuplades siouses situées sur les rivierre Saint Pierre et des Moins fréquentés par {29} les marchands anglois du Canadas. Et [*sic,* Il] seroit facil détablir sur le Missouris des magasins de marchandises pour <leur fournire leur besoin et> avoir le trafic de leurs pelleteries, mais il faudroit que messieurs les marchands des Illinois améliorassent le prix de leur marchandises, car les peuples, qui connoissent le bon marché des marchandises anglaises sur le Misisipy, ne consentiront jamais a payer celles cy au prix qu'on veut leur vendre.

Les Sioux séloignent des bords du Missouris au commencement du mois davril. Ils y reviennent ordinairement dans le cours des mois de juillet et d'aoust, qu'ils parcourent des deux cotés jusqu'au primtems, qui est le seul tems ou on pourroit passer les endroits quils ont coutume de fréquenter avec quelques suretée pour parvenir chez les nations situés plus haut.

Touts les peuples sauvages dont jai fait mention dans cette description <, c'est-a-dire ceux> qui habitent la partie occidentale du Missouris, sont les plus doux et les plus humains pour nous de tous les peuples de l'univers. Ils ont un grand respect et une grande vénération pour tous les hommes blancs en general, qu'ils mettent au rang {30} de la divinité, et tous ce qui provient d[']eux est regardé par ces peuples comme des choses miraculeuses. Ils ne savent point encore faire la distinctions des differentes nations policées espagnoles, francaises, anglaises, &c., qu'ils nomment tous indiféremments hommes blancs ou esprit<s>.

Le commerce des pelleteriés [*sic*] pour des marchandises se fait chez eux très paisiblement. Celuï qui ne trouve pas assez de ce qu'on lui donne en échange de

and to obtain corn and tobacco from the latter.[40] They never fail to make great promises to live in harmony and in peace with them, but as soon as they have gotten from them what they desired, and have withdrawn to the other bank, they return in war parties to kill them or to steal their horses. The first have always received them [the Sioux] and have suffered their treachery and hostilities almost without taking revenge so that they could obtain fusils, gunpowder, balls, knives, and other objects that are so necessary to them, but since we arrived among them they have retaliated against them [the Sioux] every time they make trouble, which has very much angered the Sioux against us, who, jealous at seeing us supply forces opposed to them and bring necessities to peoples whom they would still like to keep under their domination, are prepared to do all possible harm to all those whom they catch on the routes carrying merchandise to the nations beyond.

The Sioux nations are those that hunt <the> most for beaver and other good peltries on the upper Missouri. They roam all the rivers and streams without fear of anyone. Every spring they remove from our territory a great quantity that they take to exchange for merchandise with other Sioux tribes located on the Saint Peter's and Des Moines Rivers, who are visited by the English merchants from Canada.[41] It would be easy to establish on the Missouri some trading posts in order to <furnish them with their needs and> obtain the trade of their peltries, but it would be necessary for Messieurs the merchants of the Illinois to improve the prices of their goods, for these peoples, who know the cheapness of the English merchandise on the Mississippi, will never consent to pay the prices at which they wish to sell to them.

The Sioux leave the banks of the Missouri at the beginning of April. They return there usually during July and August, roaming the two sides until spring, which is the only time one might be able to pass with some safety through the places they customarily frequent to reach the nations located higher upstream.

All the Indian peoples I have mentioned in this description<, that is to say, those> who live in the region west of the Missouri,[42] are the most gentle and humane toward us of all the peoples in the world. They have great respect and veneration for all white men in general, to whom they give the status of divinity, and everything that comes from them is regarded by these peoples as miraculous. They still do not know how to make distinctions among the different civilized nations—Spanish, French, English, etc.—whom they call indiscriminately "white men" or "spirits."[43]

The trade of peltries for merchandise takes place among them very peaceably. Anyone who does not find sufficient what is given to him in exchange for

sa pelleteries la remporte sans murmures ni ménaces. Enfin je dirai qu'ayant fréquenté moy même toutes les nations sauvages situés a l'orient et a l'occident du Mississisipy [*sic*, Mississipy], et toutes celles qui habitent le bas Missouri, je nen ai <jamais> trouvé aucunes qui approchent celle cy en douceur et en bonne façon pour nous. Ils y a autant de différence des unes aux autres que du jour a la nuit.* Il est assuré que les peuples sauvages qui n'ont point eu, ou peu eu, de fréquentation avec les nations policées sont plus doux, plus sincères, plus humanisés que ceux que nous {31} fréquentons habituellement, auxqu'els nous comuniquons nos vices et nos deffauts, au lieu que les p[r]emieres ne suivent dans leur maniere de vivre que les loix et les usages que la raison, la nature, et l'humanitée seules leurs dictent.

On jugera aisément par la description abrégée que je viens de faire du haut Missouris, dont la navigation est si facile, par le caracterre doux et simple des peuples nombreux qui habitent ce vaste païs, si abondant en castors et autres bonnes pelterie[s], que, si le commerce si [=s'y] étendoit, cette colonnie ne pourroit qu'en tirer de grands avantages. Mais l'ambition démesurée de quelques personnes du corps du commerce, qui sont venus a bout par leurs intrigues d'anéantir tous les voyageurs experts parmi les sauvages en leur fermant la porte de la répartition des postes du Missouris, qu'ils ont envahi a eux seuls pour les revendre aux pauvres misérables voyageurs, qu'une urgente nécessitée oblige de subir le joug qu'ils veulent leur imposer comme a des bêtes de charge, est un plus grand obstacle a l'étendu du commerce sur tout le haut Missouris que les difficultés et les dangers que lon s[']y représente pour les passages. Un encouragement {32} donné aux marchands voyageurs en accordant un commerce libre sans véxation de la part des equippeurs seroit le plus sur moyen pour y parvenir, car il ny a d'aut[r]es difference entre les corsaires qui courent les mers et les marchands [de] ce païs si ce n'est que les premiers senrichissent quelques fois tout dun coup par une bonne prise au peril de leur vie, et que ceux cy mettent plusieurs annés a le faire sans aucun risque en écorchant le voyageur et l'habittant.

Mais comme il seroit aussi infructueux a moi de faire une plus longue dissertation a ce sujet qu'a une tourterelle de poursuivre un aigle, et qu'on ne manqueroit pas de me traiter d'aussi extravaguant que ce roi d'Arragon, qui se ventoit davoir pu donner de bon conseils a Dieu pour le cours et simetrie des astres s'il eut daigné le consulter, je ne batterai pas plus avant sur cette corde là et je me contenterai dans mes jérémiade de repeter cette manierre de parler—je ne suis pas le seul; {33} tant il est vrai de dire que, «Consolatio miseris est socios habere pares.»

* The Nicollet version ends here.

his peltries carries them away without complaint or threat. Finally I will say that, having myself visited all the Indian nations located to the east and west of the Mississippi, and all those who live on the lower Missouri, I have <never> found any who approach these in gentleness and in good manners toward us. There is as much difference between the ones and the others as between day and night.[44] It is certain that the Indian peoples who have not had, or have scarcely had, relations with civilized nations are more gentle, more sincere, and more humane than those whom we visit habitually, to whom we communicate our vices and shortcomings, whereas the first in their manner of living follow only the laws and customs that reason, nature, and humanity alone dictate to them.

It will be easily judged by the brief description I have just made of the upper Missouri, the navigation of which is so easy, and by the gentle and simple character of the numerous peoples who live in this vast country, so abundant in beaver and other good peltries, that, if trade were expanded there, this colony could only derive great advantage from it. But the inordinate ambition of some individuals in the commercial corps, who have contrived by their intrigues to destroy all the traders skilled in dealing with Indians by closing the door to them in the allocation of posts on the Missouri—which they have taken over for themselves alone in order to sell them back to the poor, miserable traders, whom urgent necessity forces to submit to the yoke that they [the merchants] wish to inflict upon them as on beasts of burden—is a greater obstacle to the expansion of trade throughout the upper Missouri than the difficulties and dangers described here concerning the routes. An incentive given to the merchant voyageurs by granting free trade without harrassment on the part of the outfitters would be the most certain means to succeed, for there is no other difference between the corsairs who sail the seas and the merchants of this country except that the first from time to time enrich themselves all at once with a good prize at the risk of their lives, whereas the latter take several years to do so with no risk by fleecing the voyageur and the *habitant*.[45]

But since it would be as useless for me to write a longer dissertation on this subject as for a turtledove to pursue an eagle, and as I would not fail to be called as foolish as the King of Aragon, who boasted that he had been able to give good advice to God on the course and symmetry of the stars if He had deigned to consult him, I will continue no longer along these lines and will content myself in my jeremiad by repeating that, in speaking thus, I am not alone; so true is the saying "*Consolatio miseris est socios habere pares*."[46]

Les marchandises les plus estimés chez les peuples du haut Missouris sont draps de traitte rouge et bleu, ce dernier en petite quantitée; habits de draps rouge garnis de faux galons; chappeaux bordés de même et couvert de plumets rouges fait de plume de cocqs; poudre; balle en quantitée; fusils London; cornes blanches a poudre; sabres; lances en l'ame [*sic,* lame] depée; coquilles et noyaux de porcelaines ou d[']os; couvertes blanches, mais peu; pioches; haches; castêstes; vermillon; rassade bleuë; espêce de rassade bleuë, noire, blanche de la grosseur d'un oeuf de pigeon; grands couteaux; petits couteaux; miroirs a cadre et en papier; grosses indiennes; grandes aleines; fil de laiton gros et petit; bagues et jons de cuivre; peigne de buis; pierre a feux; tirre bourres; batte feux; ciseaux; &c. . . .*

Les animaux les plus communs qui ce trouvent sur le haut Missouri qui nous sont connus sont: le boeuf et la vache sauvage, en quantitée; lours blanc et rougeatre; le cerf; la biche; le chevreuil a {34} grosses cornes (ou daim); chevreuil a longues oreilles, poil noiratres; chevreuil ordinaire; cabri, espèce de chevreuil plus petit que l'ordinaire; gros loups de bois; petit loups de prairie; gros renards; petit renards, poil argenté; pichoux; tigre; châtigres; siffleurs; porte épics; chats sauvages; castors; loutres; visons; ramusqués; bettes puantes; belette; taupes; petits chiens de prairie; lievres; lapin.

Les oiseaux sont peu communs. Les plus ordinaires sont des aigles de plusieurs espèces, des corbeaux, et de toutes sortes doiseaux de proyes. On n'y voit point de dindes sauvages. Les gibiers y sont aussi rares. On en apperçoit quelques voliers qui passent bien haut dans les airs.

Le climat y est assez sain; les maladies y sont peu fréquentes. L'hivers y est extrememement froide et létée médiocrement chaude. L'eau du Missouri et des

* "Les objets de traite sont les couvertures de laine, les draps bleus, dont les hommes se font des Braguets, et les femmes des jupons, ou qu'ils emploient l'été au lieu de couvertures; le drap écarlate, dont ils ne se servent que comme parure; des chemises d'indienne, dans lesquelles le rouge foncé doit dominer, et du goût le plus bizarre à nos yeux; du vermillon, dont ils aiment tous à se peindre; des casse-têtes, qui ont remplacé le *tamahock*, arme avex laquelle ils enlèvent la chevelure à leurs ennemis, après les avoir tués, (ces casse-têtes doivent être percés, de manière que le côté opposé au tranchant puisse leur servir de pipe); des fusils ou carabines, du plomb, de la poudre à tirer, des piéges à castor, des chaudières de cuivre, des couteaux, des plumets noirs, quelques chapeaux pour les chefs, des bijous d'argent et d'étain, de petits miroirs; et enfin des rubans rouges, noirs, bleus ou blancs, que les femmes emploient presque exclusivement. Ce sont tous les objets que les Anglois envoient dans leurs entrepôts, et qu'ils vendent à haut prix aux traiteurs de la Louisiane qui vont les chercher à Michilmakina. Pour parvenir de Quebec ou Montréal à cet entrepôt, ces marchandises ont éprouvé trente-six portages, c'est-à-dire que trente-six fois elles ont été déchargées, transportées sur le dos à des distances différentes, ainsi que les canots qui les contenoient, et rechargées autant de fois avant d'arriver a leur destination" (Perrin du Lac 1805:223–24).

The goods most esteemed among the peoples of the upper Missouri are red and blue trade cloth, the latter in small quantity; garments of red cloth decorated with imitation metal braid; hats edged with the same and topped with red plumes made from rooster feathers; gunpowder; balls in quantity; London fusils;[47] white gunpowder horns; sabers; lances with points of sword blades; shells and hair pipes of shell or bone;[48] white blankets, but few; pick-axes; axes; tomahawks; vermillion; blue beads; a type of blue, black, and white bead the size of a pigeon's egg;[49] large knives; small knives; mirrors in frames and in paper; heavy calico; large awls; brass wire, large and small; ornamented and plain copper rings; boxwood combs; flints; gun worms; fire steels; scissors; &c.[50]

The most common animals found on the upper Missouri and known to us are buffalo bulls and cows, in large numbers; white and reddish bears [grizzly bears]; buck elk, elk cows; deer with large horns [bighorn sheep]; deer with long ears and blackish hair [blacktail deer]; ordinary deer [whitetail deer]; *cabri,* a type of deer smaller than the ordinary ones [antelopes]; big timber wolves; little prairie wolves [coyotes]; large foxes [red foxes]; little foxes with silvery fur [swift foxes]; bobcats; mountain lions; *châtigres;*[51] whistlers [marmots]; porcupines; raccoons; beaver; otter; minks; muskrats; skunks; weasels; moles; prairie dogs; jackrabbits; cottontail rabbits.

Birds are less common. The most usual are eagles of several kinds, crows, and all kinds of birds of prey. Wild turkeys are not seen there. Game birds are also rare. Some flocks are seen passing very high in the sky.

The climate there is quite healthy; ailments are infrequent. The winter is extremely cold and the summer moderately warm. The water of the Missouri

rivierres se gêlent jusqua deux pieds et demi et trois pieds dépaisseure. La neige y tombe quelquefois en grande quantitée et quelques fois moins. On y en voit souvent jusqua {35} quatre pieds de hauteur. Les glaces empêchent la navigation sur les rivierres depuis lami novembre jusqu'a la fin de mars.

Origine, croyance et cérémonies des sauvages
Dans le culte qu'ils rendent a la divinitée

Le[s] chronologistes Grecs et les Chaldeens auroient bien pû se dispenser d'écrire milles histoires fabuleuses qu'ils ont donnés pour veritables au sujet de l'origine des anciens peup[l]es de la terre. Lécriture nayant été inventé que depuis le siége de Troyes, il est a croire que les hommes qui peuploient la terre avant l'invention de cet art, gens grossiers et supertitieux, nétoient ni plus éclairés ni mieux instruits de leur origine que ne le sont tous les peuples sauvages de ce continent, qui ne sauroient rapporter au juste ce qui c'est passé chez-eux il y a deux cents ans. Ainsi il faut nous contenter de croire qu'ils sont desçendu comme nous du bonhomme Adam.

Quelques recherches que jaye pus faire pour savoir par les viellards les plus experts dans la chronologie de chaque nation que jai fréquenté ce qu'ils pensoient {36} de leur origine, ce qu'ils croyoient de la création du monde et du premier homme, il[s] ne m[']ont racontés que des fables absurdes et des misérables contes qui ne méritent pas dêtre recités. Tous en gé[né]rale s'accordent a dire quil y a eu un premier homme, que les uns font sortir de leau; les autres de la terre, animé par les rayons du soleil; et dautres disent qu'il a été engendré d'un oiseau et d'une citrouille. Mais aucuns ne reconnoissent une vraie création du monde entier, une production précédé du néant.

Tous les sauvages reconnoissent un Être Suprême, Principe et Maitre de tous ce qui existe, qu'ils nomment le Grand Esprit. Voici de quelle manierres ces viellards disent que la connoissance de ce Grand Esprit cest manifesté parmi eux (on se souviendra que je ne parle que des nations situées sur le haut Missouri.) Les premiers peuples sauvages, disent ils, ne reconnoissoient ni ne craignoient ce Grand Esprit. Ils ne lui faisoient aucuns sacrifices, aucunes offrandes, ni festins. Plusieurs villages de ces {37} anciens peuples, dont il paroit encore quelques traces du coté du soleil couchant, ont étés entierrement exterminés pas le tonnerre en punition de leur méchancetée et de leur manque de croyance à cet Être Suprême. Ce Grands Esprit, dans la suitte des tems, ayant sans doute eu pitié de l'ignorance des hommes, a inspiré a deux jeunes filles qui n'avoient jamais connuë d'hommes de séloigner a quelques distance de leurs habitations, ou elles si [=s'y] etoient endormis; que l'une des d[']eux s'étant éveillée n'avoit point trouvée sa compagne auprès, pour lors ayant porté la nouvelle au village de la disparition de sa camarade, tous les hommes

and of the [tributary] rivers freezes to two and a half to three feet thick. Snow falls sometimes in great quantity and sometimes less. It is often seen up to four feet in depth. Ice prevents navigation on the rivers from mid-November to the end of March.

Origin, Beliefs, and Ceremonies of the Indians in Their Worship of the Divinity

The Greek and Chaldean chroniclers might well have been able to refrain from writing the thousands of fabulous stories that they presented as true on the subject of the origin of the ancient peoples of the earth. Writing having been invented only since the siege of Troy, it is to be believed that the men who inhabited the earth before the invention of this art, coarse and superstitious people, were neither more enlightened nor better instructed concerning their origins than are all the Indian peoples of this region, who could not relate exactly what happened among them two hundred years ago. Thus it is necessary to content ourselves with the belief that they are descended like us from old man Adam.[52]

I tried in several inquiries to learn from old men who are the most versed on the history of each nation I have visited what they thought concerning their origin and what they believed about the creation of the world and of the first man; they have only told me absurd fables and worthless tales that do not merit being repeated. All in general agree in saying there was a first man, who some have coming forth from the water; others from the earth, brought to life by the rays of the sun; and still others say that he was engendered by a bird and a squash. But none recognize a true creation of the entire world, a creation that was preceded by nothing.

All Indians recognize a Supreme Being, source and master of all that exists, whom they call the Great Spirit. Here are the various ways these old men say that knowledge of the Great Spirit was made known among them (it will be remembered that I speak only of the nations located on the upper Missouri). The first Indian peoples, they say, neither recognized nor feared the Great Spirit. They made him no sacrifices, no offerings, nor feasts. Several villages of these ancient peoples, of whom there yet appear some traces toward the west, were entirely destroyed by Thunder in punishment for their wickedness and their lack of belief in the Supreme Being.[53] The Great Spirit, with the passage of time, having no doubt felt pity for the ignorance of men, inspired two young girls who had never known men to go some distance away from their dwellings, where they fell asleep; one of the two, on being wakened, did not find her companion nearby, and so having carried the news of her friend's disappearance to the village, all the men of her nation, young and old, searched in vain for her for several days.

jeunes et vieux de sa nation en avoient fait pendant plusieurs jours inutilement la recherche.

Quelques jours après, une nuée blanche venant du coté du soleil couchant sétant arretée au dessus d'une côte escarpée a quelques distances de leurs demeures, il en etoit sorti un aigle d'une grosseur prodigieuse, qui portoit sur ses ailes la jeune fille perdue et qui la déposa sur le sommet de cette coline. Étant entrée dans le village {38} parmi les cris et les acclamations de joie, de surprise, et détonnement de toute la nation, elle raconta que pendant son sommeil elle avoit été enlevée et transporté, sans s'en etre apperçue, au dessus des nuées et du ciel bleuë; que là elle s'étoit trouvée a son reveil au pied d'un homme plus gros et plus grand que la plus haute côte qui parroissoit dans leurs païs, et que toute sa suitte, qui étoient nombreuse, étoit composé d'hommes de pareille forme, blancs comme la neige; que cet homme esprit lui avoit dit, «Je suis le Grand Esprit, maitre de tous les hommes et de tout ce qui existe sur la terre. Je suis maitre du tonnerre. Je fais mourir les hommes et tous les animaux quand il me plait. Moi seul jai toujours été et ne mourrai jamais. Cest a moi seul, qui peut tout, a qui les hommes doivent hommages par des sacrifices, des offrandes, des festins, dont ils doivent m'offrir les prémices. Cependant, ils ne le font point et ne me connoissent point, il dépend de moi de les faire tous périr par le tonnerre. Mais jai pitié d[']eux et de leur misère. Tu ten retourneras a ta nation; tu lui annonceras qui je suis; {39} tu lui diras que j'exige des hommes la crainte de moi et la vénération. Les peuples qui moffriront des sacrifices de ce qu'ils auront de meilleure auront la bondance des nourritures, et je leur enseignerai le moyen de se procurer plus facilement leurs besoins. Ceux, au contraire, qui y manqueront seront exterminé par le tonnerre.»

Après le retour de cette fille, disent-ils, les peuples rendirent le culte a la divinité tel qui s'est continuë jusqu'a présent; et ce Grand Esprit instruisit les hommes, qui auparavant ne vivoient que de vipères et de reptils, qu'ils tuoient a coup de baton ou de pierre, n'ayant point l'usage de l'arcs ni de la fléche; les instruisit, dis je, de la manierre de tuer facilement les quadrupêdes, et leur fourni le premier arc et la premiere fleche pour qu'ils puissent en fabriquer de semblables sur ce model; il leur envoya par un volier de gruës blanche venantes du côté du levant la graine de blé d'Inde, de citrouille, de tabac, et leur enseigna par songe la manierre de cultiver la terre {40} et de se fabriquer les ustanciles de leur utilitée.

Ces peuples, plongés dans les ténèbres les plus épais de lignorance, sont remplis de faux préjugés et de super[s]titions ridicules que les viellards entretiennent avec grande persuasion de veritée. Dans leurs esprits il est vrai qu'ils croyent tous a un Être Suprême, mais ils font diverses applications de l'adoration et de l'hommage qui n'est du qua lui seul.

A few days later a white cloud coming from the west, having stopped above a steep hill at some distance from their dwelling-place, there emerged from it an eagle of prodigious size that carried on its wings the missing young girl and put her down on the summit of this hill. Having entered the village amid cries and acclamations of joy, surprise, and astonishment from all the nation, she recounted that during her sleep, without realizing it, she had been picked up and transported above the clouds and the blue sky; that upon awakening there she had found herself at the foot of a man larger and taller than the highest hill that appears in their country, and that all his followers, who were numerous, were men of similar form, white as snow; that this spirit man had said to her, "I am the Great Spirit, master of all men and all that exists on the earth. I am the master of Thunder. I cause men and all the animals to die when it pleases me. I alone have always been and will never die. It is to me alone, who can do all, that men must pay homage through sacrifices, offerings, and feasts, at which they must offer me the first portions. However, if they do not do so and do not recognize me, it is in my power to make them all perish by Thunder. But I pity them and their misery. You will return to your nation; you will announce to them who I am; you will tell them that I require men to fear and venerate me. The peoples who offer me sacrifices of the best of what they have will have abundant food, and I will teach them the means of providing more easily for their needs. Those, on the contrary, who fail to do so will be destroyed by Thunder."

After the girl's return, they say, the people worshipped the divinity just as they have up to the present; and the Great Spirit instructed the men, who formerly had subsisted only on snakes and reptiles, which they killed with the blow of a stick or a stone, not having use of bows and arrows; he instructed them, indeed, in the way to easily kill quadrupeds, and he furnished them with the first bow and the first arrow so that they could make ones similar to this model; by a flock of white cranes coming from the east he sent them seeds of corn, of squash, and of tobacco, and taught them through dreams how to cultivate the earth and to make useful tools.

These peoples, immersed in the deepest darkness of ignorance, are filled with false prejudices and ridiculous superstitions that the old men perpetuate with great conviction of their truth. In their minds it is true that they all believe in a Supreme Being, but they have various practices for the adoration and respect that is owed to Him alone.[54]

Toute chose qui surpasse la capacitée de leur entendement, et dont ils ne peuvent comprendre la cause, est regardé et honoré chez eux comme esprit ou divinité. Ils rendent un culte particulier par des chansons, des festins, des offrandes, des sacrifices au soleil, comme étant ce qui leur paroit de plus beau et de plus merveilleux dans la nature; a la grosse etoile du matin, pour quelle leur soit favorable quand ils attaquent leurs ennemies, qui est presque toujours a la pointe du jour; au tonnerre, par la crainte qu'ils ont de lui; a la terre, afin quelle leur donne la bondance de ses productions; {41} aux boeufs sauvages pour en avoir une grande quantitée dans leurs païs; a lours blancs, qu'ils regardent comme le maitre de tous les animaux par sa force et son courage; au cédre, etant celui de tous les arbres qui conserve seul sa verdure l'hivers comme lété; ils l'invoquent dans leurs chansons afin quils les préserve des maladies contagieuses. Toutes les étées, les Aricaras en plantent un au milieu de leurs villages devant la porte de la grande cabane des vieux avec beaucoup de cérémonies, et après en avoir rougi le pied de vermillon et attachés des plumages de différentes couleurs a la cîme de ses branches, ils lui font des offrandes et des sacrifices. Un caillou d'une grosseur extraordinaire est aussi rougi et placé au pied de ce cedre. Ils ont pour lui une grande vénération et confiance parce que, disent-ils, plusieurs grands hommes de l'antiquitée ont étés métamorphosés en cailloux.

Les hommes blanc sont mis au rang de la divinité, et tout ce qui provient d'eux jusqu'au moindres bagatelles est regardés par eux comme des choses miraculeuses: les medailles, pavillons, lettres patentes sont par dessus toutes choses respectés et craints. Ils font des festins a leur occasion ou ils leur {42} offrent les prémices du mangér et les font fumer.

Dans tous les villages sauvages du haut Missouris il y a une grande cabane qu'ils appelent la loge des vieux qui ne sert a dautres usage qu'aux festins, aux danses, et a toutes les cérémonies de leur culte superstitieux. Cest là aussi ou ils reçoivent les etrangérs et tiennent les conseils de la nation Elle est, encore, la loge de grâce; cest a dire que le plus grand ennemi qui pourroit entrer dans cette cabanne sans être auparavant arrété auroit la vie sauve.

Chacun s'empresse de porter tous les jours a cette cabanne des meilleures viandes qui se tue a la chasse des boeufs sauvages de sorte que ces viellards, qui sont des espèces de prètes [*sic*] chez eux, y font bonne chere. On leur fournit aussi le tabac qui s[']y fume, et les femmes se font un merite de leur porter les productions de leur champs, ainsi que des bois de chaufage. Lorsque quelque chasseur y apporte des charges de viande, un de ces viellards sort de cette espèce de temple et publie par toutes {43} les rue du village qu'un tel homme a jetée a la loge des vieux telle quantitée de viande bien grasse, et il ne manque pas de lui donner de grandes louanges. La même chose se pratique lorsque qu'elqu'un vient faire offrande de quelques effets a la mère. C'est ainsi qu'ils nomment un

Everything that surpasses the capacity of their understanding, and of which they cannot comprehend the cause, is regarded and respected among them as a spirit or divinity. They render a particular homage through songs, feasts, offerings, and sacrifices to the sun, which appears to them to be the most beautiful and marvelous thing in nature; to the great morning star, so it will be favorable to them when they attack their enemies, which is almost always at daybreak;[55] to Thunder, because of the fear they have of it; to the earth, so that it gives them abundance in their crops; to the buffalo in order to have a great quantity of them in their country; to grizzly bears, which they consider to be the master of all animals because of their strength and courage; to the cedar, being of all trees the only one that remains green in the winter as in the summer—they invoke it in their songs so that it will preserve them from contagious diseases. Every summer the Arikaras erect one, with many ceremonies, in the middle of their villages in front of the door of the big lodge of the old men, and after having reddened the base with vermillion and attached feathers of different colors to the top of its branches, they make offerings and sacrifices to it.[56] A boulder of extraordinary size is also reddened and placed at the base of the cedar. They have great veneration and respect for it because, they say, several great men of former times were metamorphosed into stone.[57]

White men are placed in the ranks of the divinity, and all that comes from them down to the least trifle is regarded as miraculous: medals, flags, and commissions are respected and feared above all things.[58] They make feasts for them at which they offer them the first portions of food and give them smoke.

In all the Indian villages of the upper Missouri there is a big lodge that they call the lodge of the old men that has no other use than for feasts, dances, and all the ceremonies of their superstitious worship.[59] It is also where they receive those from other nations and hold councils of the nation. It is, moreover, the lodge of sanctuary; that is to say that the greatest enemy who might enter this lodge without being seized beforehand would have his life spared.[60]

Each day everyone is eager to take to this lodge some of the best meat from the buffalo hunt so that these old men, who are a kind of priest among them, eat well. They are also furnished with the tobacco that they smoke, and the women consider it an honor to take them the produce of their fields, as well as firewood.[61] When some hunter brings loads of meat there, one of the old men leaves this kind of temple and makes it known everywhere in the streets of the village that a certain man has thrown a large quantity of very fat meat to the lodge of the old men, and he does not fail to give him high praise.[62] The same thing is done when someone comes to make an offering of some items to Mother. It is thus that they call the skull of a buffalo cow painted[63] with red

os de la tête d'une vache mataché* de terre rouge, qui est exposée au fond de la cabanne sur une eminence de terre haute de trois pieds et de quatre a cinq pieds en superficie, pour laquelle ils ont une grande vénération, ces viellards ayant eu ladresse de persuader à leur nation que cette tête fait venir la vache dans leurs païs.

Dans la saison du primtems, qu'en [*sic*, quand] le tems est venu densemencer les champs, un de ces viellards crie par tout le village et exhorte les femmes d'apporter leur semence a la loge de la mère, ainsi que leurs pioches qui sont faites de l'os d'un epaule de vache attaché après un bois croche. Les femmes au jour destiné, presentent leurs graines et leurs ustancile. Ces faux ministres déployent leus nattes, où sont remfermés de petites statuës de bois rougies, et des paux {44} doiseaux, aussi rougies. Ils chantent toute la journée, le chichicoï en main, pour obtenir, disent-ils, une grande abondance de maÿs. Les premiers bleds d'Indes, les premieres citrouilles et autres productions des champs qui sont recueullies sont apportées a cette cabanne pour être offert a la mère.

Ils ont aussi des chansons et des cérémonies particulières pour faire de la pluie dans les tems de sécheresses. Dans le cours de létée de l'année mil sept cent quatre vingt quinze que je passai au village des Arricaras, jasistai a une de ces sortes d'invocations ridicules. Tous ces vieux fous étant assemblés dans leur grande cabane, le plus expert en cette matiere se fit apporter une chaudierre pleine deau dans laquelle parroissoit une ou deux poignée dabsinthe, le bout des feuilles en haut et la racine plongée dans le vaisseau. Il chanta la journée entierre et une partie de la nuit, faisant mils gestes et contorsions a lentour de cette chaudierre. {45}** A chaque pose un des assistants montoit sur le sommet de la cabane et, le visage tourné du cote du midi, tenant sa robe etendue au bout de ses bras, qu'il fermoit et ouvroit de tems en tems pour appeller la pluÿe. Il se forma dans cet intervale une petite nuée noire du coté du midi. Il crurent tous que ses prieres alloient etre exaucées, mais il se tromperent, car il ne mouilla point ni ce jour lâ ni plusieurs autres suivant.

Ils rejetterent la cause de navoir point réusi sur la méchancetée et le manque de docilitée de la jeunesse de ce tems qui n'a, disent-ils, ni le respect ni la confiance que celle de l'antiquitée avoit pour les viellards. Ils me soliciterent et me presenterent un calumet pour que jemployassent mon savoir et ma puissance pour avoir de la pluye, me représentant que leur maÿs et leur tabac alloit perir par la sécheresse, disant qu'ils {46} n'y avoit rien dimpossible aux hommes blancs. Je renvoyai leur calumet et je refusai a leur demande, leur disant qu'il ny avoit que le Grand Esprit, maitre et autheur de toute la nature, qui avoit le pouvoir de faire tomber de la pluÿe quand il vouloit, mais il ne furent guères persuadés

* Terme usité par les Canadiens traiteurs; *Matacher* correspond à peindre ou barbouiller.

** Four lines are repeated here, a copyist's error.

earth that is displayed at the back of the lodge on an elevation of earth three feet high and four to five feet in area, for which they have a great veneration, these old men having had the cunning to persuade their nation that this skull causes buffalo to come to their country.[64]

In the spring, when the time has come to sow the fields, one of these old men calls throughout the village and exhorts the women to bring to Mother's lodge their seeds, as well as their hoes made from the shoulder bone of a buffalo attached to a piece of crooked wood.[65] On the day set the women present their seeds and their tools. These sham ministers open their sacred bundles, in which are enclosed little statues of reddened wood, and skins of birds, also reddened. They sing all day long, rattles in hand, to obtain, they say, a great abundance of corn.[66] The first corn, the first pumpkins, and other produce of the fields that are harvested are brought to this lodge to be given as an offering to Mother.

They also have songs and special ceremonies to bring rain in times of drought. In the course of the summer of 1795 that I spent in the village of the Arikaras, I was present at one of these kinds of ridiculous invocations. When all of those old fools were assembled in their big lodge, the most skilled in this matter had brought to him a kettle full of water in which appeared one or two handfuls of sage,[67] the tips of the leaves upwards and the root submerged in the vessel. He sang the entire day and a part of the night, making thousands of gestures and contortions around the kettle. At each interval one of his assistants climbed to the top of the lodge and, facing south, held his robe extended at arm's length, which he closed and opened from time to time to call the rain. During this interval, a little black cloud formed toward the south. They all believed that his prayers were going to be granted, but they were wrong, for it did not rain either that day or on several following.

They blamed their lack of success on the wickedness and lack of obedience on the part of the young people of this time who, they say, have neither the respect for, nor trust in, the old men that those of former times possessed. They entreated me and presented me a calumet so I would use my knowledge and power to bring the rain, explaining that their corn and tobacco would die from drought, saying that there was nothing impossible for the white men. I returned their calumet and refused their request, telling them that it was only the Great Spirit, master and creator of all nature, who had the power to make the rain fall when He wished, but they were hardly persuaded of this

de cette veritée, soutenant constamment qu'il y avoit eu autrefois des viellards qui avoit ce pouvoir.

Tous les ans dans le cours de la lune daousts, les Arricaras font des jeux de charlatannerie dans cette même cabane qui durent quinze jours. Tous les soirs a lentrée de la nuit, un nombre d'hommes jeunes et vieux s'y assemblent, et une foule de spectateurs se tiennent debout dans lentrée de cette grande loge (celle des Aricaras avoit cent quatre vingt pieds de circuit). C'est la que chaque hommes étale sont sçavoir faire. Ils est surprenant que des peuples qui passent pa[r]mi nous pour des gens stupides et grossiers ayent inventé de leur propre genie des jeux si subtils et des tours si adroits et si fins que lon pourroit a juste titre les comparer a ceux des plus {47} habils charlatans de l[']Europe. Jassistai tous les soirs a leurs divertisement et je fus le plus surpris du monde de leur voir jouer une si grande quantitée de jeux, tous differens, inventés avec tant de genies et de discernement. Ces jeux finissent par un combat simulé entre la jeunesse qui paroissent se percer de la lance et de la fleche et se frapper rudement a coup de massuë. Le sang paroit ruisseler de leurs blessures et sortir avec abondance de leur bouche et de leurs narines. On avoit dans ces jeux deux jeunes hommes des plus alertes a qui ils donnent le nom de petits renards, qui imitent et contrefont les gestes et les contorsions des autres a peu près comme l[']arlequin de nos commediens contrefait lacteurs.

Quoi que tous les peuples du haut Missouris ayent la même croyance au sujet de la divinitée et les mêmes supertitions et préjugés pour tout ce qu'ils regardent comme esprit, chacun cependant differe un peu dans les manieres et les cérémonies du mal entendu qu'ils rendent au matieres [*sic*, Maître] de la vie.

Les Mandannes et les Gros Ventres ont une co[n]fiance extraordinaire au peaux de vaches sauvages dont le [poil] est de couleur blanche. Ces sortes de peaux, qui sont très rares, {48} se vendent huit et dix cheveaux pieces. Ils croyent fermement que par possession de ces peaux, le boeuf et la vache sauvage seront toujours en abondance aux environs de leurs habitations.

Ces mêmes peuples font en certain tems des assemblés, de jour et de nuit, hors lenceinté [*sic*] de leur village, sous des tentes de cuire dans lesquelles ils chantent, dansent, mangent pendant plusieurs jours et plusieurs nuit. Dans ces festins, instituées pour obtenir une grande quantitée de vache sauvage, ils s[']y présentent des hommes le calumet de cérémonie en main plein de tabac, suivis de leurs femmes les plus jeunes et les plus jolies, nuës comme la main, qui font fumer a leur gré quelqu'un des assistants ou des spe[c]tateurs. La femme ensuite prent par la main ce lui qui a fumé et le conduit elle même a quelque pas de la pour y prendre avec elle les plaisirs de Cithere et de Paphos. Si celui qui a été conduit par cette femme la refuse, il cause un vrai deplaisir a son mari et a tous ceux qui composent cette assemblée. Les hommes blancs surtous qui

truth, insisting constantly that in days gone by there had been some old men who had this power.

Every year in the course of the August moon, the Arikaras perform in this same lodge feats of charlatanism that last fifteen days.[68] Every evening at dusk, a number of men, both young and old, assemble there, and a crowd of spectators stands in the entrance of this big lodge (that of the Arikaras was one hundred eighty feet in circumference.) It is there that each man displays his skills. It is surprising that peoples who seem stupid and crude to us have invented through their own talent feats[69] so subtle and tricks so ingenious and clever that one could with just claim compare them to those of the most skillful charlatans of Europe. I was present every evening at their entertainment and I was the most surprised of anyone to see them perform such a large number of feats, all different, devised with much skill and perception. These performances end with a simulated battle among the young men who appear to pierce each other with lances and arrows and to brutally hit one another with clubs. Blood appears to stream from their wounds and flow copiously from their mouths and nostrils. They have in these tricks two young men, the most agile, to whom they give the name of "little foxes," who imitate and mimic the gestures and contortions of the others almost as the harlequin among our comedians mimics the actors.[70]

Although all the peoples of the upper Missouri have the same belief about the divinity and the same superstitions and prejudices for everything they regard as a spirit, each differs a little in the customs and ceremonies relating to the mistaken way that they worship the Master of Life.

The Mandans and Gros Ventres have an extraordinary faith in buffalo hides that are white in color. These kinds of hides, which are very rare, sell for eight to ten horses apiece. They believe firmly that through possession of these hides, buffalo bulls and cows will always be abundant in the vicinity of their settlements.[71]

These same peoples assemble at certain times, in the daytime and at night, beyond the boundary of their village, under hide tents in which they sing, dance, and eat for several days and nights. To these feasts, which are held to obtain a large number of buffalo, some men come carrying in their hands the ceremonial calumet[72] full of tobacco, followed by their youngest and prettiest wives, naked as a hand,[73] who, as they wish, have some one of the participants or spectators smoke. The woman next takes the one who has smoked by the hand and herself leads him several paces from there so he can take with her the pleasures of Cythera and Paphos.[74] If the one who has been led away by this woman refuses her, it causes genuine displeasure to her husband and to all those who make up the gathering. The white men who happen to be there are particularly preferred

si [=s'y] rencontrent ont la préférence sur toutes autres nations. {49} Cette dissolution et ces obscénitées sont regardés parmi eux comme des actes de jénérositée et de religion.

Il y a des jeunes hommes parmi les nations que je viens de nommer qui pratiquent des abstinences et des austeritées incroyables si on ne lavoit vu, pour obtenir du Grand Esprit un coeur courageux* et pour qu'il les favorise de tuer qu'elqu'ennemi de leur propre main lorsqu'ils iront en guerre. Ces hommes séloignent de leurs habitations, a trois lieuës environ, nenportant avec eux ni vivres ni armes, sinon une seule armure de fléche.** Ils montent sur la plus haute côte qu'ils peuvent trouver et la il pleurent pendant quatre a cinq jours sans boire ni manger. La derniere journée il se coupent volontairement un doigt de la main, avec cette armure, en saidant de leur dents, pour en disloquer la jointure. Ils quittent ce doigt au même lieu et reviennent a leur cabane. Il y en a dautres qui se perçent avec des couteaux la chaire aux bras et aux epaule et passant dans les trous des chevilles de bois grosse comme le pouce et dun demi pied de long. Ils attachent de longues gardes [*sic,* cordes (?)] aprés lesquelles sont pendus toutes leurs armes {50} [et] quatre et [*sic,* ou] cinq tête de boeuf entieres, qu'ils trainent ainsi par cinq fois alentour du village en chantant et en pleurant de toutes leurs forces. Ils observent ces cruels austéritées pendant cinq jours consécutifs sans boire ni manger et partent ensuitte pour la guerre. Il est certain qu'il n'en a jamais fallu tant pour prouver la canonisation dun religieux dans lEurope.

Les sauvages croyent tous a limmortalitée de l[']ame et disent qu'ils vont dans un autre païs meilleure que ce monde yci, ou chaque peuple a ses villages habités par leurs ancêtres et ou il ne manque rien des choses nécessaires a la vie. Les hommes braves et, surtout, l'ame de ceux qui sont tués en se battant contre les ennemis de la patrie y sont beaucoup mieux reçuës et plus considérés que celles de ceux qui sont morts de maladiës.

Les Aricaras, les Mandannes [et] les Gros Ventres pleurent très peu [pour] les morts. Les femmes se coupent seulement le bout des cheveux, et les hommes parents du mort ne dansent ni ne se mattachent qu'ils ne soyent relevés de leur deuil, ce qui ne se fait ordinairement {51} que quand eux mêmes ou quelqu'un de la nation apporte des chevelures de leurs ennemis. Jusqua ce tems ils se barbouillent le visage et tout le corps de terre blanche déliée [=délagée] avec de leau.

Les Sioux et les Chaguiennes*** sont inconsolables lorsqu'il meurt quelqun de leurs enfants ou de leurs plus proches parent. Ils pleurent soir et matin a

* "Expression littéralement Indienne" (Perrin du Lac 1805:273n.).

** "Pierre dure et tranchante qu'ils introduisent dans le bois de la flèche, à six doigts environ de son extrémité" (Perrin du Lac 1805:273n.).

*** "Les Sioux, les Tocaninambiches et les Chaguyennes" (Perrin du Lac 1805:275).

over all other nations. This licentiousness and lewdness are regarded among them as acts of generosity and religion.[75]

There are some young men among the nations I have just named who practice fasts and mortifications that are beyond belief if one has not seen them, to obtain from the Great Spirit a courageous heart[76] and so that he will aid them in killing an enemy with their own hands when they go to war. These men go away from their settlements, about three leagues, carrying with them no food or weapons, except for a single arrowhead.[77] They climb the highest hill they can find and there they wail for four to five days without drinking or eating. The last day they voluntarily cut off a finger from one hand, using the arrowhead, assisted by their teeth, to dislocate the joint. They leave the finger at the same place and return to their lodge. There are others who pierce with knives the flesh of their arms and shoulders, passing through the holes large wooden pins an inch thick and a half-foot long. They attach long cords from which are hung all their weapons and four or five whole buffalo heads, which they drag thus five times around the village, singing and wailing with all their might. They observe these cruel hardships for five consecutive days without drinking or eating and then depart for war.[78] It is certain that so much was never necessary to give proof for the canonization of a religious in Europe.

All Indians believe in the immortality of the soul and say that they go to another country better than this world, where each people has its villages inhabited by their ancestors and where nothing necessary to life is lacking. The brave men, and, above all, the souls of those who were killed fighting the enemies of their country are much better received and more respected than those who die from illnesses.[79]

The Arikaras, Mandans, and Gros Ventres weep very little for the dead. The women cut only the ends of their hair, and the male relatives of the dead neither dance nor paint themselves until they have completed their mourning, which does not happen ordinarily until they themselves or someone of the nation brings some scalps of their enemies. Until this time they smear their face and all their body with white earth thinned with water.[80]

The Sioux and Cheyennes[81] are inconsolable when one of their children or one of their nearest relatives dies. They wail night and day around the lodges

lentour des cabannes ou sur quelques hauteurs pendant un tems considerable. Les femmes se rasent, pour ainsi dire, les cheveux; se dépouillent de leur vétement pour se revêtir des vieux haillons; donnent et distribuënt tout ce quelles possedent, jusqua leur loge même, a toutes les personnes non parentes qui viennent pleurer par condöléance auprès du corps de la personnes morte. Les hommes et les femmes se font des cicatrices avec des couteaux ou des armures de flêches aux bras, aux jambes et au corps même; et, tout ensanglantés, le corps frotté de terre, ne portant qu'une méchante couverture sur les épaules, ils marchent pieds nuds dans la saison même de l'hivers tout le tems de leur deuil. Les pères surtout sont inconsolables de la mort de leurs enfants. Jai connu un viellard Sioux, dont le fils avoit été tué par les Osages, qui tous les mois pendant une année entierre {52} se coupoit un morçeau de chaque oreille de sorte qu'au bout de l'an il ne lui resta plus que le trou.

Des qu'une personne est morte, ils lui frottent le visage et le corps de terre rouge et lenveloppent dans une peau de vache ou de cerf passée, et ayant creusé un trou en terre sur laquelle [*sic*, lequel] ils amassent un tas de bois en forme de tombe, ils mettent dans les fosses des hommes leurs armes et quelques marchandises, et dans celles des femmes les ustanciles le [*sic*, de] leur usage; non pas qu'il croyent, comme l'ont écrit quelques religieux dans leurs relations des meurs des sauvages, que les âmes des fusils, des arcs, des flêches, des chaudieres, &c. sen vont avec eux pour leur servir dans lautre monde, [mais] parce que ces sortes de choses ayant appartenus a la personne morte, et peut-être beaucoup estimées delle, ils veulent quelles pourissent avec son corps. Je me suis informé a plusieurs anciens sauvages qu'elle étoit leur croyance et leur intention en mettant des marchandises et des armes dans les fosses d'un mort, et pourquoi quelqu'un d'entr[']eux portoit des plats remplis de mangér sur leur tombes. Ils se sont tous accordés a me répondre que cetoit {53} une coutume pratiquée de tout tems par leurs ancêtres pour faire honneur, sans doute, au corps de leurs parents ou de leurs enfant morts, et qu'ils savoient très bien qu'ils nemportoient pas avec eux ces sortes deffets puisqu'ils avoient experimentés nombre de fois en fouillant les sépulchres de leurs ennemis que le butin qui avoit été déposé pourrissoit avec les corps; que quand aux offrandes du mangers qu'ils portoient sur les tombes des morts, cetoit pour faire festin aux vivant en mémoire des morts.

Moeurs des sauvages du haut Missouris

Tous ces peuples sauvages ne connoissent point de subordination ni de distinction entr[']eux. Ils vivent dans une espèce dégalitée comforme aux sentimens de la nature. Ils n'ont ni loix, ni juges, ni prêtres, et ne s'embarassent point de cette multitude de loix ni de cette foule de juges, davocats et de notaires qui, quoi que sagement etablis pour le maintien et le bon ordre de nos sociétées, en

or on high hills for a considerable time. The women shave, so to speak, their hair; cast aside their garments to dress in old rags; give away and distribute all that they possess, including their very lodge, to all non-relatives who come to wail in sympathy near the body of the dead person. Men and women make incisions with knives or arrowheads in their arms and legs and even their body; and, bleeding all over, their body rubbed with dirt, wearing only a shabby covering over the shoulders, they walk barefoot even in the winter during the entire period of their mourning. Fathers especially are inconsolable at the death of their children. I met an old Sioux man whose son had been killed by Osages, who every month for an entire year cut off a piece of each ear so that at the end of the year he was left with only the holes.[82]

As soon as a person is dead they rub the face and body with red earth and wrap it in a dressed buffalo or elk hide, and having dug a hole in the ground over which they amass a pile of wood in the form of a tomb,[83] they put in the men's graves their weapons and some merchandise, and in those of the women the tools they used; not that they believe, as some religious have written in their relations of Indian customs,[84] that the souls of the guns, bows, arrows, kettles, etc., go with them to serve them in the other world, but because these sorts of things had belonged to the deceased, and perhaps had been highly prized, they wish them to rot with the body. I asked several old Indians what their belief and intention were in putting merchandise and weapons in the graves of the dead, and why some among them brought dishes filled with food to their tombs. They all agreed, in answering me, that this was a custom always practiced by their ancestors in order, no doubt, to honor the bodies of their relatives or their dead children, and that they knew very well that they [the dead] did not take these kinds of goods with them because they have experienced numerous times in searching the tombs of their enemies that the goods that had been deposited were rotting with the body; that as for offerings of food that they placed on the tombs of the dead, this was to make a feast for the living in memory of the dead.[85]

Customs of the Indians of the Upper Missouri

None of these Indian peoples are acquainted with subordination or distinctions among themselves. They live in a kind of equality conforming to the sentiments of nature.[86] They have neither laws, nor judges, nor priests, and are not burdened by that multitude of laws, nor that crowd of judges, lawyers, and notaries, who, although wisely established for the maintenance and good order

sont très souvent les tirants [=tyrans] par le mauvais usage qu'ils font des loix dont ils sont les dépositaires. Car ne seroit-il pas permis de dire avec véritée, et néprouve-t-on pas touts les jours, que ces loix, si necessaires et si équitables dans leurs institutions, {54} ressemblent en certaines circonstance a ces toiles daraignés qui arrêtent le moucheron et que les taons brisent?

Les sauvages se font un mérite de s'assister les uns les autres des nouritures et des ustanciles de leur usage. Ils se font continuellement des présents, soit des cheveaux, soit de[s] marchandises, de sorte que l'on diroit que ce qui est à l'un est à l'autre. Ils s'empressent de se secourir dans la nécessité. Ils n'ont aucun interest pour amasser des richesses; et bien eloignés des sentiments des nations policées, chez lesquelles l'homme n'est homme, n'at d'honneur et de considération qu'autant qu'il est riche, il faut, pour être homme et considéré chez eux être brave, courageux, liberal et de bons conseils. Comme ils ne sont point intéressées, ils n'ont aucunes querelles, aucuns procès occasionnés soit par le vol, soit par la calomnie ou la fourberie. Si quelqu'un est reconnu pour tel, on se contente de lui dire qu'il n'a point desprit, ou qu'il a un mauvais coeur,* et le plus souvent pour le vol ils disent que la personne qui a volé étoit sans doute dans le besoin. S'il survient quelque {55} dispute entre quelqu'uns d'entre-eux, n'importe a quel occasion, ils sont tous juges et médiateurs, donnant toujours le droit et le tort a qui il appartient, sans plus de partialitée pour l'un que pour l'autre. Si celui qui a veritablement tort sobstine méchamment a vouloir continuer son injustice, ils lui jettent tous la pierre et le contraignent a force de raisons evidentes ou de reproche a se rendre a la raison.

Les sauvages nont ni passé ni avenir; ils ne pensent que pour le présent, vivent sans souci, ne faisant que boire, manger, dormir, danser, jouer tous le tems qu'ils sont a leur villages. Ils ne mangent que du bouilli. Ils ne mangent ni sel ni épiceries parce qu'il n'en on point. Ils nont point d'heures réglés pour leur repas; ils mangent quand ils ont faim et le font ordinairement en bonne compagnie en des festins de ça de là. Autant sont-ils capables de jeuner fort longtems sans perdre leurs forces, autant mangent-ils avec excès sans en être incommodés. C'est une grossierretée chez eux de refuser a manger lorsqu'il en est offert, et on entre point dans aucune cabane qu'il ne vous soit presenté a manger. Il faut pour leur plaire, {56} quoi que l'on n'en ait aucun besoin, manger quelques bouchées et leur rendre le plat. Si on est appelé en festin, ce qui arrive plus de dix fois par jours, ce seroit leur causer un vrai déplaisir de refuser d'y aller a toutes les fois, mais on est libre de ne manger qu'autant que l'on veut, et la façon est demporter ce qui a été présenté a sa demeure ou de le donner a qui

* "Ce sont leurs expressions littérales; ils les emploient envers tous ceux qui ont des torts avec eux" (Perrin du Lac 1805:278n.).

of our societies, are very often tyrants through the misuse of the laws of which they are the trustees. For could it not be truly said, and is it not known from everyday experience, that these laws, so necessary and so equitable in their establishment, resemble in certain circumstances those spider webs that stop gnats but that horseflies break?

Indians consider it an honor to assist one another with food and the tools they use. They continually make presents, be it of horses or merchandise, in such a way that it could be said that what belongs to one belongs to the other. They hasten to help each other in case of need. They have no interest in amassing riches; and far from the sentiments of civilized nations, among which a man is honored and respected to the extent that he is rich, it is necessary to be brave, courageous, generous, and of good counsel in order to be a man and respected among them. As they are not self-seeking they have no quarrels, no legal proceedings brought on either because of theft or slander or deceit. If someone is recognized as responsible for such behavior, he is simply told that he has no sense, or that he has a bad heart,[87] and most often in reference to theft they say that the person who stole was no doubt in need. If a dispute develops among several of them, no matter what the reason, they are all judges and mediators, determining who is right and who is wrong, without more partiality for the one than for the other. If the one who has truly done wrong spitefully persists in wanting to continue his unjust actions, they all accuse him, and constrain him by the force of common sense or by reproach to listen to reason.

Indians have neither past nor future; they think only of the present and live without care, doing nothing but drink, eat, sleep, dance, and play all the time when they are in their villages. They eat only boiled meat. They do not eat salt or spices because they have none. They do not have regular hours for their meals; they eat when they are hungry and do so ordinarily in congenial company at feasts here and there.[88] They are just as capable of fasting for a very long time without losing their strength as they are of eating to excess without being uncomfortable. It is an insult among them to refuse to eat when food is offered, and you do not enter any lodge without something being offered to you to eat. To please them, although one may have no need of it, one must eat a few mouthfuls and return the dish to them. If one is invited to a feast, which happens more than ten times a day, it would cause them true displeasure to refuse to go every time, but one is free to eat only as much as one wishes, and the custom is to carry back to one's dwelling-place what was presented or to

bon semble, car c'est encore une impolitesse de leur rendre votre reste, ainsi qu'ils mangent leurs meilleurs vivres ensemble, et en festin.

De même, ils fument leurs tabac toujours en bonne compagnie. Celui qui fait fumer dans une assemblée, après qu'il a rempli le calumet de son tabac, le donnera a un considéré du cercle pour l'alumer. Un jeune homme de la compagnie s'empressera, sans être commandé, de porter un charbon de feu a celui cy pour l'allumer. Alors il se lêve et va faire fumer le premier celui qui a rempli le calumet, qui tire trois fois seulement la fumée du tabac, et étant retourné a sa place, il le pousse a son voisin; ainsi de l'un a l'autre le calumet fait la ronde, observant tres exactement de le faire passer a la gauche, tel disent-ils, {57} que le soleil tourne, car cet encore une faute contre le cérémonial que de donner a la droite, contre la marche du soleil. Celui qui a alumé le calumet doit vuider les cendes du tabac qui reste au font et ensuite le rendre a celui a qui il appartient.

La plus grande passion des sauvages est la haine implacable qu'ils portent a leurs ennemis et le désir de la vangeance. Ils se piquent aussi de beaucoup de valeur, mais a cela près ils sont de la dernierre indolence sur toutes choses. On peut dire qu'ils sabandonnent tout a fait a leur temperament et que leur société est toute machinable [*sic,* machinale]. Ils ont naturellement du penchant pour la gravitée, ce qui les rend fort circonspect dans leur paroles et dans leurs actions. Leurs réponses sont concises et presque monosillabiques. Si on leur parle sur quelque sujet, que se puisse être, on leur entendra dire : «Voila qui est bien », «cela ne vaut rien», «cela est amirable», «cela est raisonnable», «cela est de valeur», et sans s'expliquer plus clairement, ils écouteront jusqu'à la fin avec une grande attention. Cependant, il faut {58} remarquer que, lorsqu'ils sont en conseil, ils raisonnent très bien quand il s'agit des intérests de leur nation, qu'ils connoissent parfaitement bien; et quoiqu'ils naient pas détude, suivant les pures lumieres de la nature ils sont capables de fournir a des conversations fort longues sur toutes sortes de matierres.

On ne peut disconvenir qu'il y en a parmi eux qui ont beaucoup desprit et de jugement dans les choses de leur usage et qui sont a la portée de leur entendement. Dailleurs, ils sont incrédules et obstinés au dernier point, et incapabes de distinguer une supposition chimerique d'un principe assuré, ni une conséquence bien tirée d'une fause.

Les Sauvages on la mémoire la plus heureuse. Ils se ressouviennent de si loin que jai vu des hommes fort agés raconter fidèlement articles par articles les présents qu'ils avoient fait aux etrangérs depuis leur plus bas age, sans qu'il leur echapat la moindre bagatelle. Ils honorent la viellesse. Ils ecoutent les viellards comme des oracles, et ont un grand soin de leur personne.

L'occupation des viellards qui ne sont plus capables daller ni a la guerre ni a la chasse est {59} d'haranguer et de donner des avis et des instructions a la

give it to whomever seems appropriate, for it is also an insult to return your leftovers to them, as they eat their best food together and at feasts.

Likewise they always smoke their tobacco in good company. The one who has them smoke at a gathering, after he has filled the calumet with his tobacco, will give it to a leading man in the circle to light. A young man of the company will hurry, without being asked, to carry a burning coal to the latter to light it. Then he stands up and goes to have the one who filled the calumet smoke first, who takes only three whiffs of the tobacco smoke; and having returned to his place, he passes it to his neighbor; thus from one to the other the calumet goes around, making very certain to pass it to the left, as they say, in the manner the sun moves, for it is also a ceremonial mistake to pass it to the right, contrary to the movement of the sun. The one who lighted the calumet must empty the tobacco ashes that remain at the bottom and then return it to whomever it belongs.[89]

The greatest passion of Indians is the implacable hatred they bear toward their enemies and the desire for revenge. They also pride themselves much on courage, but except for that they are in every other regard indolent toward everything. It might be said that they abandon themselves entirely to their own temperament and that their society is entirely mechanical. They have a natural inclination toward gravity that renders them very circumspect in their speech and actions. Their answers are concise and almost monosyllabic. If one speaks to them on a subject, whatever it may be, one will hear them say: "That is fine," "that is good for nothing," "that is admirable," "that is reasonable," "that is worth considering," and without explaining more explicitly, they listen until the end with close attention. However, it should be noted that when they are in council they reason very well when it is a question of the interests of their nation, with which they are perfectly familiar; and although they have no formal education, by following the pure enlightenment of nature they are capable of carrying on very long conversations on all kinds of matters.[90]

One cannot deny that there are some among them who have much sense and judgment on things to which they are accustomed and that are within reach of their understanding. Otherwise, they are unbelieving and obstinate to the last degree, and incapable of distinguishing a fanciful assumption from a sure principle, or a well-drawn conclusion from a false one.[91]

Indians have a very accurate memory. They remember so far back that I have seen very old men recount faithfully item by item the presents that they have made to those of other nations since their earliest years, without the least trifle escaping them. They honor the elderly. They listen to the old men as to oracles, and take great care of them.[92]

The occupation of the old men who are no longer capable of going to war or on the hunt is to harangue and give advice and instruction to the youths useful

jeunesse utils au bon ordre et au maintien de leur république. Assis sur le sommet de leur cabane, on les entend tous le long du jour prêcher la jeunesse, donner des louanges a ceux qui se comportent selon les maximes et les usages les plus conformes a la raison et au code naturel, pratiquées, disent-ils, par leur ancêtres qu'ils donnent pour exemple dans tous leurs discours. Ils blament ouvertement la conduite de ceux qui s'en écartent. Ils encouragent les femmes au travail et les hommes a la chasse, leur recommande sans cesse d'avoir le coeur bon pour leur semblables, de vivre ensemble sans querelle ni disputes. Ils leur repetent continuellement que le Grand Esprit ou Maitre de la vie aime un homme qui a des sentiments raisonnables; qui est libéral, pacifique, généreux envers sa nation, courageux contre les ennemis; qui respecte les viellards; qui n'est point avare de ses meilleures vivres, les faisant manger en commun; qui fait souvent des offrandes de viande de vaches bien grasses à la divinitée. Ils condamnent ceux qui s'éduisent et débauchent les femmes mariées, disant que cest la plus forte cause des désordres qui arrivent {60} parmi tous les peuples sauvages. Ils conseillent les jeunes hommes de se marier jeunes afin, disent ils, quétant fixés a leur femme, ils laissent les femmes mariées tranquiles. Mais de tous les préceptes moraux que donnent ces vieux orateurs, c'est le dernier qui est le moins suivis.

Je ne finirois jamais si je voulois rapporter tous les discours que tiennent ces viellards, mais jen'ai [*sic*, j'en ai] assés dis pour faire connaitre a ceux qui croyent que les sauvages sont tout a fait stupides, grossiers, rustiques, incapables de penser et de réfléchir a quoi que ce soit, se trompent grossierement.

Jai lû dans ma jeunesse des relations des moeurs et des manieres des sauvages ecrites par des religieux qui, quoi que les autheurs passassent pour des saints, etoient pleines d'absurdités et de contradictions. Si je n'avois pas entendu la langue des sauvages et étudié moi même dans le cours de mes voyages les moeurs de plusieurs peuples différ[ents]* jaurois pu croire ce qu'on a écrit a leur sujet, mais depuis que jai raisonné avec eux je me suis entièrement désabusé, et jai reconnu que les Jésuites {61} et les Récoléts, qui ont étés les plus fameux autheurs de ces histoires qui se contredisoient partout, avoient des raisons particulièrres pour parler ainsi, car on sçait très bien que ces illustres personnages, ainsi que bien d'autres frocads, soit en Canada soit ailleurs, s'accordoient aussi peu que les Jansénistes et les Molinistes.

Quoi que les sauvages n'ayent aucune connoissance de la géographie non plus que des autres sciences, ils font des descriptions sur des peaux en parchemin les plus correctes du monde des pays qu'ils connoissent, auxquelles il ne manque que les latitudes. Ils y marquent le vrai nord selon létoile polaire, les rivierres

* Edge of folio torn.

to good order and the maintenance of their republic. Seated on the roof of their lodge, they are heard all day long preaching to the youths, giving praise to those who behave according to the maxims and customs most conforming to reason and to the natural code, as practiced, they say, by their ancestors whom they give as examples in all their speeches. They openly condemn the conduct of those who deviate from them. They encourage women to work and men to hunt, recommend to them unceasingly to have compassion for their fellows, and to live together without quarrels or disputes. They repeat to them continually that the Great Spirit or Master of Life loves a man who has proper sentiments; who is generous, gentle, unselfish toward his nation, and courageous against his enemies; who respects the old men; who is not sparing of his best foods, making them available to eat in common; who frequently makes offerings of very fat buffalo meat to the divinity. They condemn those who seduce and corrupt married women, saying that it is the greatest cause of disturbances among all Indian peoples. They advise the young men to marry young so that, they say, by being attached to their wives, they will leave married women alone. But of all the moral principles given by these old orators, it is the last that is least often followed.

I would never finish if I wanted to report all the speeches that these old men deliver, but I have said enough about it to make known to those who think Indians are entirely stupid, crude, rustic, incapable of thinking and of reflecting on whatever it might be, that they are grossly mistaken.

I read in my youth accounts of the customs and manners of the Indians written by religious, and although the authors were looked upon as saints, they were full of absurdities and contradictions. If I had not understood the language of the Indians and myself studied in the course of my travels the customs of several different peoples, I would have believed what they wrote on this subject, but since I had discussions with them I was entirely disabused, and I recognized that the Jesuits and the Recollects, who were the most famous authors of these histories that contradicted themselves throughout, had special reasons for speaking thus, for it is very well known that these illustrious characters, as well as other monks, whether in Canada or elsewhere, agreed among themselves as little as the Jansenists and the Molinists.

Although Indians have no more knowledge of geography than of the other sciences, they make on parchment skins the most accurate representations in the world of the country that they know, on which only the latitudes are lacking.[93] They mark on them true North according to the Polestar, rivers and their

avec les détours, les cotes, les lacs, les marais, les montagnes, les bois, les prairies, les chemins, &c.–en comptant les distances par journée, demi-journée, de marche. Ils divisent l'année en quatre saison, qui ont chacune leurs noms, comme chez nous. Ils n'ont point l'usage des heurs ni des semaines, n'ayant jamais eu l'industrie de faire des horloges ou des sabliers pour diviser le jour naturel en parties egales par le moyen de ces petites machines, de sorte quils réglent le jour de même que la nuit par quart et {62} motie [=moitié]: soleil levant, soleil couchant, aurore, et vêpres.*

Or comme ils ont une idée merveilleuse de tout ce qui est a la portée de leur esprit, ayant acquis la connoissance de certaines choses par une longue experience et par habitude, comme de traverser des forets, des prairies de plus de cent lieues sans s'égarer; de suivre les pistes dun homme ou dune bête sur lherbe et sur les feuilles des journées entierres sans prendre le change, ils connoissent exactement l'heure du jour et de la nuit quoi que le temps soit couvert, le soleil et les autres a[s]tres ne paroissant pas. Jattribue ce talent a une extrême attention, qui ne peut etre naturel qua des gens aussi peu distraits qu'ils le sont. . . .

Quoi que j'aye dis que les sauvages vivoient sans loix et sans subordination, je n'ay pas prétendus dire qu'ils navoient aucuns reglement, aucunes polices, aucunes coutûmes établies chez eux pour le bien et la conservation de leur république, mais seulement qu'ils nétoient point {63} assujetis a aucun despôtes ni gouvernement abssolu. Chaque nation a ses chefs et ses considérés qui, joints aux viellards, composent le conseil ou il délibèrent et déterminent ce qu'il est appropos de faire ou de ne pas faire pour le bien publique. La déliberation finie, un orateur harangue par tout le village ce qui a été résolu dans l'assemblée; tout le monde s'y comforme et y donne un parfait acquiescement.

Lorsqu'un village entier marche pour faire la chasse des boeufs sauvages, le conseil nomme une certaine quantitée de jeunes hommes des plus braves de la nation pour soldats; et après que les chefs et les viellards ont réglé la distance des campements dans la route, bornés le terrain ou on doit chasser chaque jour, et qu'un harangueur a recommandé a tous les chasseurs de ne passer outre les bornes préscrites, si quelqu'un plus ambitieux veut changer seul de route pour prendre le devant ou pousser sa chasse plus loin que les bornes prescrites, et qu'ils soient surpris par les soldats, ceux cy, après l'avoir battu de baguettes ou de massue, coupent ses vêtements, cassent ses armes, taïllent sa loge en piéce, {64} tuent ses chevaux et ses chien, seroit-il le plus grand chef ou le plus brave de la nation. Ces réglements de chasses sont ainsi faits pour empêcher ceux

* "Ils comptent les mois par les lunes; mais je n'ai jamais pu découvrir comment ils faisoient coïncider l'année lunaire avec l'année solaire: mes questions sur cet article étoient audessus de leur portée" (Perrin du Lac 1805:281).

bends, hills, lakes, marshes, mountains, woods, prairies, trails, etc., counting distances by the day or half-day of travel by foot. They divide the year into four seasons, each of which has a name, as among us. They do not reckon hours or weeks, never having had the cleverness to make clocks or hourglasses to divide the natural day into equal parts by means of these little mechanisms, so that they divide the day as well as the night into quarters and halves: sunrise, sunset, dawn, and evening.[94]

Since they have a marvelous understanding of all that is within the scope of their minds, having acquired the knowledge of certain things by long experience and practice, such as how to pass through forests and prairies of more than a hundred leagues without getting lost, to follow the tracks of a man or an animal on the grass and on leaves for entire days without taking the wrong course, they know exactly the time of day and night even in cloudy weather when the sun and other heavenly bodies do not appear. I attribute this talent to very careful observation, which can only be natural for people as little distracted as they are.

Although I said that Indians lived without laws and without subordination, I did not intend to say that they had no rules, no police, or no established customs among them for the good and the preservation of their republic, but only that they were not subjected to any despots or absolute government. Each nation has its chiefs and its leading men, who, together with the old men, comprise the council in which they deliberate and determine what is appropriate to do or not to do for the public good. Once the deliberation has ended, a crier announces throughout the village what has been determined in the assembly; everyone obeys it and gives it perfect compliance.

When an entire village travels to hunt buffalo, the council names a certain number of the bravest young men of the nation as soldiers; and after the chiefs and old men have set the distance of the encampments along the way, limiting the area where they can hunt each day, and a crier has ordered all the hunters not to pass beyond the prescribed boundaries, if someone more ambitious wishes on his own to change the course by going on ahead or pursuing the hunt farther than the prescribed boundaries, and if he is surprised by the soldiers, the latter, after having beaten him with sticks or clubs, cut up his clothes, break his weapons, break his lodge to pieces, and kill his horses and dogs, even if he is the greatest chief or the bravest man of the nation.[95] These rules of the hunt are made to prevent those among them who have better legs or swifter horses

d'entre eux qui auroient meilleures jambes ou des chevaux plus alertes que les autres de prendre le devant; qui chasseroient les animaux bien loin, et profiteroient seuls du peu qu'ils auroient tués, et par la le reste de [la] nation seroit exposé a jeuner. Au lieu que chassant et faisant les cernes de boeufs et de vache tous ensemble, il ne se peut autrement qu'ils n'en tuent une grande quantitée, et pour lors tout le monde en attrape sa part.*

Jai dis aussi qu'il n'y avoit point de distinction parmi-eux. J'entends de parler de ces distinctions frivoles que le hasard a mis parmi ceux de notre espèce, tel que l'extraction, les titres, les honneurs, les richesses, qui occasionnent la plus part de celles [les personnes] que la fortune en a revêtu de mepriser quelquefois un homme de mérite, quoi que pauvre, et de rougir de se trouver dans certaines occasions en concurrence {65} avec lui. Ces persones là ne devroient pas ignorer que la fortune distribue les richesses, le hazard la naissance, et la nature l'esprit et le merîte, sans se consulter lune et lautre dans leur distribution.

Les sauvages sçavent distinguer et considérer un homme qui a fait paroitre sa valeur et sa capacitée a la guerre, sa libéralitée envers les etrangers toutes les fois qu'il en a passés chez eux; qui a prouvé nombre de fois son désinteressement et sa bienveillance par des largesses et des dons faits aux gens de sa nation; un homme qui, dans les conseils ainsi que dans toutes autres affaires où il s'agit des interests de la nation, a montré un bon jugement, de la modération dans ses paroles, et de la droiture dans ses conseils. Un tel homme, bien qu'il ne soit pas d'extraction chef, est élevé par un consentement unanime de la nation au rang de chef. Il a la préséance dans toutes les assemblées et festins du village. Sa parole est écouté et son sentiment suivi préférablement même a celui de ceux qui comptent une longue suite d'ancêtres toujours chefs, s'ils n'ont pas les mêmes qualitées que lui. Cette prééminence ne luy donne cependant {66} point aucune authoritée absolue sur ses gens, ni aucun privilège plus qu'a toute autre dans leurs usages et manieres; et bien loin de s'enorgueillir de ses talents et de vouloir se distinguer des autres par des mépris, sa cabane est toujours remplie de personnes qui fument, boivent et mangent tant qu'il a de quoï. Et s'il a quelqu'ambition, ce n'est que celle de ne point se laisser surpasser par d'autres en libéralitée pour les étrangers et en bienveillance pour ses gens. Sil reçoit quelques présents, soit des sauvages étrangérs, tel que dans les visites qu'il fera a ses alliez en cérémonie de calumet,** soit des

* "Chaque village a un grand chef et autant de considérés qu'il compte de braves ou d'hommes de bon conseil: quoique les uns ni les autres n'aient pas un pouvoir réel et direct, c'est cependant à eux que l'on s'adresse dans tout ce qui a rapport à l'intérêt général" (Perrin du Lac 1805:283).

** Tuyau de pipe garni de porc-épic et de plumes d'oiseaux, long de deux pieds et demi ou trois pieds.

than the others from taking the lead; they would chase the animals very far away, and would alone profit from the few they would kill, and because of this the rest of the nation would risk starvation. Instead, by hunting and surrounding the buffalo bulls and cows all together, it is impossible for them not to kill a large number, and thus everyone gets his share.[96]

I also said that there were no distinctions among them. I mean to speak of those frivolous distinctions that chance has established among members of our kind, such as descent, titles, honors, and riches, that sometimes cause most of those whom fortune has thus honored to scorn a man who has merit, but is poor, and to be ashamed to find themselves on certain occasions in competition with him. Those individuals ought not to ignore the fact that fortune distributes riches, chance determines birth, and nature determines sense and merit, without consulting one another in their distribution.

Indians know how to honor and respect a man who has shown his worth and ability in war, and his generosity toward other nations whenever he has gone among them; who has proved a good many times his impartiality and benevolence by his generosity and the gifts made to people of his nation; a man who in council, as in all other affairs pertaining to the interests of his nation, has shown good judgment, moderation in his words, and uprightness in counsel. Such a man, even though he is not chief by descent, is elevated by unanimous consent of the nation to the rank of chief. He has precedence in all the assemblies and feasts of the village. His word is heard and his views followed in preference even to those who count a long line of ancestors who were always chiefs, if they do not have the same qualities as he. This preeminence does not give him, however, any absolute authority over his people, nor any greater privilege than any other in their customs and manners; and very far from taking pride in his talents and wishing to distinguish himself from others by scorning them, his lodge is always filled with people who smoke, drink, and eat as much as he has on hand. And if he has any ambition, it is only that he will not let himself be surpassed by others in generosity to other nations and in benevolence toward his people. If he receives presents, either from Indians of other nations, such as on visits he makes to his allies for a calumet ceremony, or from white men if they

hommes blancs s'il en arrive chez lui, il les partagent aux siens sans en rien reserver pour luy.

Un homme de cette sorte est capable de faire et faire faire tout le bien ou tout le mal quil voudra par sa nation. Il est en renommée même chez les peuples voisins, et comme parmi tous les peuples de lunivers il y a des bons et des méchants, il est aimé des premiers et craints des derniers. Si quelques uns de sa nation, par caprice ou par quelqu'ancienne {67} inimitiée, vont troubler l'accord avec leurs alliez en leur volant des chevaux, et que ceux là, plutot que duser de réprésailles, les viennent le demander, ce grand chef, si c'est quelques braves et considérés qui aient commis cette action et qu'ils soient a ménager, vient luy même a leur cabane les faire fumer, et les priera avec douceur de lui remettre les chevaux volés pour les rendre a leur maitre. Il ne sera certainement jamais refusé de ces sortes de gens. Si c'est quelques jeunes coquins qui est [*sic,* aient] fait ce vol, il envoira quelqu'un des siens demander les cheveaux, et sils les refusent, il yra [=ira] lui même les prendre sans que personne ose se rebeller contre lui. On voit nombre d'hommes parmi les sauvavages [*sic*] tels que celui que je viens de dépeindre. Je pourrois enciter plusieurs, mais cela seroit fort inutile.

Chez tous les peuples sauvages du Missouris, un homme chef qui a atteint un certain âge, n'ayant plus la force ni la vigueur d'aller ni a la chasse ni a la guerre, cêde sa place a son fils ainé et se range a la classe des viellards considérés. Celui ci, sous la direction de son père, qui lui donne des instructions et des conseils, sefforce de suivre ses trâces. {68} Sil n'a point les talents ni les qualités requises pour se faire aimer et respecter de ses gens, ou qu'il ait un mauvais coeurs, il est peu écouté et peu considéré. On dira simplement de lui son père, son ayeul, &c., etoient de grands chefs, mais lui c'est un digne de pitié, il n'est bon a rien, ou il a un mauvais coeur, et il sera confondu dans la foule du commun. Ainsi, foin par tout païs d'un homme qui est sorti de la cote de Trajan sil ne luy ressemble. Les sentiments et les idées de ces peuples rustiques saccordent très bien avec ces paroles du célébre Boileau quand il dit en quelqu'endroit de ces satires:

«Dites nous grand héros, esprit rare et sublime,
«Entre tant danimaux, qui sont ceux qu'on estime?
«On fait cas d'un coursier qui, fier et plein de coeur,
«Fait paroitre en courant sa bouillante vigeur,
«Qui jamais ne se lasse, et qui dans la carriere
«S'est couvert mil fois d'une noble poussiere.
«Mais la postéritée d'Alfane et de Bayards,
«Quand ce nest qu'une rosse, et vendue au hasard
«Sans respect des ayeux dont elle est descendue
«Et va porter la malle ou tirer la charrue.

come to his village, he divides these among his people, reserving nothing for himself.

A man of this kind is able to do and cause to be done all the good or all the bad that he wishes for his nation. He is renowned even among neighboring peoples, and since among all the peoples of the world there are those who are good and evil, he is loved by the first and feared by the latter. If certain members of his nation, through whim or from some old enmities, break the peace with their allies by stealing horses from them, and the latter [the allies], rather than retaliate, come to demand them [the horses], this head chief, if some braves and respected men have committed the deed and should be dealt with tactfully, goes himself to their lodges, has them smoke, and gently begs them to give him the stolen horses so that he can return them to their owners. Unquestionably, he will never be refused by these sorts of men. If it is some young rascals who committed the theft, he will send one of his people to ask for the horses, and if they refuse them, he will go himself to take them without anyone daring to oppose him. A good many men are seen among the Indians such as the one I have just portrayed. I could name several, but that would be quite pointless.

Among all the Indian peoples of the Missouri a man who is a chief and who has become elderly, no longer having the strength or vitality to go on the hunt or to war, surrenders his place to his oldest son and joins the class of respected old men. The former, under the direction of his father, who gives him instruction and advice, endeavors to follow in his footsteps. If he does not have the abilities or the qualities required to earn the love and respect of his people, or if he has a bad heart, he is scarcely listened to and respected little. It will simply be said of him that his father, his grandfather, etc., were great chiefs, but he is to be pitied, he is good for nothing, or he has a bad heart, and he will be merged into the common crowd. So it goes in every country, a man who is born from the rib of Trajan is damned if he does not resemble him.[97] The sentiments and ideas of these rustic peoples agree very well with the words of the celebrated Boileau when he says somewhere in his satires:

Tell us, great hero, spirit rare and sublime,
Among so many animals, which are those that are esteemed?
Much esteemed is a war horse that, proud and full of courage,
Shows its fiery vigor in running,
Which never tires, and which in the course of its career
Was covered a thousand times with noble dust.
But the descendant of Alfane and Bayard,
When it is only a nag, is sold at random
Without consideration of the ancestors from which it is descended
And is used as a pack horse or to pull the plow.

«Pourquoi voulez vous donne[r] {69} que par un sot abus
«Chacun respecte en vous un honneur qui n'est plus.»
[. . .]

{UNNUMBERED F.} SUITE DU PREMIER CAHIER

{1} Habit, logement, compléxion et tempérament des sauvages du haut Missouris

Tous les hommes jeunes et vieux des peuples qui habitent le haut Missouris sont également nuds comme la main dans la saison d'étée. Les uns et les autres portent négligemment sur leurs épaules une couverture de peau de biche ou de vache passée très legerre. Les jeunes hommes les ont garnies de porte épics ou mattachées de diverses couleurs. La nuditée parmi les hommes ne choque nullement la bienséance ni l'honnetetée chez-eux, n'ayant jamais attaché aucunes idées deshonnêtes a cet état; ainsi les personnes de différents sexes, etant habituées dès l'enfance a cet usage, n'y font aucune attention.

L'hyvers ils se couvrent d'une grosse robe de boeuf qui leur sert d'habit et de lit. Ils portent aussi des espèce de chemises faites des peaux de cabrÿ, molles comme du linge et garnies de porte epics. Ils se servent aussi d'espèce de haut de chausse que les voyageurs nomment grandes mitasses,* qui attachent dans leurs souliers et remontent jusqu'a là ceinture, leur couvrant ainsi le derrière et le devant en forme de culotte, pour se parer du froid pendant l'hyvers et des moucherons durant l'étée, soit qu'ils soient à la guerre ou à la chasse.

Ils n'ont aucunes modes favorites pour l'arrangement de leur tête, portant les cheveux plus ou moins longs, épars, et mal en ordre. {2} Les jours de divertissements et de danses, les jeunes gens se couvrent la tête de toutes sortes de plumages et se barbouillent le visage et le corps de rouge, de noir, et de blanc. Ils ont tous les oreilles taillées des bàs àge et garnies de petits rouleaux de fil de laiton.** Les nations mendannes, gros ventres, halitannes et corbeaux, nont point les oreilles coupées. Ils portent tous des coliers de ce même fil du plus gros qu'ils puissent trouver, ainsi que des brasselets du même au poignet et au dessus du coude.

Les femmes sont couvertes depuis le cou jusqu'aux talons d'une espèce de robe attachée sur les épaules et cousue jusqu'au bas, faites de peau de cabri tres molle avec des franges du même, ornées de porte épics ou de rassade bleue et

* "Espèce de pantalons divisés en deux parties, qui les couvrent depuis les pieds jusqu'au dessus des hanches; ils ne s'en servent qu'en hiver ou les jours de fte" (Perrin du Lac 1805:327n.).

** "leur parens ont soin d'y introduire des morceaux de bois arrondis ou des rouleaux de fil de laiton, dont la grosseur augmente à proportion que l'enfant croît en âge" (Perrin du Lac 1805:337).

Why, then, do you insist that because of a foolish injustice
Everyone respect in you a distinction that no longer exists?[98]
[. . .][99]

Clothing, Lodges, Complexion, and Temperament of the Indians of the Upper Missouri

All the men, young and old, of the peoples who inhabit the upper Missouri are equally naked as a hand in the summer. Both casually wear over their shoulders a covering of dressed elk cow or buffalo cow hide, very light in weight. The young men have them decorated with porcupine quills or painted in various colors.[100] Nudity among the men by no means offends propriety or modesty among them, they never having attached any ideas of indecency to this state, so individuals of different sexes, being accustomed from infancy to this behavior, pay no attention to it.[101]

In the winter they cover themselves with a heavy buffalo robe that serves them as clothing and as bedding. They also wear a kind of shirt made from antelope skins, soft as linen and decorated with porcupine quills. They also wear a kind of long leggings that the voyageurs call *grandes mitasses*,[102] which attach to their moccasins and reach the waist, thus covering the rear and the front like breeches to guard against cold in winter and biting insects in summer, whether they go to war or on the hunt.[103]

They have no favorite styles for the arrangement of their hair, wearing it more or less long, disheveled, and disorderly. On days of entertainment and dances, young men cover their heads with all sorts of feathers and smear their faces and bodies with red, black, and white. They all have incisions made in their ears at an early age, which are decorated with little coils of brass wire.[104] The Mandan, Gros Ventre, Halitanne, and Crow nations do not have the ears cut. They all wear necklaces of the same wire, as large as they can obtain, as well as bracelets of the same at the wrist and above the elbow.

The women are covered from neck to heels with a kind of dress fastened at the shoulders and sewn down to the bottom, made of very soft antelope skin with fringes of the same, decorated with porcupine quills or blue beads and

de quantitée de petits grelots de cuivre.* Elles portent toujours sur leurs épaules lorsqu'elles sortent de leur cabane une couverture de peau tres legere l'etée, et une grosse robe de boeuf l'hyvers. Elles ont aussi les oreilles taillée, a la manière des hommes, et y pendent egalement des rouleaux de fil d'archale ou des rassades bleüës, qui sont leur bijouteries favorites. Les filles et les jeunes femmes nattent leurs cheveux de chaque coté de la tête et les roulent ensuitte autour d'un peloton de cuire gros comme le poing, un peu en long, attaché derriere l'oreille, et couvrent cette pelotte de cuire d'une bande d'étoffe ou de cuir garnie de rasade bleue. D'ailleurs, elles se barbouillent toutes la face de vermillon, a la manierre des hommes.

Les Sioux, les Chaguiennes, les Tocaninanbiches sont beaucoup plus propres dans leurs habillement rustiques et dans leurs logements que les Aricaras, qui sont les plus sales et les plus malpropres sauvages a tous égards que j'aye vus.

{3} Touts les peuples sauvages qui errent sans cesse a la recherche des boeufs sauvages pour vivre, ainsi que ceux qui, quoi que sedentaires, vont en certaines saisons de l'année faire la chasse des boeufs sauvages au loin de leurs habitations, se servent pour logement de tentes ou loges de peaux de vache passées, cousues ensemble au nombre de dix a douse pour les plus petites et de seise a dix huit pour les plus grandes. Ces peaux sont taillées et cousues de façon que lorsqu'elles sont tendues sur de longues perchent qu'ils trainent toujours avec eux pour cette fin, elles sont de forme ronde par le bas et s'étraississant par le haut en forme de pointe; elles ont la figure de la couverture d'un clocher. Le feu est au milieu. Il tient ordinairement deux ménage dans les tentes. Ils se servent de gros chiens qui trainent dans la marche les perches qui servent a tendre ces loges, et les loges mêmes, et autres ustanciles et meubles de leur usage.**

Les cabanes des villages fixées sont aussi de forme ronde au rès de chaussée, et le sommet de ces cabanes a la figure d'un dôme. Elles ont jusqu'a cent quatre vingt et deux cent pieds de circuit, et vingt cinq a trente pieds de hauteur. Il y en a de plus petites, selon la quantitée de monde qu'elles doivent loger. Après qu'ils ont choisis la place de leur cabane, ils tracent sur la terre la grandeur quelle doit avoire. Ils plantent ensuitte de dix pieds en dix pieds des poteaux en terre de huit a dix pouces de grosseur et de six pieds de longueure. Ils posent

* "Elles les garnissent de franges, ou les bordent de porc-épic ou de *rassade* (petits grains de verre ou de faïence percés). Les plus jeunes y attachent un grand nombre de coquillages ou de grelots" (Perrin du Lac 1805:338).

** "Le lieu du campement déterminé, une demi-heure est plus que suffisante pour l'établissement d'un village, quelque étendu qu'il soit. Les peuples sédentaires emploient, pour la plupart, des tentes de la même forme lorsqu'ils vont en partis de chasse. Bien différens de ceux du bas Missouri ou du Mississipi, qui se construisent à chaque campement une cabane d'écorce, qu'ils se contentent d'abriter avec quelques peaux d'ours du côté d'où viennent ordinairement les orages" (Perrin du Lac 1805:341).

many little copper bells.[105] When they leave their lodges they always wear over their shoulders a very light covering of hide in summer, and a large buffalo robe in winter. They also have incisions in their ears as the men do, and they, too, hang from them coils of brass wire or blue beads, which are their favorite jewelery. The girls and young women braid their hair on each side of the head and then roll it around a ball of hide as big as a fist and a bit longer, attached behind the ear, and they cover this hide ball with a band of cloth or of hide decorated with blue beads. In addition they all smear their faces with vermillion, as the men do.

The Sioux, Cheyennes, and Tocaninanbiches are much cleaner in their native clothing and in their lodgings than the Arikaras, who are the dirtiest and most slovenly Indians in all respects that I have seen.

All the Indian peoples who wander unceasingly in search of buffalo in order to live, as well as those who, although sedentary, go in certain seasons of the year to hunt buffalo far from their villages, use for shelter tents or lodges of dressed buffalo hides, sewn together to the number of ten to twelve for the smallest and sixteen to eighteen for the largest. These hides are cut and sewn in such a way that when they are stretched over the long poles that they always drag with them for this purpose, they form a circle at the bottom and narrow to a point at the top; they have the form of a steeple roof. The fire is in the middle. Ordinarily two households live in these tents. While traveling, they use large dogs to drag the poles that are used to set up these lodges, the lodges themselves, and other utensils and furnishings that they use.[106]

The lodges of the permanent villages are also round in shape at the bottom, and the top of these lodges has the shape of a dome. They are up to one hundred eighty to two hundred feet in circumference and twenty-five to thirty feet in height. There are also some smaller ones, according to the number of people that they need to house.[107] After they have chosen the place for their lodge, they trace on the ground the size it should be. Next, they place in the ground at ten foot intervals posts eight to ten inches in diameter and six feet in length.

sur ces poteaux des traverses de sept a huit pouces de diamettre; ils rangent debout le long de ces traverses des bois de la hauteur des poteaux bien serrés les uns contre les autres; ils garnissent tout le tour de petits saules et de longues pailles, et par dessus cette paille ils mettent deux pieds de terre d'épaisseure bien foulée jusqu'a la hauteur du quarrée de la cabane.

{4} Ils creusent un trou en terre au milieu de la place de la cabanne pour y faire le feu. Ils plantent quatre gros piliers de douse a quatorse pouces dépaisseur et de quinse a vingt pieds de hauteur distants de dix pieds les uns des autres, de chaque coté de la place du feu, et qui en sont éloignés de quatre a cinq pieds. Ils posent quatre travers de même grosseure sur ces poteaux. Ils arrangent ensuitte de longues perches grosses comme le bras qui, prenant sur les traverses d'en bas, portent sur celles d'en haut, les faisant dépasser de cinq a six pieds au moins plus haut, se touchant toutes par le petit bout, et ayant soin de laisser un trou de forme ronde au sommet de la cabane pour donner passage a la fumée. Ils couvrent ensuitte ces perches de petits saules et de pailles et jettent par dessus six pouces d'épaisseure de terre foulée. Ces cabanes sont chaude l'hyvers et fraiches l'étée. Toutes les nations du haut Missouri se servent de pots de terre qu'ils fabriquent eux mêmes au lieu de chaudierre, n'en ayant encore étés portés ches-eux que tres peu.* Des pierres aigües leur servent de hache et de couteaux. Ils se servent des cornes de vache fort pointu, qu'ils redressent après les avoir fait bouillir dans leau, pour coin a fendre des bois; et pour masse a cogner des cailloux gros comme la tête, un peu ovale, amanché avec un cercle de cuir de boeuf cousu a un manche de bois long de deux pieds et demy.

Pour faire du feu ils prennent deux petits bâtons, l'un de bois moû et lautre d'un bois dur. En frottant tres longtems entre les deux paumes des mains le plus dur sur le plus foible, il se fait un trou dans le plus moù, doù il font tomber une farine qui se convertit en feu.**

{5} Leurs plats et leurs cuilleres sont faits de bois, et plus communément pour les cuilleres, elles sont de corne de vache. Leurs pioches sont faites du paleron des épaules de vache attaché après un bois croche. Leurs sceaux sont des ventres de boeuf coupés par morceaux et passés par plis dans deux baguettes. Les vessies des animaux leur servent de vaisseaux pour loger les graisses, et d'ailleurs ils font des sacs avec les peaux des boeufs qu'ils tuent, qui en contiennent une grande quantitée. Le poil de ces animaux, ou plûtot la laine, leur sert a faire des cordes pour attacher leurs chevaux; les nerfs, de fil a coudre; l'os de la jambe d'une vache ou d'une biche leur fait un outil qui, étant afilé par un bout en taillant de

* "Les nations du haut Missouri n'ont encore reçu des Blancs ni armes, ni vêtemens, ni chaudières, ni instrumens de culture, ni outils d'aucune espèce" (Perrin du Lac 1805:341).

** "qui s'embrase avec plus de facilité que notre amadou; et dans les temps les plus humides, une minute suffit pour se procurer du feu" (Perrin du Lac 1805:342).

They place on these posts cross-pieces from seven to eight inches in diameter; along these cross-pieces they set upright poles the same height as the posts, put close together one against the other; they line it all around with small willows and long dried grass, and over the grass they place earth two feet thick, firmly packed, up to the height of the roof of the lodge.

They dig a hole in the ground in the middle of the floor of the lodge to make the fire there. They place four large posts, from twelve to fourteen inches in diameter and from fifteen to twenty feet in height, ten feet apart from one another on each side of the fireplace, so they are four to five feet away from it. They place four beams of the same diameter on these posts. They next arrange some long poles as big around as an arm that, resting on the crossbeams below, are supported on those above, making them higher by five to six feet at least, all meeting at the small ends, and taking care to leave a round hole at the top of the lodge to allow for the passage of smoke. Next they cover the poles with little willows and dried grass and throw over this a six-inch layer of packed earth. These lodges are warm in the winter and cool in the summer.[108] All the nations of the upper Missouri use earthen pots that they make themselves in place of kettles, only a very few having yet been taken among them.[109] They use sharp stones as axes and knives. They use sharply pointed buffalo horns, which they straighten after having boiled them in water, as wedges to split wood; and for sledge hammers they use stones as large as one's head, slightly oval in shape, bound with a circle of buffalo hide sewn to a wooden handle two-and-a-half feet long.

To make fire they take two little sticks, one of a soft wood and the other of a hard wood. By rubbing the harder between the palms of the hands for a long time on the softer, it makes a hole in the softer one, into which fine particles of wood fall, which catch fire.[110]

Their dishes and spoons are made of wood, but more commonly the spoons are of buffalo horn. Their hoes are made of a buffalo shoulder blade attached to a crotched piece of wood. Their buckets are buffalo stomachs cut into pieces and folded over two sticks. The bladders of the animals serve as vessels in which to store grease, and also they make sacks of the hides of buffalo they kill, which hold large quantities. The hair of these animals, or rather the wool, is used to make ropes to fasten their horses; the sinews, sewing thread; the leg bone of a buffalo or elk serves as a tool for them that, being sharpened along one end into

ciseaux, leur sert a gratter les peaux vertes. Les femmes font aussi des paniers de petits saules enpaillés d'écorce, pour charrier le maÿs, &c.*

Ils font aussi des canots, ou plûtot des boucauts, de peaux de boeufs pour traverser les rivierres. Enfin la plus forte partie de leur meubles et ustanciles, leurs tentes ou loges, leurs vêtements, lits et nourritures provient des boeufs sauvages.

Si ces peuples qui sont dans l'abondance de ces espèces de quadrupèdes, qu'ils tuent facilement avec leurs flèches sans se servir d'armes a feu, pouvoient se procurer par eux mêmes le fers, qui est le seul métail qui leur soit nécesaire, ils se passeroient facilement de nous, {6} car si les armes a feu et la poudre qu'ils tirent de nous leur sont d'un si grand secours, ce nest que parce qu'ils leur servent a se deffendre des nations qui en sont munis, qui leur donne un grand avantage sur celles qui n'en ont point.

Leurs armes favorites sont l'arc, la flèche, la lance, la massue faite d'un bois dure.** Ils ont encore une sorte d'arme qui est un petit cailloux bien rond, de la grosseur d'une pelotte de jeux de paumes, enfermé et cousu dans un morceau de cuir colé, pour ainsi dire, dessus. Un cordon d'un pied et demi de long, aussi de cuir, est cousu a cette pelotte et attaché a un petit manche d'un bois pliant de la longueure d'un manche de fouet ordinaire. Ils tiennent cet arme a la main attaché par un cordon au poignet lorsqu'ils combattent, principalement a cheval, et en frappent rudement l'ennemi en passant contre luy a toute course; ou si, quand ils auroient vuidé leurs carquois de flèche, l'ennemi s'avisoit de foncer sur eux, les croyant sans armes, celui cy, qui semble être un fouet dans leur main, leur est d'un grand secours pour se deffendre et tromper l'ennemi.***

Les sauvages sont généralement droits, bien faits, et de belle taille. Les Sioux des prairies sont plus grands, plus vaillants, plus alertes, et aussi beaucoup plus rusés et plus fourbes que les autres peuples de cette rivierre. {13} Les Chaguiennes sont braves, mais bons et francs envers leurs alliés. Ils ressemblent aux Sioux de taille et de visage. Les Panis Aricaras**** sont les plus laids, les plus mal faits et

* "Leurs plats sont en bois, et les paniers que les femmes emploient á transporter le maïs, sont d'écorce ou de branches de jeunes saules, agréablement travaillés" (Perrin du Lac 1803:342).

** "Ils lancent les flèches avec tant de force, qu'à une assez grande distance ils traversent un boeuf sauvage, quoique garanti par une peaux épaisse et un poil extrêmement fourré. L'armure de leur flèches est une petite pierre tranchante comme un couteau, leur carquois une peau de jeune chevreuil ou de loutre, la corde de leur arc un nerf de boeuf préparé avec soin. Une autre arme dont ils se servent avec beaucoup de dextérité, est celle qu'ils appellent *wakaton* . . ." (Perrin du Lac 1805:343–44).

*** "mais toutes sont bien inférieures à celles à feu, qui donnent aux nations qui en sont fournies un avantage tel, qu'au premier coup de mousquet, leurs ennemis lâchent le pied, sans essayer même de faire résistance" (Perrin du Lac 1805:344).

**** "Les Panis et les Ricaras." (Perrin du Lac 1805:344).

a chisel blade, is used to scrape the fresh hides. The women also make baskets of little willows, covered with strips of bark, for carrying corn, etc.[111]

They also make canoes, or rather bullboats, of buffalo hides to cross rivers.[112] Finally, the greatest part of their furnishings and utensils, their tents or lodges, their clothing, beds, and food come from the buffalo.

If these peoples, who live in the midst of an abundance of these kinds of quadrupeds, which they kill easily with their arrows without using firearms, had been able to procure iron by themselves, which is the only metal that is needed by them, they could easily do without us, for although the firearms and gunpowder that they get from us are of such great help to them, this is only because they use them to defend themselves against the nations that are supplied with them, which gives them a great advantage over those that do not have any.

Their favorite weapons are the bow, arrow, lance, and club made from a hard wood.[113] They also have a kind of weapon that is a very round little rock, the size of a tennis ball, enclosed and sewn in a piece of hide that is glued, so to speak, on top. A cord one and a half feet long, also of hide, is sewn to this ball and attached to a small handle of flexible wood the length of an ordinary whip handle. They hold this weapon in their hand, attached by a cord to the wrist, when they fight, especially on horseback, hitting the enemy hard while riding at him at full speed; or if, when they have emptied their quivers of arrows, the enemy decides to charge them, thinking them unarmed, this one [the club], which looks like a whip in their hand, is a great help to them in defending themselves and outwitting the enemy.[114]

Indians are generally upright, well built, and of good height. The Sioux of the prairies are taller, more courageous, more alert, and also much more wily and more deceitful than the other peoples of this river. The Cheyennes are brave, but good and honest toward their allies. They resemble the Sioux in size and in countenance. The Arikaras[115] are the most unattractive, the poorest formed,

les plus remuants, après les Sioux, de tous les autres peuples du haut Missouris. Les Mendannes et les Gros Ventres sont assez bien faits et de haute taille. On y voit des femmes qui sont assez blanche et qui ont les cheveux tirant sur le blond. Ils sont doux et pacifiques, n'aimant point la guerre; aussi toutes les autres nations les traitent de poltrons.*

Les sauvages sont tous sanguins et de couleur presque olivâtre. Leur visage sont beau en général. Il est tres rare d'en voire de boiteux, de borgnes, de bossus, d'aveugles et de muets. Ils ont les yeux gros et noirs, de même que les cheveux; les dents blanches comme de l'hyvoire. L'air qui sort de leur bouche est aussi pure que celle qu'ils respirent, quoiqu'ils ne mangent jamais de pain, ce qui prouve que l'on se trompe chez les nations policées qui croyent que manger la viande sans pain rend l'haleine forte.**

Ils ne sont point si forts que la plûpart des hommes blancs pour porter des fardeaux ou pour lever des charges pesantes a la force des bras et se les charger sur le dos, mais en récompense ils sont infatiguables, endurcis au mal, bravant le froid et le chaud sans en être incommodé, étant toujours en éxercices, courant de çà de là {14} soit a la chasse ou a la guerre, toujours dansant et jouant a de certains jeux où les jambes sont assez nécessaires.***

Les femmes sont de la taille qui passent la médiocre. Elles ont, généralement parlant, le visage assez bien fait, mais si mal faites et si grasses qu'elles ne sont guéres tentatives.****

* "ils ont cependant prouvé quelquefois que s'ils n'aimoient pas à attaquer, ils savoient assez bien se défendre" (Perrin du Lac 1805:345).

** "Quelques écrivains ont prétendu que la nature leur avoit refusé cette marque de virilité, qui caractérise extérieurement l'homme de tous les pays; mais c'est une erreur grossière. Je ne saurois affirmer que les Sauvages aient autant de barbe que les peuples d'Europe, parce qu'ils l'arrachent dès qu'elle se laisse appercevoir; mais j'en ai vu moi-même qui ayant négligé cette pratique, l'avoient longue et assez épaisse. Ils s'épilent le corps avec le même soin, pour ne pas ressembler, disent-ils, aux animaux dont leur forêts sont peuplées" (Perrin du Lac 1805:345).

*** "Assez ordinairement, à quinze ans, les jeunes gens commencent à aller en chasse et en guerre; jusqu'à cet âge ils ne s'éloignent que très-peu du village autour duquel ils tuent des oiseaux avec la flèche, dont ils se servent avec une étonnante dextérité. Quelques-uns y sont tellement exercés qu'ils manquent rarement les oiseaux au vol ou les quadrupèdes à la course" (Perrin du Lac 1805:289–90).

**** "Les Sauvages sont grands, lestes, adroits et bons marcheurs; rarement en voit-on de contrefaits dans l'un et l'autre sexe. Les hommes ont la tête alongée, les yeux vifs, le nez aquilin et l'ensemble de la figure assez agréable; mais les femmes sont presque toutes laides et vieilles de bonne heure. Cette différence provient sans doute des fatigues qu'elles éprouvent dans l'usage ordinaire de la vie, où comme je l'ai dit, elles ont des peines continuelles. Il est aisé de deviner que l'adresse et l'agilité des hommes sont dues à la grande nécessité où ils sont de s'exercer dès leur bas-âge, soit pour se procurer leur nourriture, soit pour chercher ou éviter leurs ennemis" (Perrin du Lac 1805:290–91).

and the most turbulent after the Sioux of all the other peoples of the upper Missouri. The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are quite well built and of tall stature. Some women are seen among them who are rather white and whose hair tends toward blond.[116] They are gentle and peaceful and do not like war; therefore all the other nations call them cowards.[117]

All the Indians are ruddy, and almost olive in color. Their faces are generally handsome. It is very rare to see any who are lame, one-eyed, hunchbacked, blind, or mute. Their eyes are big, and black, as is their hair; their teeth are as white as ivory. The air that comes out of their mouths is as pure as that they breathe, although they never eat bread, which proves that we of the civilized nations are mistaken in believing that eating meat without bread causes bad breath.[118]

They are not as strong as most white men for carrying burdens or for raising heavy loads with the strength of their arms and heaving them onto their backs, but to make up for it they are indefatigable, inured to hardship, braving cold or heat without discomfort, always exercising, running to and fro on the hunt or to war, always dancing and playing certain games for which legs are quite necessary.

The women are of greater than medium height. They have, generally speaking, pretty enough faces, but they are so badly built and so fat that they are not very tempting.[119]

Les sauvages sont fort sains et éxempts de quantitée de maladies dont nous sommes attaqués, comme de paralisie, d'hydropisie, de goutte, d'éthisie, d'asme, de gravelle, de pierre, &c. Ils vivent fort vieux.

Cependant ils s'en trouvent qui ne poussent pas si loin leur carrière par leur propre faute, car ils se pendent ou se poignardent eux mêmes communement, surtout parmi les Sioux.* Il semble qu'ils suivent assez bien en cette occasion les maximes de Zenon et des Stoïciens, qui soutiennent qu'il est permis de se donner la mort, doù je conclus qu'ils sont aussi fous que ces grands philosophes.

{9} Amours et mariages des sauvages du haut Missouri

Il y auroit milles choses curieuses a dire au sujet des amourettes et du mariage des sauvages, mais comme je crains d'être trop long, et que l'on pourroit se rebuter d'un détail trop particularisé, je me contenterai d'en rapporter l'essentiel.**

Un jeune homme qui désire se marier a une fille de quelque famille de chefs ou considerés dans la nation informe son père, ou sa mere, ou quelqu'un de ses plus proche parents de son dessein. Pour lors un viellard est deputé de la part de la famille, qui entre de nuit dans la cabanne du père de cette fille désirée et luy dit, «Je viens te demander ta fille en mariage pour tel jeune homme.» Celui cy luy répondra qu'il faut qu'il consulte auparavant ses parents, principalement les freres et oncles, si elle en a, et luy dit de revenir une autre fois chercher la réponse.

Le lendemain le pere de cette fille fait venir dans sa cabane les freres et les oncles paternels et maternels de sa fille. Il leur communique la demande qui luy a été faite de leur niéce ou soeur pour etre marié a tel jeune homme. Ceux la se consulteront entre eux si le parti est avantageux ou non. Ils examineront si ce jeune homme a des parents chefs et riches en chevaux, et si luy même a des talents pour la guerre et pour la chasse. {10} Sils ne luy trouvent point de talent, ou que ce parti ne leur convient point pour quelque motif, ils feront réponce au même viellard qui sera venu la premiere fois faire la demande qu'ils ne veulent pas marier leur fille pour le present, qu'elle est trop jeune, ou ils allégueront quelqu'autre prétexte pour éluder ce mariage.

Si, au contraire, ce parti leur convient, ils feront dire par ce viellard qu'ils sont tous consentant de ce mariage. Alors les parents du jeune homme s'assemblent dans sa cabane, et ils sont priés de fournire a la dépense qu'il faut faire en cheveaux et autre butin pour faire des presents aux parents de la fille

* "Car il est assez commun de voir des vieillards se poignarder ou se pendre, parce qu'ils ne peuvent plus suivre les jeunes gens à la chasse, ou que les forces leur manquent pour se venger de leurs ennemis" (Perrin du Lac 1805:346).

** "Je ne m'attacherai qu'aux usages généralement observés par les chefs, qui se piquent de suivre scrupuleusement les coutumes de leurs ancêtres" (Perrin du Lac 1805:347).

The Indians are very healthy and free from a great many of the diseases that attack us, such as paralysis, dropsy, gout, consumption, asthma, gravel, stones, etc. They live to be very old.

However, there are those among them who shorten their lives by their own doing, for they commonly hang or stab themselves, especially among the Sioux.[120] It seems that they follow rather well on these occasions the maxims of Zenon and the Stoicists, who claim that it is permissible to take one's life, from which I conclude that they are as foolish as those great philosophers.[121]

Love and Marriage of the Indians of the Upper Missouri

Thousands of interesting things could be said on the subject of the love life and marriage of the Indians, but as I fear being too long, and that details too specific would be tiring, I will limit myself to reporting the essentials.[122]

A young man who wishes to marry a girl from a family of chiefs or leading men in the nation informs his father, or his mother, or one of his closest relatives of his intention. Then an old man is sent by the family, who enters the lodge of the father of the coveted girl at night and says to him, "I come to ask of you your daughter in marriage for this certain young man." The latter will answer that he must first consult the relatives, especially her brothers and uncles, if she has any, and he tells him to come back another time to learn the answer.

The next day the girl's father has the brothers and paternal and maternal uncles of his daughter come to his lodge. He informs them of the request that has been made to him for their niece or sister to be married to this young man. They consult among themselves as to whether the match is advantageous or not. They will determine whether this young man has any relatives who are chiefs and are wealthy in horses, and whether he himself has ability in warfare and hunting. If they do not find him able, or if the match does not suit them for any reason, they will answer the same old man who came the first time to make the request that they do not want to marry off their daughter for the present, that she is too young, or they will invoke some other pretext to avoid the marriage.

If, on the contrary, the match suits them, they let it be known through the old man that they all consent to the marriage. Then the young man's relatives assemble in his lodge, and they are asked to contribute to the expenditure that must be made in horses and other goods to give presents to the girl's relatives

pour la conclusion du mariage. Chacun y apporte ce qu'il a a donner, et ce même viellard marche droit a la cabane où la fille demeure, menant un ou deux ou trois chevaux par la corde, et est suivis des femmes parentes du jeune homme, qui portent d'autre butin comme fusils, chaudierres, couvertes de draps, &c. Il attache les cheveaux a la porte de la loge et les effets sont déposés dans la cabane. Le père où [*sic*] la mère de la fille appelle encore les mêmes personnes que la première fois et leur séparent le butin et les chevaux donnés. Le jour suivant les parents de la fille rendent le réciproque a ceux du garçon, en leur faisant des présents équivalant a ceux qu'ils ont reçu.

On fait venir le jeune homme dans la cabane de son épousée. On luy donne a manger et a fumer, luy disant qu'il peut venir quand il luy plaira coucher avec sa femme. Un jour ou deux après que le nouveau marié est venu passer la nuit avec sa nouvelle épouse, les freres de celle cy entrent de grand matin dans la loge. On tire {11} le marié de son lit nud comme la main; on le fait asseoir sur une natte au milieu de la cabane. Un viellard parent luy lave tout le corp avec de leau depuis la tête au pieds, le frotte de terre rouge ou de vermillon, lui met des souliers au pieds, des mitasses au jambes, une chemises de peaux bien molle sur le corps, et le couvre d'une robe de boeuf blanche ou matachée a leur mode. Les beau freres luy font des présents d'armes, cest a dire, luy donne fusils, corne, arc, fléche, &c., lance, masüe, bouclier ou pare flèche, &c.

Alors ce jeune homme demeure dans la cabanne du pere de sa femme jusqu'a ce qu'il ait eu un ou plusieurs enfants, car pour lors il est maitre de faire sa cabane a part et de mener son épouse en quel lieu qu'il luy plaira. Si ce jeune homme habite constamment avec sa femme, ce qui arrive rarement, il dispose de toutes les soeurs cadettes, s'il y en a, aux qu'elles il se mari a mesure qu'elles viennent en âge. J'en ai vus plusieurs qui avoient jusqua six femmes, toutes soeurs, car la poligamie regne chez touts les peuples de haut Missouris. Ces hommes la qui se déterminent a vivre tranquillement avec leurs femmes sont maitres de la cabane du beau père. Ils disposent des chevaux, reglent les départs de chasse ou le retour, ainsi ques les plâces de campements, à leurs grés.

J'ai dis qu'il étoit rare qu'un jeune homme sauvage habita longtems avec sa premiere femme. Cela est si véritable que presque tous les sauvages a lage de trente ans ont eu jusqua dix femmes diferentes qu'ils ont quittés. Ils ne se fixent gueres auprès de leur femmes qu'après cet age là; ce sont les enfants qui les y attachent. Les hommes {12} sont généralement libre de quitter leur femmes quand ils veulent et de passer a dautres mariages. Les femmes n'ont la liberté de le faire qu'après que leur premier mari les a quitté, pour lors elles sont libres de leur corps* et maitraisse de vivre a leur gré. Aussi ces femmes changent elles de mari autant

* "Expression Indienne" (Perrin du Lac 1805:350n.).

for the conclusion of the marriage. Each one brings there what he has to offer, and the same old man walks straight to the lodge where the girl lives, leading one, two, or three horses by a rope, and is followed by the young man's female relatives, who carry such other goods as fusils, kettles, woven blankets, etc. He tethers the horses at the door of the lodge and the goods are laid down inside the lodge. The father and the mother of the girl again summon the same individuals as the first time and divide among them the goods and the horses that have been given. The following day the girl's relatives pay back those of the boy in kind, giving gifts equivalent to those that they received.

They have the young man come into the lodge of his bride. They give him something to eat and smoke, telling him he can come any time it pleases him to lie down with his wife. One or two days after the new bridegroom has come to spend the night with his new wife, her brothers enter the lodge early in the morning. They pull the bridegroom, naked as a hand, from his bed; they make him sit down on a mat in the middle of the lodge. An elderly relative washes his entire body with water from head to foot, rubs him with red earth or vermillion, puts moccasins on his feet, leggings on his legs, a shirt of very soft skin on his body, and covers him with a buffalo robe, white or painted in their fashion. The brothers-in-law give him presents of weapons, that is to say, give him fusils, a powder horn, bow, arrows, etc., lance, club, shield or *pare flèche,* etc.[123]

Then the young man lives in the lodge of his wife's father until he has had one or more children, for then he is free to make his lodge apart and to take his wife anywhere he pleases. If the young man lives steadily with his wife, which happens rarely, he has at his disposal all the younger sisters, if there are any, whom he marries when they come of age. I have seen many who had up to six wives, all sisters, for polygamy reigns among all the peoples of the upper Missouri. Those men who decide to live quietly with their wives are masters of their father-in-law's lodge. They have horses at their disposal, determine departures for the hunt and the return, as well as the locations of encampments, according to their wishes.

I said that it was rare for a young Indian man to live for a long time with his first wife. This is so true that nearly all Indians by age thirty have had up to ten different wives whom they have left. They rarely stay with their wives until after that age; it is the children who keep them there. Men are generally free to leave their wives when they wish and move on to other marriages. Women only have the liberty to do so after their first husband has left them, whereupon they are freed in body[124] and are free to live as they please.[125] Also these women change husbands as many times as the inclination seizes them,

de fois que la fantaisie leur en prend, ne se fixant non plus que dans un âge plus avancé avec celuy de qui elles auront eus plusieurs enfants. Celuy qui quittera une femme avec qui il aura eu un ou plusieurs enfants nemporte avec luy que ses armes; tout reste a la femme, les chevaux et autre butin, s'il y en a.

Lorsqu'une femme a perdu son mari, soit a la guerre ou autrement, et que cet homme défun a des freres cadets, un d'entre eux épouse la veuve, au moins elle luy revient en mariage; mais il faut remarquer que cela ne s'observe qu'entre des sauvages qui se piquent de mieux observer leurs usages que les autre.

Les sauvages a qui on racontent nos mariages ne peuvent pas concevoir que les hommes blancs, qui ont tant desprit et de connoissance, soient assez aveugles ou ignorants pour ne pas connoitre que le mariage est pour eux une source de chagrin et de peine. Ils regardent comme une chose monstrueuse de se lier l'un a lautre sans éspérance de pouvoir jamais rompre ce noeud. Enfin, de quelque bonnes raisons qu'on puisse les presser, ils se tiennent fermes et immobiles a dire que nous sommes les esclaves des femmes.

Il y a trés peu de sauvagesse sages et fideles {7} a leurs maris. Elles ont toutes des intrigues d'amour avec des jeunes gens de leur nation. Il y a de certain peuple, tel que sont les Sioux, les Chaguiennes, les Halitanes, les Tocaminanbiches, où les femmes paroissent plus sages et plus retenues. Ce n'est pas qu'elles soient là plus chastes et plus austères qu'ailleurs, car elles n'hésitent jamais d'accorder les dernières faveur a leur galant quand elles se croyent assurées de nêtre point découvertes, mais cest la crainte quelles ont de leurs maris, qui sont si jaloux qu'il y va de leur vie et de celle de celuy avec qui elles se seroient divertis, sils en avoient connoissance.* Cela n'empéche pas quil se passe quantitée d'intrigues de galanterie entre les jeunes hommes et les jeunes femmes mariées, qui se font souvent enlevées par leur galant et passent chez dautres nations pour éviter leur courroux.

Je pourrois rapporter nombre d'affaire arrivés parmi eux a ce sujet, des batailles, des meurtres commis tres fréquemment chez les nations que j'ai nommé plus haut dont j'ai été témoin, mais ce récit memeneroit trop loin. Je passerai a la maniere dont en agissent les Panis Mahas, les Mendannes, les Aricaras et les Gros Ventres au sujet des femmes, qui, quoi que également barbares, different tout a fait didée et de sentiment des autres pour elles, car en effet ces derniers ne sont point susceptible de jalousie. Ils ne connoissent point cette passion.

Ils disent pour raison que quand l'homme {8} meurt il n'enmêne pas ses femmes avec luy dans le païs des morts, et que ceux qui se querellent, se

* "Beaucoup portent sur leurs visages les traces de la jalousie de leurs époux, qui souvent leur coupent le nez ou les oreilles" (Perrin du Lac 1805:351).

only attaching themselves at a more advanced age to the one by whom they have had several children. The one who leaves a woman by whom he has one or more children takes with him only his weapons; everything remains with the wife—the horses and other goods, if there are any.

When a woman has lost her husband in war or in another way, and the deceased man has younger brothers, one of them marries the widow, or at least she comes back to him in marriage; but one must note that this is only seen among those Indians who pride themselves upon observing their customs more faithfully than the others.[126]

Indians whom we tell of our marriages cannot understand why the white men, who have so much intelligence and knowledge, are so blind or ignorant as not to be aware that marriage is for them a source of sorrow and trouble. They regard it as a dreadful thing to tie one to the other without hope of ever being able to sever the knot. Finally, whatever good reasons we can press upon them, they remain firm and staunch in saying that we are the slaves of women.[127]

There are very few Indian women who are virtuous and faithful to their husbands. They all have love affairs with young men of their nation. There are certain people, such as the Sioux, Cheyennes, Halitanes, and Tocaminanbiches, among whom the women appear to be more virtuous and more reserved. It is not that they are more chaste and more strict than elsewhere, for they never hesitate to accord the highest favor to their lover when they think themselves certain not to be discovered, but it is due to the fear that they have of their husbands, who are so jealous that they risk their life and that of the one with whom they amuse themselves, if they [the husbands] learn of it.[128] That does not prevent a large number of love affairs from taking place between young men and young married women, who are often carried off by their lovers and go to other nations to avoid their [the husbands'] wrath.

I could report a number of affairs that took place among them because of this, fights and murders committed very frequently among the nations that I have named above to which I have been witness, but that narrative would lead me too far astray. I will go on to the manner in which the Pawnees, Omahas, Mandans, Arikaras, and Gros Ventres, who, although they are equally barbarous, differ entirely from the others in attitude and feeling in regard to women, for actually those last-named are not susceptible to jealousy. They do not know that passion.[129]

They explain that when a man dies he does not take his wives with him into the land of the dead, and that those who quarrel, fight, and kill for the ownership

battent, et se tuent pour la propriétée d'une femme sont des fous et des extravagants. Ils sont si bien persuadés de ce principe que beaucoup d'entre eux se tirent une gloire d'avoir regalé* certains hommes considéres parmi eux de leurs femmes les plus jeunes et les plus jolie. Cela est si véritable que les maris, les pères, les frères ne cessent d'offrire aux hommes blancs qui viennent chez eux leur femmes, leur filles, leur soeurs, les plus jeunes et les plus jolies, lors qu'ils veulent se divertirent avec elles pour quelques bagatelle que ceux ci leur donnent.

Les filles et les femmes y vivent en si grande liberté qu'elles semblent être un bien commun. Entre eux, elles sont si dissolues et si débauchés que, selon le rapport de ceux qui les ont cultivés, il n'y en a pas une dont la sagesse soit a l'épreuve de quelques peu de vermillon ou de rassade blëüe. Aussi voit on communément nos jeunes canadiens ou créoles qui arrivent chez eux courir a toute bride comme des chevaux échappés dans les champs de Venus, . . . [*sic*] d'où ils ne sortent rarement sans être munis des maux qui y sont inséparablement attachés, car les maux vénériens sont fort communs parmi des peuples où il regne une si grande dissolution. Les sauvages s'en guérissent parfaitement bien par le jus de certaines racines qu'ils boivent. On m'en a montré qui-il-y-a six mois tomboient en pourriture et qui sont parfaitement guéris.

{15} Il y a parmi tous les peuples sauvages de ce continent des hommes qui portent l'habit de femme. Ils ne vont jamais ni a la guerre ni a la chasse. Ils sont assujettis aux travaux des femmes et font usage de deux sexes.** Je ne saurois vous dire avec véritée les raisons qui peuvent determiner ces espèces d'hermaphrodite a prendre cet état, si c'est par quelques idées chimériques ou par une abominable passion de déréglement, car les barbares ont un malheureux penchant pour la sodomie.

Les femmes sont sujettes la comme ailleurs aux indispositions naturelles. Pour lors elles sortent de la cabane et font dehors un petit feu ou elles font cuire leur mangér; qui que ce soit ne prend de ce feu, ni n'allume seulement de calumet avec. Celuy qui le feroit s'attireroit, disent-ils, quelques malheurs. Les nattes de guerre et les sacs de médecines sont sortis de la cabane et sont pendus en l'air au bout d'une longue perche tant que l'incommoditée de la femme dure. Dans ce tems là encore, une femme en cet état se donne bien de garde d'entrer

* Perrin du Lac writes: "régaler leurs amis," and notes "C'est leur expression littéralement traduite" (1805:351n.)

** "Ils ne vont ni à la guerre ni à la chasse, mais servent, selon les circonstances, à satisfaire la passion brutale de l'un et de l'autre sexe. Ces hommes, que l'amour de la paresse et une abominable dépravation portent à mener ce genre de vie, sont méprisés des guerriers, qui ne les emploient qu'aux ouvrages les plus vils. Vont-ils à la chasse? s'ils les conduisent avex eux, c'est pour garder leurs chevaux, peler ou passer les peaux des gibiers qu'il tuent, porter la viande, couper le bois, allumer le feu, et à défaut des femmes, les faire servir à satisfaire une passion brutale que réprouve la nature" (Perrin du Lac 1805:352).

of a woman are foolish and unreasonable. They are so firmly persuaded of this principle that many of them take pride in having treated[130] certain leading men among them to their youngest and prettiest wives. That is so true that the husbands, fathers, and brothers constantly offer the white men who come among them their youngest and prettiest wives, daughters, and sisters when they [the white men] wish to amuse themselves with them in return for some trinkets that they give them.

The girls and women there live in such great freedom that they seem to be common property. Among them, they are so dissolute and so debauched that, according to the report of those who have had relations with them, there is not one whose virtue can resist a little bit of vermillion or some blue beads. Therefore we frequently see our young Canadians or Creoles who arrive among them run at full speed like escaped horses into the fields of Venus, from which they rarely escape without getting the diseases invariably associated with them, for venereal diseases are very common among the peoples where such great licentiousness reigns. Indians cure themselves perfectly well with the juice of certain roots that they drink. They showed me those who six months ago were rotting away and who are completely cured.[131]

Among all Indian peoples of this region there are men who wear women's clothes. They never go to war or on the hunt. They are subjected to women's work and make use of both sexes.[132] I could not tell you with accuracy the causes that might lead these sorts of hermaphrodites to assume this condition, whether it is because of some fanciful ideas or due to an abominable passion for licentiousness, for Indians have an unfortunate inclination toward sodomy.[133]

The women there are subject as elsewhere to natural indispositions. Then they leave their lodge and make a little fire outside where they cook their meals; nobody can use this fire, not even to light a calumet. Whoever would do so, they say, would bring misfortune upon himself. War bundles and medicine bags are taken out of the lodge and are hung outside at the top of a tall pole as long as the woman's indisposition lasts. Also during that time a woman in that condition

dans une cabane où il y auroit quelqu'un de malade ou blessé, ce qui causeroit du retardement a la guérison de la maladie.

Lorsqu'une femme s'est déclarée grosse, le marie s'abstient avec elle du droit conjugal, et elle observe exactement la continence jusqu'au trentième jour après l'accouchement. Il y en a qui agissent autrement, mais elles sont traitées de folles et d'extravagantes, s'exposant a se faire mourir et son enfant. Lorsque la femme est sur le point d'accoucher, elle se retire dans une cabane {16} destinée a cet usage s'ils sont sédentaires en quelque lieu, et quelques vielles femmes les accompagnent et leur aident en tout ce quelles peuvent. Au reste, les sauvagesses se délivrent du fardeau naturel sans le secours des sages femmes, car elles mettent leurs enfants au monde avec une facilitée que les européennes auroient peine a concevoir, et le terme de leur accouchement ne dure jamais plus de deux jours.

Si un village entier marche soit pour se rendre aux endroits de chasse, soit pour en revenir, l'accouchement d'une femme ne les arrêtent pas une heure, et aussitot qu'elle a mis bas son enfant et qu'il est emmailloté, elle part et marche jusqu'au lieu où ses gens sont arrêtés pour camper, et les jours suivants de même.*

Des que l'enfant est au monde, elle le plonge dans leau pour le laver, l'hyvers comme l'étée, et l'enveloppe ensuitte dans un morçeau de robe de boeuf, et l'attache sur une petite planche longue de trois pieds ou ils semblent qu'il ait le dos colé. Les sauvagesses ne se servent jamais de nourice et ne sevrent point leurs enfants, leur donnant la mamelle tout aussi longtems qu'ils veulent têter.**

Chez tous les peuples sauvages les femmes ont tout le fardeau du ménage. Ce sont elles qui construisent les cabanes; coupent et portent les viandes pour les faire sécher; passent les peaux des bêtes que les hommes tuent a la chasse pour faire des loges, des vêtements, des chaussures pour elles, leurs maris et leurs enfants; portent les chargent [*sic,* charges] dans la marche; cultivent les champs et en recueillent les productions. {17} Enfin les hommes n'ont d'autres occupations que celles de la guerre, de la chasse, de la danse, du jeu, et de

* "mais en chasse, l'accouchement d'une femme ne retarde pas le parti de plus d'une demi-journée. Ce temps est employé à baigner l'enfant, lui construire une berceau et l'envelopper de la manière la plus commode pour le transporter" (Perrin du Lac 1805:353).

** "Les femmes alaitent leurs enfans aussi longtemps qu'ils le veulent, ou jusqu'à ce qu'une nouvelle grossesse les prive de leur lait. Aussitôt après leur naissance, ils sont enveloppés dans une peau bien douce et étendue sur une écorce suspendu à la cabane par quatre cordons. Les mères agitent cette écorce pour endormir l'enfant, de la même manière que nos femmes de la campagne le font pour leurs berceaux. Lorsque l'enfant commence à se soutenir, ce qui arrive généralement avant un mois, elle le portent sur le dos attaché dans la peau qui leur sert de couverture. Elles travaillent même avec ce fardeau aux ouvrages les plus fatigans, sans en être incommodées, ni faire mal à l'enfant qu'elles font teter toutes les fois qu'il paroît le desirer" (Perrin du Lac 1805:290).

carefully refrains from entering a lodge where there might be someone sick or wounded, because it would delay recovery from the illness.

When a woman declares herself pregnant, the husband abstains from the conjugal right, and she carefully observes continence until the thirtieth day after the delivery. There are some who behave differently, but they are looked upon as foolish and unreasonable, risking death for themselves and their child. When a woman is about to be delivered, she withdraws into a lodge intended for this purpose if they are settled in some place, and a few old women accompany them and help them in any way they can. Moreover, Indian women deliver their natural burden without the help of midwives, for they bring their babies into the world with an ease that European women could scarcely conceive, and the length of their confinement never lasts longer than two days.[134]

If a whole village is traveling either to go to the hunting grounds or to return from them, the delivery of a woman does not detain them an hour, and as soon as she has given birth[135] to her child and it is wrapped up, she leaves and walks to the place where her people have stopped to camp, and the following days she does the same.[136]

As soon as the child is delivered, she immerses it in water to wash it, in winter as in summer, and then wraps it in a piece of buffalo robe and ties it onto a small board three feet long to which it seems to have its back affixed. Indian women never use a wet nurse, and they do not wean their children, giving them the breast as long as they want to suck.[137]

Among all Indian peoples the women have all the burden of the housework. It is they who build the lodges; butcher and carry the meat to dry it; dress the skins of animals that the men kill on the hunt to make lodges, clothing, and footwear for themselves, their husbands, and their children; carry loads while traveling; cultivate the fields; and harvest the crops. In short, the men have no other occupations than those of war, hunting, dancing, playing games, and caring for their horses, when they have some. Women never enter the meetings or

prendre soin de leurs chevaux, quand ils en ont. Les femmes n'entre jamais dans les assemblées ni festins des hommes. Celui qui donne un festin dans sa cabane en fait sortir les femmes et les enfants. Elles sont tenus chez eux dans un rang vil et approchant de l'esclavage.*

Voici ce que me disoit un jour un ancien chef des Panis Républicains, qui avoit été diverses fois dans sa jeunesse aux établissements françaises [*sic*] des Illinois: «Rien de plus beau et de plus admirable, mon frere,» me disoit-il, «que les manieres, les usages et surtout l'industrie des hommes blancs dans tout ce qu'ils font. Il semble que le Maitre de la vie les a choisis entre tous les peuples de la terre pour les rendre seuls heureux, car y en a-t-il aucun qui en approche. Mais,» dit-il, «je trouve dans leur manière de vivre et dans leurs usages trois grands deffauts que nous, tous barbares que nous sommes, nous n'avons point: leur ambition pour amasser de ce fers blanc nommé argent; leur duretée pour les nouritures, se les vendant entre gens de même village et de même famille; et leur molesse pour les femmes.

{18} «J'ai vu plusieurs fois les hommes blancs donner des festins où il y avoit beaucoup de monde. Les femmes et les filles étoient toujours les premières assises a la table et y occupoient les places les plus commodes. Les hommes se tenoient debout derrière elles et s'empressoient a les servire des meilleurs morçeaux qui s'y présentoient, ainsi que de leur verser a boire, comme les esclaves font a leur maitre. Bien plus encore, ce sont les hommes qui font tous les travaux, buchent et charoyent les bois, cultivent les chams, recoltent les blés, les maÿs, &c., tandis que les femmes restent a la maison toujours bien habillées, occupées seulement a coudre, a babiller et a battre leurs Négresse, celles qui en ont.

«Je me suis encore apperçu d'une autre circonstance qui m'a tout a fait convaincu que les femmes blanches ne valoient pas mieux que les nôtres. J'ai remarqué dans certaines maisons, où j'avois pour habitude de m'aller promener, de jeunes hommes jouer, badiner, cajoler les femmes, dans le temps que leurs maris étoient au champs, et jamais en leur présence; et les femmes paroissoient trouver bon les cajoleries et les caresses de ces jeunes hommes.» (Cétoit sans doute quelque tourterelle de Sion qui se délectoit au minauderies de certain paladin de Cythère). «Jai dis pour lors qu'il en étoit chez les hommes blancs comme chez nous, où les femmes se donnent carièrre en labsence de leurs maris.»

* "Parmi toutes les nations du haut Missouri, les femmes sont regardées comme des êtres subalternes, crées [*sic*] pour les besoins et les plaisirs des hommes. Outre les ouvrages de l'intérieur qui roulent entièrement sur elles, elles cultivent la terre, apportent l'eau au logis, coupent le bois nécessaire pour les usages de la cabane. Vont-elles à la chasse? elles portent les animaux tués, les écorchent, tondent les peaux, les passent, et les emploient en souliers, mitasses ou chemises à l'utilité de leurs maris: cependant dans les voyages de long cours, elles sont presque toujours montées sur des chevaux qu'elles enfourchent comme les hommes, tandis que ceux-ci vont à pied" (Perrin du Lac 1805:289).

feasts of men. The one who gives a feast in his lodge sends the women and children out. They are looked upon among them as having a low status approaching slavery.[138]

Here is what an old chief of the Republican Pawnees, who had been many times in his youth to the French settlements in the Illinois, told me one day: "Nothing is more beautiful and more admirable, my brother," he said to me, "than the manners, customs, and above all the industry of the white men in all that they do. It seems that the Master of Life has chosen them among all the peoples of the earth to make only them happy, for no one else comes close to them. But," said he, "I find in their way of life and in their customs three great faults that, however barbaric we are, we do not have: their ambition to amass the white iron called silver; their hardheartedness with regard to food, selling it to people of their own village and their own family; and their laxity toward women.

"Several times I have seen white men give feasts where there were many people. The women and the girls were always the first seated at the table and occupied the most comfortable seats. The men stood behind them and hurried to serve them the best morsels available, as well as pouring their drinks, as slaves do for their master. Moreover, it is the men who do all the work: they cut and carry wood, cultivate the fields, harvest the wheat, corn, etc., while the women stay home, always well-dressed, kept busy only with sewing, chattering, and beating their black women, those who have some.

"I also became aware of another circumstance that thoroughly convinced me that white women are not worth more than ours. In certain houses that I used to visit, I noticed young men joking, teasing, and flattering the women while their husbands were in the fields, and never in their presence; and the women seemed to enjoy the flattery and endearments of these young men." (It was doubtless some turtle dove from Zion who was taking delight in the affectations of some knight of Cythera.) "I said at that time that it was the same among the white men as among us, that women do as they like in the absence of their husbands.

{19} «Est-il possible, dit-il, mon frere, que les hommes se soumettent aux femmes et les servent si vilement; après le Maitre de la vie, l'homme n'est-il pas le roy et le maitre de tous les autres animaux? N'es ce pas luy que le Grand Esprit a doué de force et de courage pour combatre les ennemis et tuer les bêtes les plus feroces? Pourquoi donc s'abaisseroit-il a servir une foible et vile femme, tandis que cest elle qui doit le servire et luy obéire?»

Quelque raisons que j'aye pu luy réprésenter pour luy prouver que notre maniere d'agir avec les femmes etoit conforme aux droits de la raison et de l'humanitée, il m'a toujours soutenu que nous nous dégradions de notre espèce d'hommes, et que chez eux ils tenoient les femmes dans le rang qu'elles doivent avoire, c'est-a-dire plustot en esclaves qu'en epouses.

Quant aux deux autres vices dont le philosophe rustique nous accuse, il n'est pas surprenant que, n'ayant point lusage d'argent ni de monoies chez eux, il ne trouva ce métail tout a fait inutil aux nécessitées de la vie, n'y ayant selon luy que le fers et la poudre a tirer de tres nécessaires. La duretée des hommes blancs et leur peu de charitée entre-eux, se vendant les nourritures entre citoyens d'un même village et entre parents même est ce qui affectoit le plus son sentiment contre nous. «Vois-tu, me disoit-il, si parmi-nous [*sic,* vous] quelqu'un a besoin pour manger d'avoir une piece ronde de ce fers blanc ou un petit papier écrit a la main, comme je l'ai vu pratiquer soit dans les {20} boucheries, soit a larrivée des viandes de venaison, et les François m'ont dit que sans cet argent ils mourroient de faim, je vous trouve plus malheureux que nous de ce côté là, puisque chez-nous celuy qui, soit par sa chasse ou par la production de son chams, a plus de vivre que les autres, en fait part a celuy qui en manque, et que nous nous faisons un mérite de manger nos vivres en commun, et surtout d'assister ceux qui ne peuvent facilement s'en procurer.»

Voila le discours et les sentiments d'un barbare qui n'est ni chrétien ni civilisé.

{unnumbered f.} 2me. cahier

{1} SECONDE PARTIE

Manierre de faire la paix, d'aller en calumet et de le danser

Il faut sçavoir que les sauvages ne cherchent a entrer en accomodement qu'après une longue guerre, et qu'ils se sont rendus le change a peu de choses prés, tant dans les massacres que dans les vols de cheveaux, et surtout lorsqu'ils connoissent qu'il est de l'interêt de leur nation d'en venir là, soit pour faire la chasse librement des boeufs sauvages et autres animaux sur les terres de leurs voisins quand ils en manquent chez eux, soit qu'ils désirent faïre échange de marchandise pour des chevaux, des tentes, des robes, du blé d[']Indes, dont les uns sont mieux fournis que les autres. Mais il est a remarquer que les nations qui sont ulterieures

"Is it possible, my brother," said he, "that men submit to women and so basely serve them? After the Master of Life, is not man the king and master of all the other animals? Is it not he whom the Great Spirit has endowed with the strength and courage to fight enemies and kill the most ferocious beasts? Why then would he lower himself to serve a weak and lowly woman, whereas it is she who should serve and obey him?"

Whatever reasons I was able to give to convince him that our behavior toward women was consistent with the rights of reason and humanity, he still argued that we were degrading ourselves from our status as men, and that among them they held women to the rank that they ought to have, that is to say, more slaves than wives.

As for the two other vices of which this primitive philosopher accuses us, it is not surprising that, not having the use of silver or paper money among them, he found that metal completely useless for the necessities of life, iron and gunpowder being, according to him, the only very necessary things. The hardheartedness of the white men and their lack of charity for one another in selling food to citizens of the same village and even between relatives is what most affected his judgment against us. "You see," he said to me, "if among you someone needs a round piece of the white iron or a small paper written by hand in order to eat, as I have seen done in the butcher shops or on the arrival of venison—and the French have told me that without this silver they would die of hunger—I find you worse off than we in this way, for among us he who has more food than others, either from the hunt or the cultivation of his fields, shares with the one who lacks it, and we consider it an honor to eat our food together, and particularly to help those who cannot easily get any."

Such are the discourse and the feelings of an Indian who is neither Christian nor civilized.

Second Notebook

SECOND PART

Manner of Making Peace, Going with a Calumet, and Dancing It

One should understand that Indians only seek to make treaties after a long war, and when they have more or less returned blow for blow, either through massacres or theft of horses, and above all when they know it is in the interest of their nation to have recourse to this solution, either so they may freely hunt buffalo and other animals on their neighbors' lands when they are lacking in their own, or because they desire to trade merchandise for horses, tents, robes, or corn, with which some are better supplied than others. But it should be noted that the nations farthest from us are always the first to seek an alliance

paraport [*sic,* par rapport] a nous cherchent toujours les premières a faire accord avec celles qui nous sont citerïeurs, et ne commencent jamais les premières a déclarer la guerre, ayant besoin d'armes a feux, d'amonitions et autres marchandises dont les dernieres sont toujours bien fournis par la fréquentation qu'ils ont avec nous, ce quï leur donne un grand avantage sur les premieres.

Chez tous les peuples sauvages, il y a toujours quelques étrangers qui, en tems de paix, s[']y sont alliéz soit par mariage ou par caprice, y font leur residence et sont regardés pour lors comme des gens de la nation, en tems de guerre même. Cest ordinairement de ces sortes de gens quils se servant [*sic,* servent] pour envoyer faire des propositions de paix a leur propre nation lorsquils {2} ont eu guerre ensemble et quils desirent la finir. Sinon, ils employent une autre nation neutre pour ouvrir l'embassade, se hasardant peu communément d'entrer dans un village ennemi, même en calumet, sans avoir sçu auparavent son sentiment, plusieurs ayant été en différentes fois massacrés a la porte des villages ennemis, soit en y entrant, soit en sortant.

Ainsi donc, la nation qui désire la paix, après avoir tenu des déliberations a ce sujet, donne du tabac enfermé dans un petit sac de cuire a quelqu'un de ces hommes dont j'ai parlé plus haut, pour le porter a la nation avec laquelle ils désirent avoir fréquentation, et la faire fumer. Cet envoyé étant arrivé auprès du village entre secretement la nuit dans la cabanne du grand chef ou de quelques considérés de cette nation, lui expose le sujet de son ambassade, et lui livre le tabac qui a été envoyé. Celui cy le lendemain fait appeller dans sa cabanne par un crieur les viellards, les chefs de guerre, tous les braves et considérés de sa nation. Il leur présente le petit sac de tabac, sans etre détaché, quil a reçu d'une telle nation, et leur fait un récit court et précis de ses intentions. Pour lors, si les viellards et considérés trouvent a propos de faire une trêve avec leurs ennemis et d'entrer en parole et en fréquentation avec eux, le petit sac de tabac est remis entre les mains de celui de lassemblée quil connoit être le plus animé contre cette nation. Celui cy détache le sac ou est le tabac, {3} en rempli une ou deux pipes, fume et fait fumer les assistants, et leur sépare le reste.

Si la nation a qui a été envoyé le tabac est divisée en plusieurs hordes ou villages, il y aura autant de noeuds au cordon qui lie le petit sac de tabac quil y a de villages séparés. Les noeuds désignent quils désirent se lier d'amitiée avec autant de différents villages quils peuvent être. Apres que le premier village a accepté et fumé de ce tabac, le sac est relié avec autant de noeuds quils restent de hordes a fumer, et le leur est envoyé, ce qui est pratiqué de la même manierre par chaque village. On donne ensuitte réponse à l'envoyé qui sera d'assurer la nation qui l'a député quelle peut venir en calumet en toute sureté, ou quils iront eux mêmes en tel tems les visiter.

with those who are nearer to us, and the former never initiate warfare, having need of firearms, ammunition, and other merchandise with which the latter are always well furnished due to the association they have with us, which gives them a great advantage over the former.

Among all Indian peoples there are always some individuals of other nations, who, in times of peace, being allied either by marriage or by caprice, make their residence there and are subsequently regarded as people of the nation, even in times of war. It is ordinarily such people whom they send to their own nation to make peace proposals when they have been at war with one another and desire to end it. If there are none, they employ another neutral nation to open the negotiations, infrequently running the risk of entering an enemy village, even with a calumet, without having learned its sentiment in advance, several at different times having been massacred at the entrances of enemy villages, either upon entering or leaving.

Therefore, the nation desiring peace, after having held deliberations on the subject, gives some tobacco enclosed in a little hide bag to some one of those men I mentioned above, to take it to the nation with which they desire to associate and to have it smoked. This envoy, having arrived near the village, enters secretly at night the lodge of the head chief or of some leading man of this nation, puts forward to him the subject of his mission, and hands him the tobacco that has been sent. The next day the latter has a crier summon to his lodge the old men, the war chiefs, and all the braves and leading men of his nation. He presents to them the little bag of tobacco, still tied shut, which he has received from a certain nation and gives them a short and precise report of his intentions. Afterwards, if the old men and leading men find it appropriate to make a truce with their enemies and to enter into talks and into dealings with them, the little bag of tobacco is placed in the hands of the one in the assembly who is known to have the most animosity toward this nation. The latter unties the bag of tobacco, fills one or two pipes with it, smokes, and has those present smoke, and divides the rest among them.

If the nation to which the tobacco has been sent is divided into several bands or villages, there will be as many knots in the cord tying the little bag of tobacco as there are separate villages. The knots indicate that they desire to join in friendship with as many of the different villages as possible. After the first village has accepted and smoked the tobacco, the bag is retied with as many knots as there remain bands to smoke, and this is sent to them to be dealt with in the same way by each village. Afterwards they give a response to the envoy, assuring the nation that sent him that they can come bearing a calumet in complete safety, or that they themselves will go at a certain time to visit them.

Si au contraire les chefs et les considérés de la nation a qui le tabac aura été envoyé ne trouvent pas a propos d'avoir communication ensemble, ils renveront le tabac par la même personne qui l'a apporté, leurs faisant dire de {4} demeurer tranquils chez eux, que les anciens ne trouvent pas a propos davoir pour le present frequentation ensemble. Pour lors, les courses de guerre les uns contre les autres se continuent, ou ils vivront dans une espêce de trêve sans se fréquenter.

Si les deux nations sont d'accord, soit les uns ou les autres députeront un de leur principeaux chef, accompagnés d'une vingtaine plus ou moins de guerriers, portant un calumet de paix et un pavillon, parmi les peuples qui en ont reçu des nations policées, pour faire des propositions conformes a leurs interests. Avant leur départ, les chefs, les viellards et considérés s'assemblent dans la grande cabane des vieux ou dans celle du grand chef du village. On y apporte un calumet de paix qui ne sert ordinairement que pour ces sortes d'affaires. On y disserte sur l'ambassade que l'on veut faire, et on instruit l'envoyé de ce qu'il doit dire. Pendant ces dissertations une copieuse chaudierre remplie de bonne viande est mise sur le feu, et en attendant le repas on empli le calumet d'un tabac sorti {5} des nattes, et cette pipe de tabac ne doit pas être fumé que par ceux chez qui on va en parole. Le pavillon qui doit servire a cette embassade est aussi apporté dans le même lieu. On barbouille le manche et la pipe (qui est ordinairement de pierre rouge) de couleur bleüe qui est le simbole d'un ciel claire et serein, car il est a remarquer qu'un calumet peint de toute autre couleur seroit mal reçu, ou tout au moins, seroit regardé d'un mauvais oeil par ceux a qui il seroit présenté, le rouge désignant le sang répandu, le noire la mortalitée,* le blanc et le jaune marquant un ciel couvert de nuées menaçant de pluie et d'orage.

Les viandes destinés pour le festin étant cuites, un servant** les partagent en autant de morçeau quil y a de personnes dans lassemblée. La premierre part est mise dans un plat et est placé au fond de la cabanne au devant du calumet et du pavillon, ainsi qu'un autre plat plein {6} de bouillons. Le plus considéré de l'assemblée, avant que personne ait mangé, se lêve, coupe trois parcelles de cette viande qu'il tient au bout de ses doigts, les presente en offrande au Maitre du ciel, au soleil, a la terre, au calumet et au pavillon, les priant tous de favoriser ses gens d'une bonne réussite dans leur ambassade, et jête ensuitte ces trois petits morçeaux de viande au feu. Il prend de même une cuilliérée de bouillon dans le plat destiné pour cela, fait la même cérémonie et répend cette cuilliérée de bouillon en trois androits autour du feu, et se retire ensuitte a sa

* "le vert, la mortalité" (Perrin du Lac 1805:318).

** "Ils appellent ainsi des hommes revêtus d'habits de femmes, dont je parlerai dans un autre endroit. Ils emploient aussi quelquefois des prisonniers, qu'ils condamnent, dès leur enfance, à ce travail humiliant" (Perrin du Lac 1805:318n).

If, on the contrary, the chiefs and leading men of the nation to which the tobacco was sent do not consider it fitting to establish communication between them, they will return the tobacco by the same person who brought it, instructing him to tell them to remain quietly in their village, that the elders do not find it suitable at present to associate with them. Thereupon, the course of war continues, one against the other, or they live under a kind of truce without visiting each other.

If the two nations are in agreement, one or the other will send one of their principal chiefs, accompanied by about twenty warriors, carrying a calumet of peace and a flag, among the peoples who have received them from the civilized nations, in order to make proposals agreeable to their interests. Before their departure, the chiefs, old men, and leading men come together in the big lodge of the old men, or in that of the head chief of the village. They bring a calumet of peace that is ordinarily used only for such matters. They discuss the mission that they wish to carry out, and they instruct the envoy as to what he should say. During these discussions a large kettle filled with choice meat is put on the fire, and while awaiting the meal they fill the calumet with tobacco taken from medicine bundles, and this pipeful of tobacco must only be smoked by those to whom they go to negotiate. The flag to be used during the mission is also brought to the same place. The stem and the pipe bowl (which is ordinarily made of red stone), are smeared with a blue color, symbolic of a clear, calm sky, for it is to be noted that a calumet painted any other color would be ill-received, or, at the very least, would be regarded suspiciously by those to whom it would be presented, red designating spilled blood, black designating death,[139] white and yellow signifying a sky covered with menacing rain and storm clouds.[140]

When the meat destined for the feast has been cooked, a servant[141] divides it into as many pieces as there are people in the assembly. The first piece is put in a dish and is placed at the back of the lodge in front of the calumet and the flag, along with another dish full of broth. Before anyone has eaten, the foremost leading man at the gathering arises, cuts from the meat three small pieces that he holds by his fingertips, presenting them as an offering to the Master of the Sky, to the sun, to the earth, to the calumet, and to the flag, beseeching them all to aid his people with a successful conclusion to their mission, and then he throws the three little pieces of meat into the fire. In the same way he takes a spoonful of broth from the dish reserved for it, performs the same ritual, pours the spoonful of broth in three places around the fire, and then returns to his

place. Un des servants porte le plat devant celui qui a fait la cérémonies, qui mange le premier, et tous les autres pour lors se mettent a manger et a boire les bouillons.

Le repas étant fini, et après quils ont bien fumé et fait fumer de loin les gens ou ils veulent aller, ainsi que les esprits, le calumet et le pavillon, {7} ceux qui doivent porter le calumet et le pavillon s'avancent et se tenant debout devant ce viellard considéré dont j'ai parlé, qui se lêve tenant le manche du calumet a poignée par le milieu, le présente, le bras etendu, a celui qui s'est avancé. Ce dernier, prenant de la main gauche le poignet de celui qui tient le calumet, étend son bras droit, la main ouverte, a sa longueure jusqu'a l'épaule du premier, et la retirant en frotant celui du considéré jusqu'a la main, qu'il ouvre pour laisser prendre le calumet par cet envoyé qui, l'ayant en main, le frotte d'un bout a l'autre par trois fois. La même cérémonie s'observe pour le pavillon dont le bâton est aussi peint en bleüe.

Les ambassadeurs partent ensuitte et se mettent en marche pour se rendre a leur destination. L'orsquils sont arrivés à la vüe des habitations de ceux qu'ils viennent visiter, ils s'arrêtent. Un de ceux cy vâ au devant d'eux leur dire d'approcher plus près; pour lors ils viennent se poster a une portée de fusils des cabannes. L'un d'eux tenant {8} le calumet, le bout du manche tourné du coté de ceux qu'ils viennent visiter, et reste debout, ainsi que celui qui porte le pavillon, tout le tems que les autres mettent a délibérer de quelle manierre ils doivent les recevoir, et quils aient déterminés la quantitée de cheveaux et dautres butins dont ils veulent leur faire présent.

La délibération finie, le nombre de cheveaux fixé a la volonté des plus généreux, chacun de ceux qui donnent ces présents sort du village tenant son cheval par la corde où [*sic*, ou] portant leurs dons, quils font ordinairement présenter par leurs enfants, quand ils en ont; et fait fumer le porteur de calumet et tous ses compagnons. Les présents ayant cessé de se faire, le grand chef du village les invite d'y entrer et, marchant devant eux, il les conduit dans la grande cabane des vieux ou dans quelqu'autre logement préparé pour cela. On étend dans le fond de la cabanne, qui est la place la plus honorable, une des plus belles robes qui se puisse trouver dans le village, sur laquelle on fait assoir le porteur de calumet, qui le pose {9} sur la meme robe, le bout du manche tourné vers la porte. On apporte de toute part des plats pleins de viandes cuites ou de bled d'Indes pour régaler les étrangers.

Les chefs, les viellards et les braves de la nation s'assemblent dans ce lieu. Les députés font leurs propositions, qui seront soit d'avoir le passage libre sur les terres de ceux cy pour faire leurs chasses, soit quelqu'invitations pour

place. One of the servants places the dish before the one who has arranged the ceremony, who eats first, and then all the others begin to eat and to drink the broth.

Once the meal is finished, and after they have smoked properly and offered smoke at a distance to the people to whom they wish to go, as well as to the spirits, the calumet, and the flag, those who will carry the calumet and the flag come forward and stand before the old leading man of whom I spoke, who stands up holding the calumet stem grasped in the middle, and presents it, his arm extended, to one who has come forward. The latter, taking in his left hand the wrist of he who holds the calumet, stretches out his right arm, hand open, to its full length, reaching to the shoulder of the former, and, drawing it back, strokes that of the leading man as far as the hand, which he opens to allow the calumet to be taken by the envoy, who, having it in his hand, strokes it from one end to the other three times. The same ceremony is observed for the flag, the staff of which is also painted blue.

Then the messengers leave and set out for their destination. When they have arrived in view of the dwellings of those they came to visit, they stop. One of the latter approaches to tell them to come closer; after that they come station themselves within a fusil shot distance of the lodges. One among them holds the calumet, with the end of the stem turned toward those they came to visit, and remains standing, as does the one who carries the flag, all the time that the others deliberate the manner in which they should receive them, and they have determined the quantity of horses and other goods they wish to present to them.

Once the deliberation is over, and the number of horses is decided according to the wish of those who are the most generous, each of those who offers these presents leaves the village leading his horse by a rope or carrying their gifts, which are ordinarily presented by their children, when they have some; and they have the one carrying the calumet smoke, as well as all his companions. When the presents have been given, the head chief of the village invites them to enter, and walking ahead of them, leads them into the big lodge of the old men, or into some other lodge prepared for the occasion. At the back of the lodge, which is the place of greatest honor, is spread out one of the most beautiful robes to be found in the village, on which they seat the bearer of the calumet, who places it on the same robe, with the end of the stem turned toward the door. They bring from all sides dishes full of cooked meat or corn to feast those of the other nation.

The chiefs, old men, and braves of the nation gather in this place. The envoys make their proposals, which will be either to have free passage through the lands of the latter [the hosts] in order to hunt, or an invitation to come together

sassembler en village dans quelque lieu a la commoditée des deux nations pour danser, manger, fumer ensemble, s'y faire des présents réciproques, troquer des cheveaux, des tentes de cuir, des robes de boeufs, du bled d'Inde, &c., pour des fusils, des chaudierres, et autres marchandises dont les uns sont mieux fournis que les autres. Les paroles et les promesses étant données de part et dautres de vivre bien ensemble, les députés, après deux ou trois jours de résidence, car il ne restent jamais plus longtems, s'en retournent chez eux.

{10} La danse du calumet

Les sauvages ont plusieurs sortes de danses. Les principales sont la danse du soleil, la danse du calumet, la danse du boeuf et celle qui réprésente leurs actions de guerre. Elles sont différentes les unes des autres, tant pour la cadanse que pour les chants et les sauts, mais il me seroit impossible d'en faire des descriptions par le peu de rapport que ces danses ont avec les notres. Toutes ces danses peuvent être comparés a la pirrique de Minerve, car les sauvages observent en dansant d'une [*sic*, une] gravitée singulierre, et aux cadanses de certaines chansons que les milices grecs d'Achille appelloit hyporchématiques, mais il n'est pas facile de savoir si les sauvages les ont appris des Grecs ou les Grecs des sauvages.

La danse du calumet ne se pratique que dans des certaines occasions où plusieurs villages de nations étrangerres, amies et alliées, se rassemenblent [*sic*] dans un même lieü et sont campés les uns pres des autres. La nation qui veut danser le calumet {11} a l'autre lui en fait demander son consentement la veille de la danse de cette manierre. Un des principeaux chefs accompagné de cinq a six de ses semblables, tenant un calumet ordinaire plein de tabac a la main, vient entrer dans la cabanne du chef a qui ils veulent faire l'honneur de la danse en la lui adressant. Il pose le calumet au pied de ce chef, en lui disant que ses gens voudroit se divertir avec les siens, et danser le calumet a lui et a ses enfants, s'il en a. Si ce chef consent a la demande, il prend le calumet qui est a ses pieds, l'allume lui même et fume. Pour lors les autres le remerçient a leur manierre, font venir tous ses enfants, les carressent en leur passant les mains sur la tête et sur tout le reste du corps, et se retirent. Si, au contraire, il n'y consent pas, il repousse le calumet sans fumer, leur disant que lui et tous ses gens sont dignes de pitiée,* qu'ils sont dépourvus de cheveaux et autres effets qu'il convient de donner ordinairement dans ces occasions, et il les prie de remettre le divertissement de cette danse a un autre tems où ils seront mieux fournis de ces sortes de choses.

{12} Le chef qui a consenti qu'on lui fasse l'honneur de la danse du calumet fait venir ses plus proches parents dans sa cabane. Ils les exhortent d'avoir pitié

* "Cette expression est littéralement traduite, et appartient à toutes les nations Sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale" (Perrin du Lac 1805:323n.).

in a village at some place convenient for the two nations to dance, eat, smoke together, make reciprocal presents, and exchange horses, hide tents, buffalo robes, corn, etc., for fusils, kettles, and other merchandise with which some are better supplied than others. When the speeches and promises have been given on both sides to live peacefully together, the envoys, after remaining two or three days, for they never remain any longer, return home.

The Calumet Dance

The Indians have several kinds of dances. The principal ones are the Sun Dance, Calumet Dance, Buffalo Dance, and one that represents their deeds in war. They differ from each other in rhythm as well as in songs and leaps, but it would be impossible for me to give descriptions of them because of the slight resemblance that these dances have to our own. All these dances may be compared to the pyrrhic dance of Minerva, for Indians maintain a singular gravity while dancing, and to the rhythms of certain songs that the Greek soldiers of Achilles called *hyporchema*, but it is not easy to determine whether the Indians have learned them from the Greeks or the Greeks from the Indians.[142]

The Calumet Dance[143] is practiced only on certain occasions when several villages of different nations, friends and allies, come together in the same place and are camped near each other. The nation that wishes to dance the calumet for the other asks its consent the day before the dance in the following manner. One of the principal chiefs accompanied by five or six men of his status, holding in his hand an ordinary calumet filled with tobacco, enters the lodge of the chief whom they wish to honor by performing the dance for him. He places the calumet at the foot of the chief, telling him that his people would like to celebrate with his [this chief's] people by dancing the calumet for him and his children, if he has any. If the chief agrees to the request, he takes the calumet that is at his feet, lights it himself, and smokes. Then the others thank him in their fashion, have all his children come, stroke them by passing their hands over their heads and over all the rest of their bodies, and withdraw. If, on the contrary, he does not accept, he hands back the calumet without smoking, saying to them that he and all his people are worthy of pity,[144] that they are destitute of the horses and other goods that are usually appropriate to give on these occasions, and he begs them to postpone the pleasure of the dance to another time when his people will be better provided with such things.

The chief who has consented to their paying him the honor of the Calumet Dance has his closest relatives come to his lodge. He urges them to take pity

de lui et de ses enfants en lui aidant a faire honneur au calumet que l'on doit lui danser le lendemain, c'est a dire dêtre libéral envers ceux qui doivent danser. La, chacun annonce ce qu'il donnera, et c'est ordinairement des cheveaux que ces gens-là jettent au calumet, quelques fois beaucoup, et quelques fois peu, selon qu'ils en sont plus ou moins bien fournis. La harangue se fait ensuitte par un viellard dans toutes les rüës du village, qui encourage les braves, les jeunes gens et les femmes mêmes de montrer leur générosité dans cette occasion. Si le chef qui a reçu le calumet est aimé de sa nation, c'est a qui s'efforcera le plus a donner de butin aux étrangers. S'il est peu aimé, les presents seront médiocres.

Le lendemain les danseurs de calumet sortent de leurs cabannes, suivis des {13} des chefs et considérés de leur nation portant des timbales et des petites gourdes contenant des petits graviers qu'il font sonner pour battre la mesure, que l'on appelle chichicois, et s'avançent en chantant j'usqu'a la place préparé pour la danse, qui est toujours au milieu du village. Ils sont ordinairement deux danseurs, qui tiennent de la main gauche, chacun en dansant, un manche de calumet long environ de trois pieds, garnis de plumage, et un petit chichicois de la main droite, qui sert a marquer la cadance. Les femmes et les filles parentes de ceux qui donnent la danse les suivent chargés de présents qui accompagnent le calumet. Après être arrivés a ce lieu, les chefs et les viellards prennent place, et tous les assistants forment un grand cercle autour d'eux. Les danseurs se tiennent debout au milieu de ce cercle. Les femmes chargés des présents les posent au pied de leurs maris.

Avant de commencer, ces mêmes hommes, se faisant préceder des danseurs de calumet et des chantres, vont en cérémonies quérir le chef a qui est adressé le calumet a sa cabanne. {14} Ils l'amenent au milieu d'eux et portent ses enfants sur leur dos en dansant jusqua la place de la danse, et les font asseoir devant eux au fond du cercle. Le présent qui accompagne le calumet est mis au pied de cet homme. Un des plus considérés de ceux qui viennent danser se fait apporter par un servant quatre petites bottes d'un foin qui rend une odeur forte, et forme avec [ces bottes] un petit cercle sur la terre qui a la figure d'un nid d'aigle. Il prend ensuitte les enfants apportés a ce lieu, chacun a leur tour, par la main, et les fait placer debout, les deux pieds joints ensemble, dans l'enceinte de ce petit cercle de foin; et là, se faisant apporter un plat plein d'eau et une poignée de foin, il leur fait une aspersion de cette eau sur la tête, sur le visage et sur tout le corp et les essuyent ensuitte avec un morçeau d'étoffe neuve, ce qui marque une adoption par ces gens là du pere et des enfants. Pendant ce tems les braves racontent avec force et agitation leurs exploits de guerre.

Après cette cérémonie, ces enfants s'étant assis a la même place qu'auparavant, les mêmes hommes qui ont étés les chercher a leur cabanne les environnent.

on him and his children by helping him to show honor to the calumet that they wish to dance for him the next day, that is, to be generous toward those who wish to dance. There, each announces what he will give, and it is ordinarily horses that these people throw to the calumet, sometimes many, and sometimes few, according to whether they are more or less well supplied. A harangue is next made by an old man in all the streets of the village, encouraging the braves, the young men, and even the women to show their generosity on this occasion. If the chief who has received the calumet is loved by his nation, each will try to outdo the others in giving goods to those of the other nation. If he is not well liked, the presents will be mediocre.

The next day the calumet dancers leave their lodges, followed by the chiefs and leading men of their nation carrying drums and small gourds containing little stones that they shake to beat time, which are called *chichicois,* and, singing, they advance to the place prepared for the dance, which is always in the middle of the village. There are ordinarily two dancers, each of whom, while dancing, holds in the left hand a calumet stem about three feet long, decorated with feathers, and in the right hand a little rattle that serves to mark the rhythm. The women and girls, who are relatives of those who give the dance, follow them laden with presents that accompany the calumet. After having arrived at this place, the chiefs and old men take their seats, and all who attend form a large circle around them. The dancers stand in the middle of the circle. The women laden with presents place them at their husbands' feet.

Before beginning, these same men, preceded by the calumet dancers and the singers, go ceremoniously to get the chief, for whom the calumet is being performed, at his lodge. They lead him into their midst and carry his children on their backs while dancing up to the dance area, and they have them sit before them at the back of the circle. The presents that accompany the calumet are placed at the feet of this man. One of the foremost leading men of those who come to dance has a servant bring him four little bunches of a dried grass that gives a strong odor,[145] and with it he forms a little circle on the ground that symbolizes an eagle nest. Then he takes by the hand the children brought to this place, one after the other, and has them stand upright, with their two feet together, within this little circle of dried grass, and having a dish full of water brought there, and a handful of dried grass, he sprinkles their heads, faces, and entire bodies with the water, and then wipes them with a piece of new cloth, which denotes an adoption by these people of the father and of the children. During this time the braves recount their war exploits with vigor and excitement.

After the ceremony, the children being seated at the same place as before, the same men who went to get them at their lodge surround them. Standing

Se tenant debout devant et derrière eux, ils étendent leurs {15} robes ou couvertes pour les cacher a la vüë de toute l'assemblée. Alors les femmes, que j'ai dis être venus a la suitte des danseurs, les dépouillent de leurs vêtements et les en revétissent d'autres nouveaux, les peignent, leurs attachent les cheveux a leurs modes, les barbouillent de vermillon et les ornent enfin de toutes les plus belles parures sauvages qu'ils puissent avoir. On habille également l'homme pere des hardes les plus convenables a leur usage, et ensuitte chacun sassis a sa place et la danse commence. Les deux danseurs sautant et courant de ça de la au milieu du rond, contrefont le vol d'un aigle soit quil plane dans les airs, soit que, d'un vol rapide, il sélance vers la terre. Ils se donnent tant d'agitations et de mouvements, par les gestes et les contortions inexprimables qu'ils font, qu'il faut qu'ils ayent des corps de fers pour y soutenir des demi jours entiers. Cest alors que tous les spectateurs se piquent, tant d'une part que de l'autre, de générositée; cest a qui s'efforcera a se faire des presents mutuelles. Ils semblent véritablement se combâtre a qui aura le dernier a se faire des dons et des meilleurs. Ils disent aussi que cette fête ressemble a une bataille livrée {16} entre deux nations ennemis qui sefforçent de part et d'autre a gagner la victoire; on s'anime de chaque coté jusqu'a l'emportement. Les viellards encouragent, racontant a haute voix ce quils ont faits eux mêmes autrefois en pareils occasions. Les femmes, les filles et la plus basse jeunesse font retentir l'air de cris de joie et de louange donnés aux plus libérales. Les uns et les autres se dépouillent sur la place, nuds comme la main, pour faire présents de leurs vétements et de leurs parures, et chacun se rend le change. J'en ai vu donner tous leurs cheveaux, leurs armes et généralement tout ce quils possédoient. Pour arrêter ces excès, qui ressemblent plutot a une fureur bachique qu'à de vraies largesse, un brave otera brutalement le tambour des mains de celui qui bat la cadanse et les calumets de celles de ceux qui les dansent, criant que c'est assez et qu'il nest pas raisonnable de se dépouiller si totalement de toutes choses. Pour lors les dons et la danse cessent.

Les cheveaux {17} annoncés la veille pour être donnés en présent aux principeaux autheurs de la danse se livrent là sur le champs et se partagent ainsi que les autres présents qui ont étés mis aux pieds de ce chef et de ses enfants. Car pour les dons fait mutuellement les uns aux autres pendant la danse, chacun garde en son particulier ce qui lui a été donné. On reconduit, au son du tambour et des chichicois, le pere et les enfants adoptifs à leur demeure, et de là chacun se retire chez soi.

Jai cru ne devoir pas finir le recit de cette danse sans rapporter ce qui m'arriva dans un pareil divertissement que les Ricaras donnerent aux Chaguiennes dans le cours de l'étée que je passai chez eux. Étant sollicité par les premiers de les accompagner chez les Chaguiennes, à qui ils vouloient danser le calumet,

upright in front and behind them, they extend their robes or coverings to hide them from the view of all the gathering. Then the women, who I said came behind the dancers, strip them of their clothing and re-clothe them in new ones, comb their hair and arrange it in their fashion, smear them with vermillion, and finally adorn them with all the most beautiful Indian finery that they possess. They likewise dress the father with the most appropriate apparel in use among them, and then each sits down at his place and the dance begins. The two dancers leap and run to and fro in the middle of the circle, imitating the flight of an eagle either as it glides in the air or as it plunges toward the earth in rapid flight. They make so many vigorous motions and movements with gestures and inexpressible contortions that they must have bodies of iron to keep it up for entire half-days.[146] At this point all the spectators on both sides take pride in being generous, vying with one another to make reciprocal presents. They truly seem to fight to be the last to give presents, and [to give] the best ones. They also say that this celebration resembles a battle carried on between two enemy nations that do their utmost on each side to win victory; they work themselves into a frenzy on both sides. The old men encourage them, telling loudly what they themselves did at other times on such occasions. Women, girls, and children of the tenderest age make the air ring with cries of joy and praise for those who are the most generous. Some here and there undress on the spot, naked as a hand, to make presents of their clothing and their finery, and each is paid back in a similar exchange. I have seen some of them give away all their horses, their weapons, and generally all they possessed. To stop this excess, which resembles more a bacchanalian frenzy than true generosity, a brave will roughly snatch the drum from the hands of the one who beats the rhythm and the calumets from those who dance them, crying out that this is enough and that it is senseless to divest oneself so completely of everything. Thereupon the gifts and the dance cease.

The horses announced the day before to be given away as presents to the principal leaders of the dance are turned over immediately and divided up, as well as the other presents that were placed at the feet of the chief and his children. As for the gifts made reciprocally during the dance, each keeps as his own that which was given to him. To the sound of the drum and the rattles, the father and the adopted children are taken back to their dwelling-place, and then everyone returns home.

I thought I ought not to finish the account of this dance without reporting what happened to me in a similar ceremony that the Arikaras gave for the Cheyennes during the course of the summer that I spent among them. Since I was requested by the first to accompany them to the Cheyennes, for whom they

je ne voulus pas les refuser. Cependant, pour éviter de reçevoir quelques présents et dêtre obligé d'en faire, car je n'y avois rien apporté, je me tins un peu éloigné de la place de danse, tout a fait au dehors de la foule des spectateurs. Un viellard {18} chaguienne qui m'apperçut perça la foule et, me prenant par la main, me mena au fond du cercle et me fit asseoir entre les chefs et les plus considérés des deux nations.

Quelques tems après que la danse fut commençée, un jeune chef chaguienne vint a moi a grand pas (car il faut remarquer que les sauvages dans toutes leurs éxercices, soit de jeu ou danse, font paroitre beaucoup de feu et d'agitation). Il me fit signe de me lever, ce que je fis. Il me dépouilla de toutes les hardes que je portois, jusqu'a ma culotte et mes soulliers, qu'il posa a ma place, et me prenant par la main, il me conduisit dans cet état au centre de la place. Une jeune femme, qui étoit la sienne sans doute, s'avança portant dans ses bras un habit garni de faux galons, un chapeau couvert d'un plumet, une chemise et une paire de grandes mitasses a leur mode faite de peaux de cabri molles comme du linge, le tout garni en porte-épics, et les posa a mes pieds. Cet homme parla a sa femme, laquelle, ce a quoi {19} je ne m'attendois pas, etendis ses deux mains sur moi et me frotta de la tête aux pieds et se les passa ensuitte elle meme sur tout son corps. Je fus si étonné de l'action de cet homme et de cette femme que, les bras croisés, je restai comme immobile, le laissant faire tout ce qu'il voulut. Il me rabilla de pied en cape des vétements que je viens de nommer, et m'ayant couvert d'une robe aussi travaillée en porte-épics, il me remena a ma place parmi les cris d'acclamations et d'applaudissement de tous les spectateurs.* Quelques moments après je lui rendis le change, lui faisant présent de mes propres hardes. Dans le cours de cette danse, deux autres sauvages me firent présent d'un fusil et d'une corne a poudre.**

Entre les personnes qui liront ou attendront [*sic*, entendront] cette anecdote, les uns s'en divertiront sans doute, et d'autres, peut-être plus scrupuleux, se trouveront scandalisé qu'un homme qui non seulement fait profession d'une religion pure et sainte, mais encore qui a reçu une éducation complette de principes et de maxime d'honnêteté et de bienséance si convenables aux sociétés civilisées, se soit laissé conduire volontairement au milieu de tant de personnes des deux sexes dans un état si {20} contraire a la pudeur. Je leur répondrai que non seulement cette nuditée de certaines parties du corps, qui chocque chez nous la

* "Pour apprécier le présent du jeune chef, il faut savoir que l'habit ainsi que le chapeau, lui avoient été donnés par les Blancs dans leur premier voyage auprès de sa nation, et qu'il étoit probable qu'il ne recevroit jamais un semblable cadeau" (Perrin du Lac 1805:328).

** "Se piquant alors de générosité, il distribua à son tour ses vêtemens, des bijous en argent, et quelques pièces de monnoie, que ces peuples attachent à leur cou en guise de médailles. L'on doit observer que les bijous en or n'ont aucun mérite à leurs yeux, qu'ils donnent même la préférence à l'étain sur ce précieux métal" (Perrin du Lac 1805:328).

wished to dance the calumet, I did not wish to refuse them. However, to avoid receiving presents and being required to give some, for I had brought nothing with me, I kept a slight distance from the place of the dance, entirely outside the crowd of spectators. An old Cheyenne man who saw me broke through the crowd and, taking me by the hand, led me to the back of the circle and had me sit among the chiefs and the most important men of the two nations.

Some time after the dance began, a young Cheyenne chief came quickly striding up to me (for it should be noted that Indians in all their actions, either in play or dance, show much fervor and agitation). He signalled me to rise, which I did. He took off all the clothes that I wore, even my trousers and my footwear, which he put at my place, and taking me by the hand, he led me in this state to the center of the dance ground. A young woman, who was doubtless his wife, advanced carrying in her arms a coat decorated with imitation gold braid, a hat topped with a feather plume, a shirt and a pair of long leggings made in their fashion using antelope skin soft as linen, all of this decorated with porcupine quills, and placed them at my feet. This man spoke to his wife, who, which I did not expect, extended both her hands to me and stroked me from head to foot and then rubbed them over her entire body. I was so astonished by the actions of the man and woman that, with arms crossed, I remained immobile, letting be done all that he wished. He re-clothed me from head to foot in the garments that I just described, and, having covered me with a robe also elaborately decorated with porcupine quills, he led me back to my place amid cries of approval and praise from all the spectators.[147] A few moments later I completed the exchange, making him a present of my own clothing. In the course of the dance two other Indians made me presents of a fusil and a powder horn.[148]

Among those who will read or hear this anecdote, some will be amused no doubt, and others, perhaps more scrupulous, will find themselves scandalized that a man who not only professes a pure and holy religion, but in addition has received a thorough education in the principles and maxims of honesty and propriety befitting civilized societies, allowed himself to be led voluntarily into the midst of so many people of both sexes in a state so contrary to modesty. I will answer them not only that the nudity of certain parts of the body, which offends our sense of propriety because of the uses and ideas with which we have

bienséance par l'usage et lidée que nous y avons attaché, nest pas plus remarquée chez les peuples qui composoient cette assemblée que toute autre partie du corps, par l'usage et l'habitude ou ils sont nés et élevés de paroitre en cette état, mais que de plus encore, l'homme qui parcoure les païs étrangers et qui fréquente des peuples qui different entierrement des coutumes et des moeurs de son païs est obligé en certaines occasions, quelque religieux et éxacte observateur qu'il soit des siennes, de s'en écarter pour se conformer a celles de ceux avec qui il habite, et de suivre quelquefois cette sentence vulgaire «Avec les loups il faut hurler.»

Quand a l'action de cette homme de m'avoir mis nud et conduit ainsi au milieu de la place pour me revêtir d'autres vétements, je savois tres bien que c'est une action de générositée et de bravoure fort usitée parmi eux, mais celle de la {21} femme et son intention m'étoit inconnu. Je m'en informai a quelques uns, qui me dirent que ce jeune homme et cette jeune femme, ayant comme tout ceux de sa nation une grande vénération pour les hommes blancs et une grande confiance en leur pouvoir, croyoient que par cet attouchement sur moi, et s'être ensuitte frotté sur elle même, tel que je lai réçité plus haut, les enfants qui naitroient d'elle seroient exemts de maladie et vivroient fort longtems. Si ces pauvres ignorants ont ces absurdes préjugés, que veut-on que j'y fasse?

La danse du soleil

Cette danse n'est usitée que par les Sioux des prairies, par les Chaguiennes, par les Caninanbiches et par quelqu'autres peuples, leurs voisins. Elle ne se danse qu'une fois par an, et quelques fois de deux ans l'un. Il faut que le jour soit clair et serein, l'horizon net et le tems calme. Ils tendent au milieu de leur camp, sur des perches, plusieurs de leurs loges de cuire pour se mettre a labri de lardeur du soleil (car cest {22} toujours dans la saison d'étée quils célêbrent cette fte). Au fond de ces tentes sont assis les viellards les plus expers et les plus habiles dans les coutumes et usages de leurs ancêtres, tenant des timbales et des chichicois a la main.

Les hommes chefs et considérés sont placés ensuitte, chacun selon le rang qu'il tient par son âge ou par sa valeur entre eux. Les jeunes hommes, les filles et les jeunes femmes, habillés de leur plus propres hardes a leur môde, le visage barbouillés de vermillon et la tête couverte de quantitée de plumes peintes de diverses couleurs, se tiennent le plus prés de l'ouverture de ces tentes qui sont tendues en forme de l'osange.* On allume un grand feu au milieu de la place, et

* "C'est ici le cas d'observer qu'une quantité déterminée de parures, appartient exclusivement aux guerriers qui se sont distingués; ceux qui les portent sans les avoir méritées, sont bafoués jusqu'à ce qu'ils s'en soient dépouillés. L'on connoît par example le nombre

associated them, is not noticed among the people who comprised that gathering more than any other part of the body, due to the custom and habit in which they are born and brought up of being seen in this state, but moreover, the man who roams foreign lands and who visits peoples who differ entirely from the customs and habits of his country is obliged on certain occasions, however religious and strictly observant he is of his own, to cast them aside to conform to the ones of those with whom he lives, and at times follow the common saying, "Among wolves one must howl."[149]

As for the man's action of stripping me nude and leading me thus into the center of the dance ground to dress me with other clothing, I knew very well that this is an act of generosity and bravery very common among them, but the woman's actions and her purpose were unknown to me. I made inquiries of some, who told me that the young man and the young woman, having like all those of their nation great veneration for white men and great faith in their power, believed that by touching me, and then rubbing herself, as I described above, the children she would bear would be exempt from illness and would live a very long time. If these poor ignorant people have these absurd prejudices, what would you have me to do about it?

The Sun Dance

This dance is practiced only among the Sioux of the prairies,[150] the Cheyennes, the Caninanbiches, and several other peoples, their neighbors.[151] It is danced only once a year, and sometimes once in two years. The day must be clear and serene, the horizon cloudless, and the weather calm. In the middle of their camp they spread on poles several of their hide lodge covers for protection from the intense heat of the sun (for it is always in the summer that they perform this celebration). At the back of these tents are seated the old men who are the most expert and knowledgeable in the customs and habits of their ancestors, holding drums and rattles in their hands. The chiefs and leading men are seated next, each according to the rank that he holds by his age or his importance among them.

The young men, girls, and young women, dressed in their finest clothes according to their fashion, their faces smeared with vermillion, and their heads covered with a great many feathers painted in various colors, remain nearest to the opening of these tents that are arranged in a diamond shape.[152] A large fire is lit in the middle of the dance ground, and a little above it are placed several large kettles filled with the fattest and choicest meat that is brought from all

un peu au dessus plusieurs grandes chaudierres remplies des viandes les plus grasses et les meilleurs que l'on y apporte de toute part. Un viellard crie d'apporter des effets pour en faire offrande au soleil. Les femmes, les enfants même, y apportent fusils, chaudierres, couvertes de drap et autres marchandises de toutes {23} espêces, ainsi que des robes de boeufs des plus belles, des arcs, des flêches, des vetements d'hommes et de femmes de leur usage. Tous ces effets sont déposés au devant de ces viellards que j'ai dis être les plus expers parmieux en matière de religion.

Toutes ces préparatifs sont finis avant le lever du soleil. Aussitot que cet astre paroit sur l'horison, la danse commence, ces viellards dont j'ai parlé plus haut chantant et battant la mesure sur leurs timbales. Les jeunes hommes et les femmes, séparés de chaque coté de la place, tenant les calumets de cérémonie a la main, danscent au son du tambour et des chichicois.

Douze jeunes garçons des mieux faits, nuds comme la main, se tiennent debout a quelques pas éloignés de l'entrée de ces tentes, qui est toujours tournée du coté de l'orient. Ils dansent les mains élevées vers le soleil, et le suivent de même a mesure que cet astre s'élève sur son horison. {24} L'un d[']eux tient un manche de calumet garni [de] plumage a la main, quil présente continuellement au soleil. Cette danse dure depuis le soleil levant jusqu'au soleil couchant pendant dix jours consécutifs, si le tems est beau. Ils prennent pourtant quelques relaches pour manger et fumer a leur aise, ayant toujours grand soin d'offrir les premiers morçeaux de leur mangé et les premières pipes de tabac qu'ils fument au soleil. Les douzes jeunes hommes se tiennent debout tout le tems que la danse dure; ils ne s'asseyent, ne boivent, ne mangent, ni ne fument qu'après le coucher du soleil. A lissû de ces danses, le butin apporté pour offrande au soleil est distribué aux personnes qu'ils connoissent en avoir le plus de besoin. Je trouve qu'ils font mieux que les anciens peuples sauvages du Canada, qui faisoient des sacrifices au soleil de marchandises, de vivres, &c., et jettoient ensuitte leurs oblations dans un grand feu pour y être brulés et consumés.

Je m'informai de ces hommes sçavants dans leurs usages pourquoi ils faisoient cette danse en l'honneur du soleil {25} et quel étoit leur intention. Ils me dirent que cet astre étant la plus belle et la plus merveilleuse de toutes les

des exploits d'un guerrier, par celui des corbeaux qu'il porte au bas des reins les jours de céremonie; le pic-bois, la perruche ou l'épervier attachés à la chevelure, désignent des faits d'armes particuliers, et celui seul qui a tué un ours blanc peut porter un collier de ses griffes. Cette dernière parure rend particulièrement un guerrier recommandable, l'ours blanc étant de tous les animaux de l'Amérique septentrionale, le seul qui se jette sur l'homme sans en avoir été blessé ou assailli. Il est tellement féroce, que l'on en a vu attaquer des partis Sauvages, et ne cesser d'égorger qu'après avoir reçu des coups mortels; quelquefois même il entre la nuit dans leur cabanes, les surprend endormis, et en massacre plusieurs avant que leurs camarades aient pu leur donner le moindre secours" (Perrin du Lac 1805:330–31).

around. An old man cries out for goods to be brought to make offerings to the sun. The women and even the children bring fusils, kettles, woven blankets, and other merchandise of all kinds, as well as the most beautiful buffalo robes, bows, arrows, and men's and women's clothing that they wear. All these goods are set down in front of the old men who, I said, are the most knowledgeable among them in the matter of religion.

All these preparations are finished before the sun rises. As soon as this heavenly body appears on the horizon, the dance begins, the old men I mentioned above singing and beating time on their drums. The young men and women, separated on either side of the dance ground, holding the ceremonial calumets in their hands, dance to the sound of the drum and rattles.

Twelve of the best-built young boys, naked as a hand, stand some steps away from the entrance of these tents, which always face toward the east. They dance with their hands raised toward the sun, and they follow it in the same way as this heavenly body rises above the horizon. One of them holds in his hand a calumet stem decorated with feathers, which he presents continually to the sun. The dance lasts from sunrise until sunset for ten consecutive days, if the weather is good. They rest, however, a few times to eat and smoke at their ease, always taking great care to offer the sun the first morsels of their food and the first pipefuls of tobacco that they smoke. The twelve young men stand all the time that the dance lasts; they do not sit, drink, eat, or smoke until after the sun sets. At the conclusion of these dances, the goods brought as offerings to the sun are distributed to the people they know to have the greatest need of them. I find that they do better than the ancient Indian peoples of Canada, who used to make sacrifices of merchandise, food, etc. to the sun, and then throw their offerings into a large fire to be burned and destroyed.[153]

I queried those men knowledgeable in their customs as to why they made this dance in honor of the sun and what their purpose was. They said to me that this heavenly body being the most beautiful and the most marvelous of all

choses visibles, leurs ancêtres avoient toujours eu une vénération particuliere pour luy, et avoient de tout tems observé ces danses et ces offrandes; que leur intention dans leurs harangues et leurs chansons étoient de le prier de conserver la force et le courage de leurs guerriers pour résister a leurs ennemies, et d'accorder une réussite heureuse a leurs partis de guerre; de conserver leurs enfants, d'en augmenter le nombre, de les préserver des maux et des maladies contagieuses; et surtout de leur faire avoir dans leur païs une grande abondance de boeufs et de vaches sauvages afin que leurs femmes et leurs enfants ne meurent pas de faim.

La danse du boeuf

Cette danse se pratique entre différentes nations alliez qui seront campées auprès l'une de l'autre, ou chez un même peuple qui sera séparé en différents villages voisins, dont l'un ira donner le divertissement de cette danse à lautre. Ils sassemblent dans une des plus grandes cabannes du village quinze a vingt hommes, des plus braves de la nation, {26} vetus de leurs habillements de guerre, leurs armes a la main, portant chacun un bonnet fait de hurre de boeuf qui descend jusques sur les épaules, auquel est attaché de chaque coté une corne tel que ces animeaux en portent. Le devant de ces bonnets est orné d'une bande de cuire large de trois doigts garni de porte épic ou de rassade bleu. Il n'y a que les hommes braves qui ont droit de porter ces sortes de bonnets; tout autre qui le porteroit qui n'auroit pas fait aucun coup remarquable seroit moqué.

Ils sortent de cette cabanne accompagné des chantres, des timbales et des chichicois, leurs instruments ordinaires, et savançent en dansant ou plutot en sautant jusqu'auprès des habitations de ceux a qui ils vont donner le divertissement. A chaque pose, en marchant, il contrefont les boeufs, faisant voler la poussierre en l'air avec leurs pieds, meuglant et se poursuivant tel que ces animeaux le pratiquent dans la saison de leur rut. Étant entrés soit dans la grande cabanne des vieux, soit sur la place au milieu du village, ils y dansent des demi jours entiers, observant toujours les mêmes gestes et contortions. Pendant que la danse dure, les viellards ne cessent d'haranguer par tout le village de faire des présents aux danseurs, ce qui ne manque pas, car ces {27} gens là s'en retournent presque toujours chez eux chargés de butin qui leur a été jettés, ou fait présent, quils partagent ensuitte entre eux également.

Manierre <Manieres>* inciviles et grossières des sauvages

Tous les peuples sauvages n'ont aucune usage <aucunes usages> des civilités <civilitées> et politesses usitées chez les peuples <parmi les nations> policées.

* Variants in this section are from the version found at the end of the Third Notebook.

visible things, their ancestors had always had a particular veneration for it and had always observed these dances and offerings; that their intention in their harangues and songs was to beg it to conserve the strength and the courage of their warriors in order to resist their enemies and to allow their war parties to be successful; to conserve their children, to increase their number, and to preserve them from sickness and contagious diseases; and, above all, to make them have in their country a great abundance of buffalo bulls and cows so that their women and children do not die of hunger.

The Buffalo Dance[154]

This dance is performed among different allied nations who are camped near one another, or among a single people separated into different neighboring villages, one of which will undertake to put on this dance celebration for the other. In one of the largest lodges of the village, fifteen to twenty men, the bravest of the nation, gather dressed in their war clothes, weapons in hand, each one wearing a headdress made of the skin of a buffalo head that comes down to their shoulders, to which is attached at each side a horn such as these animals have. The front of the headdresses is ornamented with a band of hide three fingers wide decorated with porcupine quills or blue beads.[155] Only the men who are braves have the right to wear these kinds of headdresses; any others wearing them who had not accomplished a noteworthy coup would be mocked.

They leave the lodge accompanied by singers with drums and rattles, their ordinary instruments, and advance dancing or rather leaping until they come near the dwellings of those for whom they are going to put on the celebration. At each pause as they proceed they imitate buffalo, making dust fly into the air with their feet, lowing and chasing each other as these animals do in their rutting season. Having entered either the big lodge of the old men or the open area in the middle of the village, they dance for entire half-days, always making the same gestures and contortions. While the dance lasts, the old men incessantly harangue the people throughout the village to make presents to the dancers, which they do not fail to do, for these men almost always return home laden with goods that have been thrown, or given as presents, to them, which they then divide equally among themselves.

Uncivil and Impolite Manners of the Indians[156]

All the Indian peoples lack the good manners and politeness of the civilized peoples <nations>. They enter and leave freely the first lodge when the thought

Ils entrent et sortent librement dans la première cabanne qui leur vient a l'idée, sans saluer personne. Ils prennent place où ils la trouvent, ils allument leurs pipes <leur pipe> et fument quelque tems sans parler, ou demeurent assis ou accroupis, et sortent souvent sans dire mot. Ils ne se saluent non plus jamais lorsqu'ils se rencontrent. Quand ils viennent dans nos maisons, ils s'emparent des meilleures places. S'il y a soit chaises ou bancs auprès du feu, ils s'en accomodent et ne se lêvent pour qui que ce soit.

Ils lachent <lâchent> des vents devant tout le monde sans se soucier de personne. Ils n'ont aucun respects ni politesses pour les viellards, quoiqu'ils ayent beaucoup de déférence pour leurs conseils <a leurs conseils> et une aveugle croyance a toutes leurs superstitions ridicules, et confiance en leur médecine.

Leurs discours familiers ne sont ordinairement que {28} paroles sales et qu'impudicitées <impudicitée>, tant ceux des femmes que des hommes. Pour ce qui est du commerce qu'ils ont avec leurs femmes <leur femme>, ils se cachent ordinairement, néanmoins quelque fois ils ne se cachent pas. Les femmes se déshabillent toutes nüe <nuds> pour se coucher. Elles lâchent leur eau devant tout le monde.

Ils ne lavent jamais leurs plats qui sont de bois ou d'écorce, ni leur cuillerres <cuillères> qui sont aussi de bois ou de corne. Quand les femmes ont torchés leurs enfants avec leurs mains, elles les frottent après un bois où <ou> les essuyent avec quelques pailles ou feuilles, et manient ensuitte les viandes pour les faire cuire <pour les mettre a la chaudierre> et les manger. Ils lâvent <lavent> peu souvent leur visage ainsi que leurs <leur> mains. Ils ne coupent point leurs ongles. Ils mangent en renifflant <reniflant, rotant> et soufflant comme des bêtes, et ils mettent leurs mangérs <mangers> dans des plats ou leurs chiens viennent de manger, sans les netoyér <nétoyer>, et le plus souvent sur des bois ou des écorces pleines de saletées, et même sur la terre <selon comme ils se trouvent>, et font ainsi leur repas. Quand ils mangent des viandes grasses, ils s'en frottent le visage et les mains (ce qui leur sert d'eau pour se nétoyer) <pour se décrasser>, et les mangent a demi cuites encore toutes senglantes <ils mangent la viande a demi cuite et toute sanglante>.

Ils ne lavent jamais leurs vêtements; pour les {29} dégraisser, ils les frottent d'une sorte de terre blanche déliée <deliée> avec de l'eau. D'ailleurs il <ils> les laissent pourrir <pourrire> sur leur dos, particulierement les femmes qui sont toujours remplies de poux, qu'ils ne tuent jamais autrement quen les écrasant entre leurs dents. Leurs cabanes sont ordinairement fort salles. Ils mangent souvent couchés. Enfin, ils ne se genent <gennent> nullement dans leurs actions, suivant <en tout> le pur animal.

comes to them, without greeting anyone. They take any place they find, they light their pipes <pipe> and smoke for some time without speaking, or remain seated or squatting, and often leave without saying a word. They make no more salutation when they meet one another. When they come into our houses they seize the best places. If there are chairs of benches near the fire, they make themselves at home and will not get up for anyone.

They break wind in front of everybody without caring about anyone. They have no respect or politeness for elders, even though they have a great deal of regard for their advice and a blind faith in all their ridiculous superstitions and confidence in their medicine.

Their familiar discourse is ordinarily only indecent words and lewd acts, the women as much as the men. In regard to relations that they have with their wives <wife>, they ordinarily hide themselves; nonetheless, sometimes they do not hide themselves. The women undress completely nude for sleeping. They make water in front of everybody.

They never was their dishes, which are of wood or of bark, nor their spoons, which are also of wood or of horn. When the women have wiped their children with their hands, they rub them afterwards with a piece of wood or wipe them with dry grass or leaves, and then handle the meat to cook it <to put it in the kettle> and eat it. They very infrequently wash their face or their hands. They do not cut their fingernails. They eat snuffling <belching> and blowing like animals, and they put their food in dishes where their dogs have just eaten, without cleaning them, and most often on wood or bark full of filth, or even on the ground <however it happens to be>, and make their meal in that manner. When they eat greasy meat they rub their face and hands (which serves them instead of water to clean themselves), and they eat it half-cooked, still completely bloody.

They never wash their clothes; to remove the grease they rub them with a kind of white earth dissolved in water. Moreover, they let them rot on their backs, particularly the women, who are full of lice that they never kill in any other way that crushing them between their teeth. Their lodges are ordinarily very dirty. They often eat lying down. Finally, they do not constrain themselves at all in their actions, following <on the whole> the pure animal.

Les enfants ne respectent point leurs parents; le père se laissent <se laisse> battre par le fils, parce que, disent-ils, sils chatioient leurs enfants, ils seroient trop timides et ne seroient pas guerriers.

{unnumbered f.} 3me. cahier

{1} TROISIÈME PARTIE

Guerre des sauvages

Les premiers et principaux motifs qui portent les sauvages a se faire la guerre les uns aux autres sont, comme chez tous les peuples de l'univers, le desir d'acquerir de la gloire, de se donner un renom, de sattirer les louanges de sa nation et de s'élever plus ou moins par quelqu'action guerrière au dessus de ses semblables. Les causes secondes qui sont toujours les commencements de la guerre entre-eux sont les vols de chevaux; de là s'ensuivent les répresailles de vols et de massacre.

La passion dominante des sauvages est la haine implacable qu'ils portent à leurs ennemis et le désire de la vengeance, de sorte qu'il n'y a rien au monde capable d'empêcher un sauvage dont le parent aurat été tué de venger cette mort, soit dans un tems, soit dans l'autre; et sans consulter si ce parent avoit tort ou non daller voler ou tuer le premier ses voisins, il ne se consolera jamais qu'il n'ait envoyé quelqu'un de la nation qui l'a tué dans le pays des morts rejoindre ce parent. Cela est si veritable que j'ai vû et entendu nombre de fois des mères, des grandes meres, répéter a leur fils ou petit fils, à mesure qu'ils avancoient en age, que leur ayeut [*sic*, aïeux], leur pere, leur oncle ou leur frere ainé avoit été tué par telle nation. C'est ainsi que de génération en génération {2} ils perpetuent dans le coeur de leurs enfants la haine pour leurs ennemis et le desir de la vengeance, de sorte que, quoiqu'ils contractent des trèves avec leurs ennemis où ils se font des promesses de vivre en paix et en union ensemble, ils ne laissent pas de se garder les uns des autres, se connoissant également traitres.

Chez tous les peuples sauvages du Missouri, comme ailleurs, tout homme est libre de former un parti de guerre et de se mettre a la tête, ce qu'ils appelent partisant. Cependant, il y a parmi eux des chefs de guerre de distinction qui, par leur bravoure, leurs exploits, leur experience dans l'art militaire sauvage se sont acquis une si grande réputation que l'orsqu'ils sortent pour la guerre, tous les guerriers en général du village s'empressent de les suivre, au lieu que les autres partisant ne sont ordinairement suivis que de leurs parents et de quelques jeunes coquins plus propre a marauder qu'a faire une action brave.

Je ne ferai mention que des partis de guerre et des chefs qui observent les usages et les formalités requises {3} et approuvés de toute antiquitée chez-eux. Car pour ces partis de maraudeurs, ils n'ont aucunes formalités; ils partent si sécrétement de nuit que l'on ne scait leur depart quelques fois que plusieurs

Children do not respect their parents; a father allows himself to be struck by his son because, they say, if they chastise their children they would be too timid and would not be warriors.

Third Notebook

THIRD PART

Indian Warfare

The foremost and principal reasons that lead Indians to make war against one another are, as among all peoples of the world, the desire to attain glory, gain renown, earn praise from their nation, and raise themselves by some war deed more or less above their equals. The secondary causes that always begin war among them are thefts of horses, followed by thefts and massacres in retaliation.

The dominant passion of Indians is the implacable hatred that they bear toward their enemies and the desire for revenge, so that there is nothing in the world capable of preventing an Indian whose relative has been killed from avenging that death at one time or another; and, without questioning whether or not the relative was wrong to go rob or kill his neighbors in the first place, he will never be consoled until he has sent someone of the nation that killed him into the country of the dead to join this relative. This is so true that many times I have seen and heard mothers and grandmothers repeat to their sons or grandsons, as they grew older, that their grandfather, father, uncle, or elder brother was killed by a certain nation. It is thus that from generation to generation they perpetuate in the hearts of their children hatred for their enemies and the desire for revenge, so that, although they make truces with their enemies by which they promise to live in peace and union together, they do not fail to be on guard with one another, recognizing each other equally as traitors.

Among all Indian peoples of the Missouri, as elsewhere, any man is free to form a war party and to put himself at its head, whom they call the *partisan*. Nevertheless, there are among them distinguished war chiefs who by their bravery, exploits, and experience in the Indian military art have acquired such a great reputation that when they leave for war, all the warriors of the village in general hasten to follow them, whereas other *partisans* are usually followed only by their relatives and a few young rascals more fit for maurading than for performing brave deeds.

I will refer only to war parties and chiefs who observe the customs and formalities demanded and approved among them from ancient times. As for the parties of marauders, there are no formalities; they leave so secretly in the night that sometimes their departure is not known until several days later, and they

jours après, et ils arrivent de même. Ces chefs de guerre du premier rang se déterminent a partir pour la guerre soit de leur propre mouvement pour vanger quelques insultes faites a la nation; ou à la sollicitation de quelques viellards dont le fils aura été tué et qui, ne se sentant plus assez de vigueure pour en tirer vengeance, aura pleurer plusieurs fois à leur porte et autour des cabanes; ou à la prière de quelques jeunes hommes qui, desirant quelques semblable vengeance, voudroient les mettre a leur tête. Un jeune homme ou viellard affligé, après avoir pleuré, comme je viens de le dire, plusieurs jours de suitte a la porte d'un chef de guerre et autour du village, entre le soir dans sa cabane tenant un calumet plein de tabac a la main, qu'il pose sur la terre devant ce chef sans l'allumer, et sacroupit auprès {4} du feu sans dire mot pour attendre sa reponse. Celui cy, qui sçait très bien ce qu'il demande, la tête baissée, semble être immobile et paroit quelques moments plongé dans les plus sérieuses réflexions.

S'il se détermine a accomplire les voeux du suppliant, il prend le calumet, l'allume lui même, fûme et fait fûmer celui qui l'a apporté, et le lui rend sans dire mot. Alors celui cy se lêve, lui fait ces remerciment a leur manière et se retire. S'il ne trouve pas a propos d'aller cette fois à la guerre, il ne touche point au calumet, et après qu'il a couvert son refus de quelques raisons vallable, il le repouse a celui qui l'a présenté, qui l'emporte tel qu'il l'a apporté.

Le chef de guerre qui a accepté un calumet où [*sic,* ou] qui s'est déterminé de son propre mouvement d'aller en guerre choisi le jour qu'il lui plait pour faire un grand festin. (Ces festins sont ordinairement de viande de chiens.) Il y appelle les principaux chefs {5} et considerès de la nation, a qui il annonce le dessein qu'il a d'aller en guerre sur telle ou telle nation, et il leur expose les sujets légitimes qu'il a de le faire. Ceux cy ne manquent guèrre de l'approuver. Il se fait pendant plusieurs jours de suitte de pareils festins entre tous les guerriers qui veulent etre du parti. Durant ce tems les femmes preparent les souliers et les petites provisions de bouches; je dis petites car les sauvages ne se chargent jamais de vivres, se fiant sur leur chasse, et d'ailleurs, ils sçavent dans les endroits ou ils ne trouvent point d'animaux se procurer la subsistance par des fruitages et des racines a eux connus, de sorte que trois cent sauvages vivront où trente hommes des nations policées mourront de faim.

Si le parti est considérable, le chef de guerre aura soin d'inviter un ou deux autres partisant expérimentés à la guerre pour le seconder. La veille du départ il se fait un dernier festin dans la cabane du chef de guerre, ou tous les guerriers se trouvent. La natte de guerre s'y déploye; on la fait fumer avec de grandes cérémonies et précautions; on lui offre les prémices du festin, ce qui se pratique très éxactement durant tout le voyage. Le calumet du partisant {6} est placé auprès de la natte. Les nattes de guerre les plus ordinaire de

come back in the same manner. War chiefs of the first rank decide to leave for war either on their own accord to avenge various insults against the nation; or at the request of some old man whose son may been killed and who, not feeling strong enough to avenge him, will cry a number of times at their doorways and around the lodges; or at the request of some young men who, desiring some similar vengeance, wish to put them [the war chiefs] at their head. An aggrieved man, young or old, after having wept, as I just said, for several consecutive days at the door of a war chief and around the village, enters one night into his [the war chief's] lodge, holding in his hand a calumet filled with tobacco, which he places on the ground in front of the chief without lighting it, and squats near the fire without saying a word to await his response. The latter, who knows very well what he [the visitor] requests, remains motionless with head lowered and seems for some moments to be plunged into very serious thought.

If he decides to carry out the wishes of the supplicant, he takes the calumet, lights it himself, smokes, has the one who brought it smoke, and returns it to him without saying a word. Then the latter rises, gives him thanks in their fashion, and withdraws. If he does not think it appropriate to go to war at this time, he does not touch the calumet, and after he has explained his refusal by presenting some valid reasons, he hands it back to the one who presented it, who carries it off just as he brought it.

The war chief who has accepted a calumet or who is resolved of his own accord to go to war chooses the day that pleases him to make a great feast. (These feasts are ordinarily of dog meat.) He calls in the principal chiefs and leading men of the nation, to whom he announces his plan to go to war against such and such a nation, and he sets forth the legitimate reasons that he has for doing so. The latter hardly ever fail to approve it. Similar feasts are held during several consecutive days among all the warriors who wish to be in the party. During this time the women prepare moccasins and small supplies of food; I say small because Indians never load themselves down with food, since they rely on the hunt, and, besides, in places where they do not find animals they know how to procure sustenance from fruits and roots familiar to them, so that three hundred Indians will live where thirty men of civilized nations would die of hunger.

If the party is large, the war chief will take care to invite one or two other *partisans* experienced in war to assist him. The day before the departure a final feast is given in the war chief's lodge, to which all the warriors come. The war bundle is opened; they offer smoke to it with elaborate rituals and care, and they offer it the first servings of the feast, which is performed very precisely throughout the entire journey. The calumet of the *partisan* is placed near the medicine bundle. The usual war bundles of all the Pawnees and the

tous les Panis et des autres nations du haut Missouri sont composés de peaux de quelqu'oiseaux de proie, surtout d'ésperviers, et d'un epies de maÿs blanc, attachés ensemble au bout d'une corde que ces chefs de guerre passent dans leur col et portent pendus derrière leur dos dans la marche. Le calumet, que le partisant porte continuellement a la main, sert a faire fumer le Grand Esprit, la natte de guerre, le soleil, la terre, les morts et les jeunes gens du parti dans la route.

L'heure du départ étant arrivé, qui est ordinairement a l'aube du jour, le partisant sort de sa cabane en pleurant a haute voy jusqu'à quelques distance du village, et tous les guerriers défilent l'un après l'autre, et sarrêtent environ a une demie lieue de leur demeure {7} pour attendre ceux qui en auroient partis les derniers. Etant tous assemblés, le chef de guerre harangue son monde et l'encourage, ce qu'il fait sans cesse tout le long de la journée en marchant, ne s'asséyant que le soir l'orsqu'il est campé.

Le partisant marche toujours derrière, en allant et en revenant, et un ou deux des plus braves et des plus experimentés tiennent le devant. Il ne porte point d'arme, les donnant à porter a un jeune homme, ainsi que ses souliers, qui le sert comme un vrai domestique durant toute l'expedition. Il reprend ses armes dans les occasion ou il faut combâtre les ennemies.

Ce titre de grand chef de guerre qu'un homme s'est acquis du consentement unanime de toute sa nation par sa valeur et sa capacitée et son experience ne lui donne, cependant, aucun pouvoir absolu sur les guerriers; ces sortes de gens ne connoissant point la subordination militaire non plus que la civile. {8} Cela est tellement vrai que si le grand chef de guerre savisoit de commander d'authorité quelque chose au moindre homme de son parti, celui cy, qui ne sera peut être qu'un fat et qu'un malotru, est en droit de repondre nettement a cette figure de capitaine qu'il ait a faire lui même ce qu'il ordonne aux autres, mais le cas est si rare que je ne sçai si l'on pourroit en citer un exemple.

Cette indépendance, néanmoins, ne cause aucun préjudice. Le chef de guerre, sans être revetû de pouvoir et d'authoritée, ne laisse pas de trouver un parfait aquiescement a tout ce qu'il veut, car a peine ouvre-t-il la bouche pour dire à ses gens qu'il faut faire cecy ou cela, aller a la découverte la nuit, que la chose est exécutée sur le champ avec zel et promptitude et sans la moindre contradiction.

{9} Les plus jeunes hommes du parti sempresse a servire le partisant et les considerés. Ce sont eux qui allument les feux l'orsqu'ils campent, apportent les bois, font les cabanes de pailles ou d'écorce quand il fait mauvais tems, charoient l'eau, font cuir le manger — qui n'est que du rôti, car ils n'emportent jamais de chaudierre avec eux — et ils présent[ent] toujours les premiers et les meilleurs morceaux au partisant, aux plus anciens et aux plus braves d'entre-eux.

other nations of the upper Missouri are comprised of skins of certain birds of prey, especially the sparrow-hawk, and an ear of white corn, linked together at the ends of a cord that those war chiefs put through their collar and carry hung behind on their back while on the march.[157] The calumet, which the *partisan* carries constantly in his hand, is used to offer smoke along the way to the Great Spirit, the war bundle, the sun, the earth, the dead, and the young men of the party.

The hour of departure having arrived, which is usually at daybreak, the *partisan* leaves his lodge wailing loudly until he is some distance away from the village, and all the warriors file out one after the other, stopping about a half-league from their dwelling-place to await those who were the last to leave. Once they have all assembled, the war chief harangues his men and encourages them, which he does unceasingly all day long while walking, not sitting down until evening when he has camped.

The *partisan* always walks at the rear, both going and returning, and one or two of the bravest and most experienced take the lead.[158] He does not carry weapons, giving them as well as his moccasins[159] to a young man to carry, who acts as a true servant for him throughout the expedition. He takes back his weapons when it is necessary to fight the enemy.

The title of Great War Chief that a man has acquired by the unanimous consent of all his nation through his courage and his ability and his experience does not give him, however, any absolute power over the warriors; men of this sort are not acquainted with either military or civilian subordination. This is so true that if the Great War Chief thought to use his authority to order something to be done by the least important man of his party, the latter, who might perhaps be only a fop and a lout, is entitled to respond plainly to the leader's face that he should do himself what he orders others to do, but the case is so rare that I do not know if one could cite an example of it.

This independence, nevertheless, causes no harm. The war chief, although he is not vested with power or authority, does not fail to receive perfect compliance to all that he wants, for no sooner does he open his mouth to tell his men that this or that needs to be done, [for example,] to go scouting at night, than the thing is executed immediately with zeal and promptness and without the least protest.[160]

The youngest men of the party hasten to serve the *partisan* and the leading men. It is they who light the fires when they camp, gather wood, build lodges of dried grass or bark when the weather is bad, carry water, cook food—which is always roasted, for they never take kettles with them—and always present the first and best pieces of meat to the *partisan*, to the eldest, and to the bravest among them. The war chief and leading men have their own fire and lodge; all

Le chef de guerre et les considérés ont leur feu et leur cabane particulierre; tous les jeunes guerriers font des feux et des cabanes à côté, selon la quantitée de monde qu'ils sont.

C'est plaisir a voir la jeunesse de ces partis de guerre sauvage se porter avec zel et empressement à tout ce que le partisant et les considérés désirent. Ce n'est, cependant, ni les récompenses qu'ils experent pour leurs services, ni le châtiment qu'ils craignent s'ils manquent ou refusent de faire ce qu'on leur ordonne; c'est le seul desire de sattirer {10} les louanges et sacquerir l'estime des chefs et des considérés de leur nation, car il est certain que cette jeunesse sauvage craint plus les blâmes et les mépris des braves et des anciens que nos milices ne craignent les punitions qui leur sont appliquées s'ils désobeissent aux ordres de leur capitaines et officiers.

Les sauvages ne se font la guerre que par surprise; c'est a dire que ceux qui decouvrent sont presque toujours assurés de vaincre, ayant a choisir dattaquer a la pointe du jour ou dans les défilés les plus dangéreux. Ils ont des talents merveilleux pour faire une guerre de surprise, car ils connoissent mieux la piste des hommes ou des bêtes sur l'herbe ou sur les feuilles que les Européens ne la pourroient connoitre sur le sable ou sur la neige. Outre cela, ils distinguent facilement si ces trâces sont vielles ou nouvelles, {11} aussi bien que le nombre et lespèce qu'elles désignent, et ils suivent ces vestiges des jours entiers sans prendre le change. C'est une véritée dont je ne saurois douter après en avoir été tant de fois temoins.

Les sauvages prennent toutes les précautions imaginables pour couvrir leur marche pendant le jour, envoyant des d'écouvreurs [*sic*] de touts côtés et ne pratiquant que les païs bas, évitant de monter sur les hauteurs crainte dêtre vus; ces [*sic,* c'est] moins par la crainte qu'ils ont dêtre surpris que par le désir qu'ils ont de surprendre s'ils prennent tant de précautions. Si le parti est fort nombreux, ils marchent a petites journées, faisant secher les viandes des animaux qu'ils tuent dans la route afin de n'être point obligé de chasser pour vivre {12} l'orsqu'ils seront entrés dans le païs de leurs ennemis. L'orsqu'ils sont proche, les petits partis ne marchent que la nuit, se cachant le jour dans des petits bois ou des ravines.

Si le parti est assez fort pour navoir rien a craindre, ils prennent moins de precautions, à la véritée, mais ils se conduisent toujours de maniere a pouvoir avoir l'avantage de la surprise. Les découvreurs se couvrent ordinairement d'une peau de loup, et ils contrefont si bien ces animaux qu'il faut être aussi habiles qu'eux pour ne s'y pas tromper. Si ces batteurs destrades, que jai dis être envoyé de côté et d'autre pour découvrir, appercoivent du monde etranger, ou trouvent quelques vestiges fraiches ou chemins, ils reviennent promptement en avertir le partisant.

the young warriors make fires and lodges nearby, depending on the number of men there are.

It is a pleasure to see the youths of the war party attend with zeal and haste to all that the *partisan* and the leading men desire. This is done, however, neither for recompense they expect for their services, nor for fear of punishment if they fail or refuse to do what is ordered; their only desire is to earn praise and attain the regard of the chiefs and leading men of their nation, for it is certain that those Indian youths fear more the censure and scorn of the braves and elders than our militiamen fear the punishments that are applied to them if they disobey the orders of their captains and officers.

Indians carry on war only by surprise; that is to say that those who make the discovery are almost always assured of victory, having the choice of attacking at daybreak or in the most dangerous defiles. They have marvelous talents for making war by means of surprise attacks, for they recognize the tracks of men or animals on grass or leaves better than Europeans could recognize them on sand or snow. Besides that, they determine easily if the tracks are old or new, as well as the number and kind that they indicate, and they follow those signs for entire days without losing them. This is a fact that I cannot doubt after having witnessed it so many times.[161]

Indians take every imaginable precaution to conceal their movements during the day, sending scouts in all directions and going only through low country, avoiding climbing up on hills for fear of being seen; they take so many precautions less for fear of being surprised than for their desire to surprise.[162] If the party is very large, they travel for short days, drying the meat of animals they kill on the way so that they are not obliged to hunt in order to sustain themselves once they have entered the country of their enemies. When they are close, small parties travel only at night, hiding themselves during the day in little woods or ravines.

If the party is strong enough to have nothing to fear, they take fewer precautions, it is true, but always conduct themselves so as to have the advantage of surprise. The scouts usually cover themselves with wolf skins, and they imitate those animals so well that one must be as skillful as they in order not to be deceived.[163] If these scouts, who as I have said are sent out on all sides to explore, discover people from other nations, or find some fresh signs or trails, they return promptly to inform the *partisan*.

Voicy comment cela se pratique. Ces decouvreurs arivés à la vûe du parti, {13} soit qu'il marche, soit qu'il soit arrêté, donne le signal, qui est délever le coin de la couverture qu'ils portent sur le dos en lair; pour lors les gens du parti reconnoissent a ce signal qu'ils apportent des nouvelles. Le chef de guerre s'avance seul au devant des decouvreurs, qui lui racontent ce qu'ils ont vûs a l'oreille. Celui cy le répête ensuitte a haute voix a tout le parti.

S'ils n'ont trouvés que des vestiges, il envoye ausitôt d'autres decouvreurs des plus expert, qui doivent suivre ces traces ou chemins dans l'obscuritée de la nuit j'usqu'auprès des cabanes de ceux qui auroient fait ces vestiges. Ces derniers approchent avec toute précaution possible jusqu'au pied du village ou du camp de chasse des ennemis. Ils reconnoissent exactement la quantitée de monde qu'ils peuvent être, la situation de la place où ils sont postés. Ils examinent soigneusement la route qu'il faudra tenir pour les approcher et les surprendre, ainsi que lendroit par lequel il sera plus avantageux de les attaquér. Après tous ces examens faits, ils se retirent et retournent avec vitesse faire part au chef de guerre de leur decouverte. {14} Celui cy, sur leur rapport, tient conseil avec les plus anciens et les plus habiles de son parti sur ce qu'ils doivent faire.

Si le nombre de leurs ennemis est beaucoup moindre qu'eux, ou a peu près egal, et qu'ils se résolvent de les attaquer, ils restent cachés le jour suivant, ayant toujours quelqu'uns a l'écart qui ont l'oeil au guet. Ils se mettent en marche a l'entrée de la nuit et se rendent dans le plus grand silence tout auprès des cabanes qu'ils veulent attaquer, et là, couchés sur le ventre, ils attendent avec la plus grande patience du monde, sans faire le moindre bruit, que le jour vienne dissiper les ténébres de la nuit. Alors un des plus braves du parti fait le cri lugubre en faisant la décharge de son fusils, s'il en a un, sur ces pauvres gens plongés dans le sommeils. Tous en général répondent {15} a ce cri par de semblables, et dans l'instant même, avec une vitesse dont les sauvages seuls sont capables, les coup de fusils et les flêches fondent de toute part sur les assiégés.*

Il y en a peu qui resistent a de pareils assauts, surtout les peuples éloignés qui ne sont point munis d'armes a feu; ils prennent presqu'aussitôt la fuitte, sans presque faire de resistance, fuyant chacun de son coté sans ordre ni discipline. C'est à lors [*sic*, alors] que les vainqueurs tuent, massacrent, sans distinction d'âge ni de sexe, tout ce qu'ils attrappent, la coutume des sauvages etant de n'épargner, dans la chaleur de l'action, ni les femmes ni les enfants. Cependant, ils en prennent quelques fois plusieurs qu'ils rendent en vie à leur village dont ils se servent pour esclaves, ou les vendent aux hommes blancs pour des marchandises. Les sauvages ne font point de prisonniers mâles au dessus de quinze ans; et, d'ailleurs, un homme qui est {16} surpris par ses ennemis et qui

* "Autrefois ils les vendoient aux Blancs, mais ce commerce a été prohibé par les gouvernemens Espagnol et Anglois" (Perrin du Lac 1805:300).

Here is how that is done. When the scouts have come within sight of the party, whether it is moving or at rest, they give the signal, which is to raise into the air the corner of the covering they wear on their backs, so that the men of the party recognize by this signal that they are bringing news. The war chief advances alone towards the scouts, who tell him in a whisper what they have seen. The latter then repeats it in a loud voice to all the party.

If they have found only signs, he immediately sends the most expert scouts, who must follow the tracks or trails in the darkness of night to the vicinity of the lodges of those who would have left those signs. They approach near to the village or the hunting camp of the enemies with all possible caution. They learn exactly how many people there must be, and the situation of the place where they are located. They carefully examine the route that will have to be taken to approach and surprise them, as well as the place at which it will be most advantageous to attack them. After all these examinations are made, they withdraw and return quickly to apprise the war chief of their reconnaissance. The latter, based on their report, holds a meeting with the most elderly and the most skillful of his party as to what they ought to do.

If the number of their enemies is much smaller than theirs, or nearly equal, and they determine to attack them, they remain hidden the following day, always having some off to the side who are on the lookout. They begin marching at nightfall and proceed with the greatest silence very near to the lodges that they wish to attack, and there, lying on their stomachs, they wait with the greatest patience in the world, without making the least sound, until day comes to dissipate the darkness of night. Then one of the bravest of the party makes an ominous cry while discharging his fusil, if he has one, on these poor people lost in sleep. All in general answer this cry by making similar ones, and immediately, with a quickness of which Indians alone are capable, the fusil shots and arrows burst from all sides onto the besieged.

There are few who can offer resistance to such assaults, especially the peoples from far away who are not supplied with firearms; they take flight almost immediately, making scarcely any resistance, each fleeing separately without order or discipline. It is then that the victors kill and massacre, without distinction as to age or sex, all whom they catch, the custom of Indians being to spare neither women nor children in the heat of battle. However, they sometimes capture a few whom they take alive to their village and use as slaves, or they sell them to white men for merchandise.[164] Indians do not take as prisoners males over fifteen years of age; and, moreover, a man who is surprised by his enemies and who cannot escape by flight ordinarily defends himself until

ne peut se sauver par la fuitte se défens ordinairement jusqu'à la mort, scachant très bien qu'il ny a point de cartier pour lui quand bien même il se rendroit. Ainsi il préferre a se faire tué sur le champ plustôt que de servire de triomphe aux victorieux et de victime à linsolence et a la cruautée de la jeunesse et des femme en arrivant au village des vainqueurs.

L'orsqu'ils ont finis leurs massacres, ils lêvent la chevelure de tous les morts; pillent le butin des vaincus; coupent, taittent [*sic*, taillent], brulent ce qu'ils ne peuvent emporter; et ramassent tous les chevaux, car toutes les nations du Missouris en sont toujours plus ou moins bien fournies. Après quoi ils senfuyent le plus vite possible, marchant jour et nuit jusqu'à ce qu'il soyent sur leurs terre; {17} pour lors se croyant hors de dangers, ils s'arrêtent pour faire le partage des chevaux et autres dépouilles prises sur les ennemis.

Il faut remarquer que la coutûme de toute la nation des Panis, ainsi que de celles qui sont situées au delà d[']eux, remettent [*sic*, est de remettre] tout ce qui a été pris sur l'ennemi, jusqu'aux moindre bagatelles, au chef de guerre. Celui cy a le droit de prendre la quantitée de chevaux et desclaves qu'il veut, et les plus beaux pour lui, ainsi que ce qu'il lui plait dans les autres effets prises; et il partage ensuitte le reste au gens de son parti, ayant toujours égard de donner ce qu'il y a de mieux aux plus braves et aux plus anciens de ceux qui l'ont accompagnés.

N'étant plus qu'a une {18} journée de marche de chez-eux, ils mettent les feux dans la prairi de distance en distance en marchant. Les partis de guerre qui n'ont point tués de monde et qui n'ont volés que des chevaux nallume les feux qu'une fois. C'est le signal qu'ils donnent de loin au gens de leur village pour leur faire connoitre leur réusite. Quand ils sont a la vûe de leurs habitations, ils sarrètent tous ordinairement sur quelque coteau élevé, et de là ils font des signaux qui désignent la quantitée de personnes qu'ils ont tués et pris. Ils ne font point de cris de mort, tel que le pratiquen tous les peuples orientaux du Missipy [*sic*]. Quelques viellards s'avancent au devant d'eux. Le chef de guerre leur {19} fait un récit succinct du coup qu'il a fait et sur quelle nation il a frappé. Un de ceux cy le crie a haute voix a tout le village.

Les vielles et les jeunes femmes courent au devant des guerriers en faisant des cris de joie, et déchargent leurs maris ou leurs fils de ce qu'ils portent. Les femmes les plus décrépétées s'emparent des chevelures, qui sont ordinairement pendues au bout des baguettes peintes en rouge. Les guerriers entrent de file dans le village, le partisant à la tête. Les jeunes gens du parti, montés sur les chevaux des ennemis défaits, courent de cà de là dans la prairie et autour du village, tirant des coups de fusils, faisant les mêmes cris et les mêmes gestes qu'ils ont fait en se battant contre leurs ennemis.

Les vielles femmes ne cessent de sauter et de chanter, tenant les chevelures a la main, dans toutes les rues du village, insultant et narguant de loin a [*sic*] leurs

death, knowing very well that there would be no quarter for him even if he surrendered. Therefore he prefers to be killed in action rather than to serve as a trophy for the victorious and as a victim of the insolence and cruelty of the young people and women on arriving at the village of the victors.

When they have finished their massacre, they scalp all the dead; take the goods from the vanquished; chop up, slash, and burn what they are not able to carry away; and gather up all the horses, for all the nations of the Missouri are always more or less well supplied with them. Afterwards they flee as fast as possible, traveling day and night until they are on their own land; then, thinking themselves out of danger, they stop to make the division of horses and other spoils taken from the enemy.

It must be noted that the custom of the entire nation of the Pawnees, as well as of those who are located beyond them, is to hand over to the war chief all that was taken from the enemy, down to the least trifle. The latter has the right to take for himself as many of the best horses and slaves as he desires, as well as what he likes among the other goods taken, and then he divides the remainder among the men of his party, always taking care to give what is best to the bravest and oldest of those who accompanied him.[165]

When they are only one day's journey from home, they light fires on the prairie at different points as they travel. The war parties who have not killed anyone and have only stolen horses only light fires once. It is the signal that they give from afar to the people of their village to inform them of their success. When they are in sight of their dwellings, they all usually stop on some high hill and from there make signals that indicate the number of people whom they have killed and captured. They do not make death cries, as is the practice of all the peoples east of the Mississippi. A few old men come forward to meet them. The war chief gives them a brief report of the attack that he made and which nation he struck.[166] One of the former announces this loudly to all the village.

The women, old and young, run to meet the warriors, uttering cries of joy and unburdening their husbands or their sons of whatever they carry. The most decrepit women seize the scalps, which are usually hung from the ends of sticks painted red. The warriors enter the village in single file, the *partisan* at the head. The young men of the party, mounted on the horses of the defeated enemies, run here and there on the prairie and around the village, shooting fusils, making the same cries and gestures that they made when fighting their enemies.[167]

The old women, holding the scalps in their hands, do not cease to jump and sing through all the streets of the village, insulting and flouting their

ennemis. Tous les viellards sont en mouvement, les uns chantent, les autres haranguent, donnant de grandes louanges aux guerriers et principalement au partisant, le remerciant d'avoir vanger la nation et satisfaits aux pleurs et aux regrets des morts.

Tous ces viellards et ces vielles harpies ressemblent plutôt, par le timtamarre qu'ils font, a une troupe de gens ivres ou frémetiques [*sic*] {20} qu'à des personnes dans le bon sens. Jai vûs ces vielles furies couper elles mêmes les mains, les membres et les parties viriles des ennemis tués auprès de leurs cabanes, se les pendres au col et aux oreilles, et danser ainsi a toutes les portes de loge du village. A voir les geste et les contorsions de ces femmes, le corp a demi nud, les cheveux epars, la tête garnie de plume mal-en- ordre, le visage, les bras barbouillés de noir et de rouge, on les prendroit aisément pour autant de Mégère, d'Alécto et de Thisiphonne, trois furies de la fable sorties du sombre manoire de Pluton.

Les chevelures se déposent pour un certain tems dans cette grande cabane des vieux dont jai parlé au chapitre du logement des sauvages. Chacun des guerriers garde a son particulier la part des dépouilles qui luy est écheû en partage et, pour lordinaire, il en font présent a leur plus proches parents. Les enfants et les jeunes femmes ou filles prisonnieres ne sont jamais maltraités, car tous les peuples de cette rivierre et qui sont situés a l'occident sont plus humains et moins cruels envers leurs prisonniers que ceux qui habitent a l'orient et au midi du Mississipi, lesquels brulent assez communément leur prisonniers, boivent le sang et mangent la chair de leurs ennemis, {21} ce que les premiers ont en horreur. Cependant, je me suis laissé dire qu'ils faisoient quelquefois des sacrifices de créatures vivantes a la grosse étoile du matin, les faisant mourir par le feu, attachés a un cadre, mais le cas est si rare qu'il n'arrive peut-être pas une fois en l'espace de cinquante année. Le seul tourment que les guerriers font souffrir aux jeunes femmes et aux jeunes filles qui tombent entre leurs mains, tant dans la route qu'après être arrivés au village, e[s]t de les faire servire de force a satisfaire leur brutale passion.

On festine les guérriers de toute part. Le lendemain ou les jours suivants, les viellards crient au jeunes femmes et aux filles de préparer toutes leurs parures pour danser les chevelurres. Pendant que les femmes font leurs préparatifs, le chef de guerre et tous les hommes de son parti s'assemblent dans la grande loge des vieux. Il leur fait le récit de point en point de tout ce qui leur est arrivé depuis son départ jusqu'au jour de son arrivée. Cette narration finie, ils sortent tous a la file, portant les chevelurres et menant les personnes prisonnières avec eux.

Trois viellards des plus habils dans les chants et les cérémonies usitées de génération en génération chez-eux en pareils occasion, les suivent, munis d'une timbale qui sert a battre la mesure de leur chants, et de plusieurs petites gourdes

enemies from afar. All the old men are in motion, some singing, others haranguing, giving great praise to the warriors and especially to the *partisan*, thanking him for having avenged the nation and satisfied the tears and grief for the dead.

By the hubbub they make, all these old men and old harpies resemble a troop of drunk or frenzied people, rather than people of good sense. I have seen these old Furies themselves cut off the hands, limbs, and virile parts of enemies killed near their lodges, hang them around their neck and from their ears, and dance thus at the door of every lodge in the village. Seeing the gestures and contortions of these women, their bodies half nude, their hair disheveled, their heads garnished with randomly placed plumes, their faces and arms smeared with black and red, one would easily take them for just so many Megaeras, Alectos, and Tisiphones, the three Furies of the fable from the dark realm of Pluto.[168]

The scalps are placed for a certain time in the big lodge of the old men of which I have spoken in the chapter on the lodges of the Indians. Each of the warriors keeps for himself the share of the spoils that fell to him in the division, and ordinarily they give them as presents to their nearest relatives. The children and the young women or girls taken prisoner are never mistreated, for all the peoples of this river and those who are located to the west are more humane and less cruel toward their prisoners than those who live to the east and south of the Mississippi, who quite commonly burn their prisoners, drink the blood, and eat the flesh of their enemies, which horrifies the former. However, I was told that they sometimes made sacrifices to the great morning star of living creatures attached to a frame, killing them by fire, but the instance is so rare that it may not occur even once in the space of fifty years.[169] The only anguish that the warriors make the young women and young girls suffer who fall into their hands, either on the way or after having arrived at the village, is to force them to satisfy their brutal passions.

The warriors are feasted on all sides. On the next day or the days following, the old men call to the young women and girls to prepare all their finery to dance the scalps. While the women make their preparations, the war chief and all the men of his party assemble in the big lodge of the old men. He tells them the story point by point of all that happened to them from his departure until the day of his return. Once this narration is finished, they all leave in single file, carrying the scalps and leading the prisoners with them.

Three old men, who know best the songs and the ceremonies used from generation to generation among them on such occasions, follow them, equipped with a drum that is used to beat the rhythm of their songs and several little gourds,

remplies de graviers qui servent au même sujet. Ils s'avancent tous hors l'enceinte du village. Les femmes et les filles les suivent, le visage mataché de rouge et de noire, revêtues des habits de guerre, des bonnets a corne, des plumages et autres parures dont les hommes se servent soit pour la guerre, soit pour la danse; elles tiennent a la main les armes des hommes.

Lorsqu'ils sont arrivés a la place marquée pour la cérémonie, qui est a quelques arpents des cabanes, {22} ils forment un grand cercle, les hommes en dehors et les femmes dans l'intérieure. Au milieu du rond on allume un grand feu, auprès de ce feu se met une pièce de viande séché des plus grasse; une langue de boeuf et un coeur d'homme aussi séché, et une chevelure pendue au bout d'une baguette peinte en rouge. (Les sauvages, lorsqu'ils ne sont pas trop pressés, levent le coeur et la langue des ennemis qu'ils tuent et les font sécher de la même manièrre que ceux des autres animaux qu'ils tuent dans les chasses; et cela pour les conserver plus longtems, et pour en faire des offrandes et des sacrifices au Grand Esprit.)

Ces trois viellards dont j'ai parlé, qui sont des espêce de prêtres parmi-eux, sont placés au fond de ce grand cercle de monde. Un des trois commence a chanter; les deux autres accordent avec luy, battant la mesure sur le tambour et faisant sonner de même les chichicois. A la fin de chaque période, un des guériers fait le cris lugubre de mort; les autres répondent tous ensemble par un ton de voix, «hé,» frappant tous en même tems la terre du pied droit. Après plusieurs reprises de ces chants et de ces cris, les trois viellards s'avancent seuls auprès du feu. Le plus considérés des trois prend la pièce de viande qui y a été déposé, la lêve a la hauteur de ses bras, l'offre au Grand Esprit, au soleil, a la terre* et aux morts, et après avoir fait trois fois le tour de ce feu, il l'a jette dedans pour y être consumé. Il fait la même cérémonie pour la langue de boeuf. Il coupe une parcelle de coeur d'homme, et une autre de la chevelurre, et ayant observé les mêmes {23} gestes qu'il a fait pour les premierres, ils les jettent également dans ce feu pour y être brulés. Ensuitte de cette cérémonie superstitieuse, ils retournent touts trois a leur même place. Les chants et la danse commencent. On donne les chevelurres a tenir au femmes et aux filles prisonnières, qui sont obligés de danser au milieu de ce rond; sinon ce sont les plus vielles femmes de la nation qui les tiennent.**

Ces danses se continuent plusieurs jours de suitte et durent quelquefois des mois entiers dans l'enceinte du village, par les jeunes hommes et les jeunes filles et les vielles femmes qui s'atroupent par bande et vont danser aux portes des cabanes des chefs et des braves de leur nation. Ceux cy leur font

* "à l'étoile du matin" (Perrin du Lac 1805:304).

** "Lorsqu'elles s'y refusent, les vielles femmes s'en emparent en donnant des marques de joie extravagantes" (Perrin du Lac 1805:304–5).

filled with stones, that serve the same purpose.[170] They all advance beyond the enclosure of the village. The women and girls follow them, with their faces painted red and black, dressed in war clothes, horned bonnets, feathers, and other finery that the men use either for war or for the dance; they hold the men's weapons in their hands.

When they have arrived at the place chosen for the ceremony, which is a few *arpents* from the lodges, they form a large circle, men on the outside and women inside. In the middle of the circle a large fire is lit, and near the fire is placed a piece of very fat dried meat; a buffalo tongue and a man's heart, also dried; and a scalp hung from the end of a stick painted red. (The Indians, when they are not too hurried, remove the heart and tongue from the enemies they kill and dry them in the same manner as those of the other animals they kill on the hunt; this is to preserve them for a longer time, and to use them to make offerings and sacrifices to the Great Spirit.)

The three old men of whom I have spoken, who are a kind of priest among them, are placed at the back of the large circle of people. One of the three begins to sing; the two others join in with him, beating time on the drum and shaking the rattles in unison. At the end of each period, one of the warriors makes the ominous death cry; the others answer all together in one tone of voice, "heh!" all stamping the ground at the same time with their right foot. After several repetitions of these songs and cries, the three old men alone advance closer to the fire. The most respected of the three takes the piece of meat that was laid down there, raises it to the full length of his arms, offers it to the Great Spirit, to the sun, to the earth,[171] and to the dead, and after having gone three times around the fire, casts it into it to be burned. He performs the same ritual for the buffalo tongue. He cuts a piece from the human heart, and another from the scalp, and having observed the same actions that he performed for the first-named, he also throws them into the fire to be burned. Following this superstitious ceremony, all three return to their same place. The songs and the dance begin. The women and girls who are prisoners are given the scalps to hold, and are compelled to dance in the middle of the circle; otherwise it is the oldest women of the nation who hold them.[172]

These dances are continued within the enclosure of the village by young men, young girls, and old women who gather in groups and go to dance at the doors of the lodges of the chiefs and the braves of their nation for several consecutive days, and sometimes for entire months. The latter give them a few small presents

quelques petits présents et donnent aux jeunes gens des chiens, qu'ils mangent en des festins entre-eux. Lorsqu'ils sont fatigués de ces danses et que les viellards trouvent a propos de les finire, ils coupent quelques cheveux de ces chevelures, qu'ils attachent au bout des petits batons matachés de rouge, et vont les planter sur des coteaux aux environs de leurs habitations; et ils remettent ces mêmes chevelures, après les avoir bien fait fumé, entre les mains des chefs de guerre, qui les enveloppe prétieusement dans les nattes de guerre, et alors toutes les réjouissance sont finies.

Les petits partis de guerre qui n'osent attaquer ouvertement les ennemis s'embusquent aux environs des villages ou des camps de chasse de leurs ennemis, guétant quelques chasseurs, ou quelques femme, allant au bois. S'ils peuvent surprendre de semblables gens et les tuer, ils leur pêlent promptement la tête, et comptant sur la vitesse de leurs jambes, ils s'enfuyent par des chemins différents {24} jusqu'a certain rendéz-vous où ils se trouvent tous ensemble. On se réjouit et on danse également a leur arrivée au village pour une seule chevelurre apportée comme pour dix. Dautres se contentent de voler des chevaux; il n'y a pas de réjouissance publique a leur arrivée.

Les sauvages font quelquefois cent et deux cent lieüës de chemin, endurant toutes sortes de miserres et de fatigues, pour attrapper la chevelurre d'une personne, et ils reviennent le plus souvent sans faire coup. Pour lors ils arrivent et entre la nuit dans leur cabanes sans que personne les voyent.

Les sauvages forment quelquefois des corps de mils guerriers et d'avantage, se réunissant plusieurs nations alliés ensemble pour aller attaquer ouvertement et combâtre une nation entierre; mais ces petites armées n'ont presque jamais de réussîte, étant toujours découverte par ceux qu'ils veulent attaquer, qui, ayant le tems de fortifier leur village de palissades et de terrasses, les repoussent toujours avec plus de perte du côté des assiégeants que des assiégés. Dailleurs, les sauvages sont peu propres a tenir un siége et incapables de forcer le moindre réduit de cent pieux. Ils n'ont l'avantage que lorsqu'ils surprennent quelque camp de loge des peuples les plus reculés qui, ne connoissant point ou peu les armes a feu, et n'en étant point fournis, s'épouvantent aisément au bruit des coups de fusils et prennent la fuitte.

La nation des Sioux est celle qui forme le plus souvent ces gros partis, et quoiqu'ils soient en réputation d'être les plus braves et les meilleurs guérriers de cette rivierre, ils réussissent peu quand ils attaquent des villages entiers ouvertement. Dans le cours de l'étée de l'année mil sept cent quatre vingt douze, trois gros village sioux, toute la nation chaguienne, et la nation aricaras se confédererent pour défaire le village des Gros Ventre {25} situé auprès des Mendanes. Ils formerent un corps d'environ deux milles guerriérs. Ils menerent avec eux leurs femmes, leurs enfants, leurs loges et tout leur bagage, et se camperent

and give dogs to the young men, which they eat at feasts among themselves. When they are tired of these dances and the old men find it appropriate to end them, they cut some hair from these scalps, which they attach to the ends of small sticks painted red, and go place them on hills near their dwellings; and they return those same scalps, after many smoke offerings, to the hands of the war chiefs, who wrap them carefully in the war bundles, and then all the celebrations are ended.[173]

Small war parties that do not dare to attack enemies openly lie in wait in the vicinity of villages or hunting camps of their enemies, watching for some hunters, or some women, going into the woods. If they can surprise such people, and kill them, they hastily scalp them, and counting on the speed of their legs, they flee by different routes to a certain meeting place where they all gather together. There is equal rejoicing and dancing on their return to the village with a single scalp as there is for ten. Others content themselves with stealing horses; there is no public rejoicing upon their return.

Indians sometimes travel one hundred to two hundred leagues, enduring all kinds of hardship and fatigue, to seize the scalp of a single person, and they return more often than not without striking the enemy. Then they arrive and enter their lodges at night without anyone seeing them.

Indians sometimes form bodies of a thousand warriors or more, bringing together several allied nations to go attack openly and fight an entire nation, but these little armies almost never have any success, always being discovered by those they wish to attack, who, having the time to fortify their village with palisades and embankments, always repel them with more loss on the side of those laying siege than on that of the besieged. Besides, Indians are ill-suited to laying a siege and are incapable of breaking into the smallest redoubt of one hundred posts. They have the advantage only when they surprise a camp of lodges of those peoples farthest away, having little or no knowledge of firearms, and possessing none, are easily frightened by the sound of fusil shots and take flight.

The Sioux nation is the one that most often forms these large parties, and although they are reputed to be the bravest and best warriors of this river, they seldom succeed when they openly attack entire villages. In the course of the summer of 1792, three large Sioux villages, the entire Cheyenne nation, and the Arikara nation joined together to destroy the Gros Ventre village located near the Mandans. They formed a body of about two thousand warriors. They took with them their wives, their children, their lodges, and all their baggage, and camped near the Gros Ventre village.[174] These three confederated nations,

auprès du village des Gros Ventres.* Ces trois nations confédérés, ayant tenu siége neuf jours et essayé par plusieurs fois de forcer les palissades des premiers, furent contraints de se retirer avec beaucoup de perte de leur gens tués et blessés dans ces différents assauts, et tres peu du coté des assiégés, qui s'étoient toujours tenu fermes dans l'enceinte de leur fort, quoiqu'ils y eussent beaucoup souffert de la soif, les Sioux et leurs alliés n'ayant pu les attirer pour se battre en plaine.

Si la joye des sauvages est sans bornes et leur satisfaction complette quand ils apportent des chevelurres ou amênent quelques prisonniers sans avoir perdu de monde, autant leur tristesse est grande et leur deuil cruel s'ils sont tués, soit en parti de guerre ou de chasse, ou aux environs de leurs habitations. Les plus proches parents des morts font retentir l'air de cris et de pleurs qui ressemblent plûtot a des hurlements de loups, de bêtes féroces, qu'a celuy des hommes. Les femmes se coupent les cheveux le plus ras de la tête possible. Les hommes se percent la peau des bras, des cuisses, des jambes, se coupent les oreilles, et enfin se mettent le corps tout en sang; leurs membres ne sont que plaies et cicatrices. Ils se couvrent ensuitte de terre délayée deau depuis la tête jusqu'aux pieds. Ils ne portent aucunes parures sauvages, ni ne se mattachent d'aucune autre couleur que de blanc, qui est, chez-eux, celle du deuil, jusqu'a ce que la mort de leur parent ait été revengé et leur deuil relevé.

Cest surtout parmi les Sioux et les Chaguiennes que ces pratiques de deuil cruel sont éxactement observées. {26} Les peuples panis, aricaras, mendannes, gros ventres n'observent point ces méthodes de deuil si sevères, ne pleurant qu'un jour ou deux la perte de leurs parents. Après ce tems les viellards haranguent de cesser les pleurs, disant que c'est un grand honneur et même un bonheur d'être tué a la guerre, en combattant pour sa patrie; que ce sort est préférable mille fois a celui de mourir sur une vile natte, consumé par la maladie ou accablé de viellesse; que ceux qui sont tués a la guerre sont heureux dans le pays des morts, leur ame y étant mieux reçue et y jouissant de plus de gloire que celle de ceux qui meurt d'une mort naturelle.

Ces peuples ont cette croyance si bien inculquée dans leur esprit que j'ay vu moi même, lorsque je résidai pendant trois années consécutives chez la nation des Panis Republicains, des pères et des mères chanter auprès du corps de leurs fils que l'on rapportoit au village pour y être enterrés, lesquels avoient étés tués dans une bataille que les Halitannes livrerent aux Republicains en rase campagne a quelques distances de leur camp de chasse d'étée, dont je fus temoin. Ces femmes, mères de ces jeunes hommes tués, tenant un arc d'une main et une fléche de lautre, chantoient auprès du corps de leur fils d'un air aussi gaie que martial, les remerciant de leur avoir donné la satisfaction de les voir mourir par la

* "Ceux-ci, instruits d'avance de leurs projets, s'entourèrent d'un large fossé, garni de pieux forts et élevés, et les attendirent de pied ferme" (Perrin du Lac 1805:306).

having laid siege for nine days and having tried several times to break through the palisades of the first-named, were compelled to retreat with many losses of their own people killed and wounded in these different assaults, but very few on the side of the besieged, who had always stood fast within the walls of their fort, although they suffered much from thirst, the Sioux and their allies being unable to draw them out on the prairie to fight.

If the joy of Indians is boundless and their satisfaction complete when they bring back scalps or some prisoners without having lost any men, their sorrow is just as great and their grief bitter if some are killed on a war party, on the hunt, or near their dwellings. The closest relatives of the dead make the air echo with cries and laments that sound more like the howls of wolves and ferocious beasts than of men. Women cut their hair as close to the head as possible. Men pierce the skin of their arms, thighs, and legs, cut their ears, and finally their bodies are entirely covered with blood; their limbs are nothing but wounds and scars. Then they cover themselves from head to foot with a mixture of earth and water. They do not wear any Indian finery, nor paint themselves any color other than white, which, among them, represents mourning, until the death of their relative has been avenged and their grief assuaged.

It is especially among the Sioux and the Cheyennes that these cruel mourning practices are exactly observed. The Pawnee, Arikara, Mandan, and Gros Ventre peoples do not observe such extreme methods of mourning, lamenting only a day or two the loss of their relatives. After this time the old men urge them to cease the laments, saying that it is a great honor and even good fortune to be killed in war, fighting for one's country; that this fate is a thousand times preferable to dying on a vile mat, consumed with illness or overcome with old age; that those who are killed in war are happy in the country of the dead, their souls being better received there and enjoying more glory than those who die a natural death.

These peoples have this belief so well inculcated in their minds that I myself have seen, when I resided for three consecutive years among the nation of the Republican Pawnees, fathers and mothers sing near the bodies of their sons that had been brought back to the village to be buried, who had been killed in a battle that I witnessed between the Halitannes and the Republicans on open prairie at some distance from their summer hunting camp. These women, mothers of the young men who were killed, holding a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other, sang near the bodies of their sons with an air both cheerful and martial, thanking them for having given them the satisfaction of seeing them

main de l'ennemi en combattant vaillamment pour la deffense de leur patrie, mort mille fois préférable au sort dexpirer sur une méchante natte, minés par quelque comsomption funeste. Ne pourroit-on-pas comparer l'action généreuse de ces mères sauvages aux sentiments héroiques de ces anciens peuples {27} de la Grèce, si renommés, qui répétoient sans cesse a leurs fils lorsqu'ils partoient pour la guerre qu'ils préfereroient d'apprendre la nouvelle de leur mort ou de les voir rapporter sur un chariot couverts de blessures dangéreuses que d'entendre dire qu'ils auroient tournés le dos a l'ennemi?

Je reviens aux cérémonies qu'ils observent pour arrêter les gémissements et les pleurs des parents les plus affligés. Les viellards et les considérés de la nation s'assemblent dans la cabane des vieux. Un crieur harangue par toutes les rues du village que l'on va relever de deuil les parents des morts, et il exhorte les personnes généreuses d'apporter dans cette cabane des marchandises et des vêtements de leur usage pour donner aux personnes affligés. On s'empresse de toute part d'y apporter fusils, chaudierre, drap, hache, pioches, couteaux, &c., ainsi que des robes de boeufs, des peaux de vache passées et autres hardes de toutes espèce. On fait venir ensuitte les plus proches parents et parentes de ceux qui ont étés tués. On leur lave la tête, le visage et le corps, qu'ils ont encore couverts de terre; on les dépouille de leurs vieux haillons et on les revêti de vêtement nouveaux; on les barbouille de vermillon et de couleurs qui portent a la gaietée. Les effets apportées dans la cabane leur sont distribuées, et, après un copieux festin de quelques piéces de viande bien grasses, et que les viellards ont harangués et remerciés tout leur saoul ceux qui ont fournis les présents et ceux qui les ont reçeus, chacun se retire chez soi. Pour lors les danses, les jeux, les festins journaliers qui avoient étés interrompus dans le village par les malheurs arrivés recemment recommencent et continuent comme de plus belle, et on n'entend plus de pleurs ni de hurlements. {28} Les parents des personnes tués renferment leurs chagrins dans leur interieure et y conserve également le desin et la résolution de s'envanger tôt-ou-tard, ce qui est tout le contraire chez les nations situées sur le bas Missouris, qui pleurent ou plutôt hurlent sans délai, jour et nuit, toute lannée, et toute leur vie.

Le chef de guerre qui a eu le malheur de perdre du monde en combattant les ennemis et qui revient a son village saîn et sauf, ayant évité la mort par la fuitte, a une condition aussi honteuse et misérable que celle de celuy qui a eu le bonheur de réussir est glorieuse. Il se dépouille généralement de tout ce qui luy appartient; il vit seul et isolé, toujours couvert de terre. Il ne paroit dans aucunes assemblées ni festins publiques. Il est méprisé et blammé de toute la nation d'avoir évité la mort par une fuitte honteuse tandis que ses jeunes gens ont peri en combattant courageusement les enemis, où [*sic,* ou] de s'estre laissé surprendre par imprudence ou négligence, car chez eux comme ailleurs le malheureux a toujours tort.

die at the hand of the enemy while fighting valiantly in defense of their homeland, a death a thousand times preferable to expiring on a wretched mat, consumed by some deadly disease. Could one not compare the noble acts of these Indian mothers to the heroic sentiments of the ancient peoples of Greece, so renowned, who repeated unceasingly to their sons when they left for war that they would rather learn the news of their death or see them brought back in a chariot covered with dangerous wounds than hear it said that they had turned their backs on the enemy?

I return to the ceremonies that they observe to stop the wailing and lamentations of the most afflicted relatives.[175] The old men and leading men of the nation assemble in the lodge of the old men. A crier calls loudly through all the streets of the village that people should go to relieve the grief of the relatives of the dead, and he urges generous people to bring merchandise and some clothes that they use into the lodge to give to the bereaved. They hasten from every direction to bring fusils, kettles, cloth, axes, pickaxes, knives, etc., as well as buffalo robes, dressed buffalo hides, and other apparel of all kinds. Then the closest male and female relatives of those killed are summoned. They wash their hair, faces, and bodies, which are still covered with earth; they are stripped of their old rags and dressed in new clothing; they are smeared with vermillion and colors that bring cheer. The goods brought into the lodge are distributed to them, and, after a hearty feast of several very fat pieces of meat, and once the old men have finished to their satisfaction haranguing and thanking those who furnished the presents and those who received them, everyone goes back home. Then the dances, games, and daily feasts that had been interrupted in the village by the recent misfortunes begin again and continue with new vigor, and no more lamentations or wailings are heard. The relatives of the individuals killed keep their sorrows to themselves and conserve equally the plan and resolve to avenge themselves sooner or later, which is entirely the reverse among the nations located on the lower Missouri, who cry or rather wail without delay, day and night, all year, and all their lives.

The war chief who has had the misfortune of losing men while fighting enemies and who returns to his village safe and sound, having avoided death by flight, has a position as shameful and miserable as that of he who had the good fortune to succeed is glorious. He generally gives away all that belongs to him; he lives alone and isolated, always covered with earth. He does not appear at any public gatherings or feasts. He is scorned and blamed by the entire nation for having avoided death by fleeing shamefully while his young men perished courageously fighting the enemy, or for allowing the party to be surprised through imprudence or negligence, for among them as elsewhere the unfortunate is always in the wrong.

Aussi est-il tres rare qu'un chef de guerre qui a le malheur soit d'estre surpris par quelque parti ennemi plus fort que le sien, ou d'être ratrappé dans sa retraite de sorte qu'il soit obligé de combatre avec perte de ses gens, s'il est vaincu, il est rare, dis je, qu'il en revienne. Cest luy qui doit s'exposer le plus au péril et ne point lacher pied que l'ennemi ne soit mis en fuite, et y perir plûtot a la peine. {29} Les sauvages m'ont raconté plusieurs actions des chefs de guerre qui, voyant leur parti presque défait et mis en fuitte, ont préféré périr sous les coups des ennemis sur le champ de bataille, quoiqu'ils auroient pu se sauver, que de revenir chez-eux couverts de honte et de mépris.

La manière dont les sauvages font la guerre est si rude qu'il faut avoir des corps de fers pour resister aux fatigues qu'ils sont obligés d'essuyer; tellement que, cela joint au peu de quartier qu'ils se font les uns aux autres, n'épargnant ordinairement ni les femmes ni les enfants, il ne faut pas s'étonner si le nombre des guerriers dans une nation est si petit qu'a peine les plus grands villages en pourroient-ils fournir deux milles.

Je n'ai pas cru devoir finir ce chapitre, quoi que déjà trop long, sans faire le recit de deux actions de guerre arrivés dans le courant de l'année mil sept cent quatre vingt treize qui vous feront connoitre que si les sauvages n'ont pas cet habiletée dans lart militaire ni ce courage martial pour tenir des sièges, prendre des places d'assauts, livrer de sanglantes batailles qui durent des jours entiers, tel que le font les nations policees, ont [*sic,* on] ne peu au moins disconvenir qu'ils se trouvent parmi-eux des hommes véritablement braves, courageux, et capables de conserver assez de tranquilitée dans le coeur et de présence d'esprit pour sçavoir se tirer d'affaire dans les occasions les plus dangéreuses et les plus difficiles.

La première arriva chez la nation des Otoctatas pendant leur chasse d'étée. Un corps considérable d'Halitannes, tous a cheval, vint attaquer les Otoctatas. Ces derniers, quoi que moins nombreux, mais naturellement braves et bien munis d'armes a feu, se défendirent vigoureusement. Quelques moments après que le combat fut commencé, un {30} jeune chef otoctatas nommé les Yeux Bleüës, monté sur un vigoureux cheval, s'avança entre les combattants, fit arrêter le combat et provoqua le plus brave des Halitanes a un combat personnel. Aussitôt un de ces derniers, non moins courageux que le dernier, sortit de la foule, et ayant fait un peu eloigner ses gens, vint se présenter sur l'arène. L'Otoctatas cria, ou fit signe, a l'Halitanne de mêtre bas sa lance, son bouclier, ou *pare flêche,* et son habit de guerre, et de ne tenir que son grand couteau en main, et que luy quitteroit son fusils et ses autres armes, ne reservant aussi que son couteau, ce qui fut exécuté de part et dautres. Aussitôt ces deux champions, monté chacun sur son cheval, s'accosten avec furie et, saisis corps a corps, se pognardoient ainsi l'un et lautre a la vue des deux partis etonnés. Les Halitannes, s'appercevant que

Therefore it is very uncommon that a war chief who has the misfortune either to be surprised by some enemy party stronger than his own, or to be overtaken in his retreat and forced to fight with losses of men, if he is defeated, it is uncommon, indeed, for him to return. It is he who should expose himself the most to peril and not give ground until the enemy is put to flight, and instead perish in the struggle. Indians have recounted to me several deeds of war chiefs, who, seeing their party almost defeated and put to flight, preferred to perish under the blows of the enemy on the battlefield, even though they could have saved themselves, rather than return home covered with shame and scorn.

The manner in which Indians make war is so harsh that they must have bodies of iron to resist the fatigue that they have to endure, so that, given this fact and the little quarter they show one another, ordinarily sparing neither women nor children, it is not astonishing that the number of warriors in a nation is so small that the largest villages could scarcely furnish two thousand.[176]

I did not think I should end this chapter, even though it is already too long, without telling of two deeds in battle that took place during the course of 1793 that will acquaint you with the fact that, even if the Indians do not have skill in the military arts or the martial fortitude to hold sieges, take places by assault, or carry on bloody battles lasting entire days, such as civilized nations do, at least one cannot deny that there are found among them some truly brave men, courageous and capable of keeping enough calm in their hearts and presence of mind to know how to get out of trouble in the most dangerous and difficult situations.

The first took place among the Otoe nation during their summer hunt. A considerable body of Halitannes, all on horseback, came to attack the Otoes. The latter, although fewer in number, but naturally brave and well-supplied with firearms, defended themselves vigorously. A few moments after the combat began a young Otoe chief named Blue Eyes, mounted on a spirited horse, advanced between the combatants, stopped the fight, and challenged the bravest of the Halitannes to personal combat. Immediately, one of the latter, no less courageous than the former, left the crowd, and having made his men move a little distance away, came forward into the arena. The Otoe cried out, or made signs, to the Halitanne to put down his lance, his shield or *pare flêche,* and his war clothes, and to carry only his large knife in his hand, and that he would lay aside his fusils and other weapons, also keeping only his knife, which was done on both sides. Immediately these two champions, each mounted on his horse, accosted one another furiously, and engaged in hand-to-hand fighting, stabbing one another in sight of both astonished parties. The Halitannes,

leur homme étoit pret a succomber sous les coups de couteau redoublés que l'Otos, plus adroit et plus vif, luy portoit, foncerent les premiers sur les deux combattants, les entourerent, culbuterent l'Otos a coup de lance en bas de son cheval et retirerent leur chef, a demi-mort, du champ de batail. Les Otoctatas avancerent aussi, mais un peu trop tard pour sauver la vie a leur chef bien aimé. Ils moururent touts deux de leurs blessures quelques moments après.

Les Halitanes furent mis en déroute avec beaucoup de perte de leurs gens, car, comme j'ai déja dis, les peuples sauvages qui sont bien munis de fusils ont toujours l'avantage sur ceux qui n'en ont point, bien qu'ils soient en plus grand nombre.

Ne voila-t-il pas une action aussi vaillante et aussi mémorable que tant d'autres si renommés dans l'antiquitée?

{31} La seconde affaire se passa la même année dans le païs des Halitannes. Un parti de quatre vingt guerriers de la nation chaguienne, allant en guerre sur les Halitannes, découvrirent huit a dix loges* de cette nation, qu'ils surprirent et défirent fort a leur aises. Mais, par malheur pour eux, le massacre ne fut pas si général qu'il s'en sauva quelques uns, qui furent porter la nouvelle de leur défaite à un grand village de ce même peuple campé peu loin de là que les Chaguiennes n'avoient point découvert.

Touts les hommes de ce grand village monterent promptement a cheval et vinrent fondre sur ces premiers vainqueurs, la pluspart encore occupés a ramasser les dépouilles et les chevaux des vaincus de la première charge. Les ayant cerné, ils en tuerent soixante. Le chef de guerre chaguienne, voyant tout son monde défait, se jetta en déterminé au milieu des ennemis et, après en avoir fait perir plusieurs sous ses coups, il périt luy même sous les leurs. Les vingt autres qui sortoient de partir du camp des premiers défaits eurent le tems de se jetter dans un trou environné d'écorres escarpées de toute part, où les Halitannes ne pouvoient aborder a cheval. Un d'entre-eux, plus experts par son âge des manières de faire la guerre, et résolû de vendre sa vie bien cher, encouragea les jeunes qui l'accompagnoient dans ce trou a faire une vigoureuse deffense. Il fit mettre près de luy touts les fusils de ses gens et voulut les tirer luy même, ne se fiant pas a ceux qui les portoient, lesquels pouvant se troubler dans un si grand peril ne porteroient que des coups a faux.

{32} C'est ainsi que cet homme, possedant toujours la tranquilitée de ses sens et la présense desprit si nécessaire dans les grands dangers, se defendit toute une journée contre une multitude d'ennemis qui les environnoient, culbutant a chaque coup autant d'hommes qu'ils en approchoit de sa retraite. Les Halitanes, au desespoir et honteux de se voir ainsi tués par un si petit nombre d'hommes,

* "Chaque loge ou cabane renferme ordinairement une famille" (Perrin du Lac 1805:310n.).

perceiving that their man was ready to succumb to the increasing knife slashes that the Otoe, more skilled and quicker, gave him, were the first to charge upon the two combatants, encircled them, knocked the Otoe from his horse with a lance blow, and took away their chief, half-dead, from the battlefield. The Otoes also advanced, but a little too late to save their beloved chief's life. They both died of their wounds some moments later.

The Halitannes were put to flight with the loss of many of their men, for, as I have already said, the Indian peoples who are well supplied with fusils always have the advantage over those who do not have them, even though they are more numerous.

Is this not a deed as valiant and memorable as many others so renowned in antiquity?

The second incident took place the same year in the Halitannes' country. A party of eighty warriors of the Cheyenne nation, going to war against the Halitannes, discovered eight to ten lodges[177] of this nation, which they surprised and defeated with great ease. But, unfortunately for them, the massacre was not so complete but that some escaped, who carried the news of their defeat to a large village of the same people camped not far from there that the Cheyennes had not discovered.

All the men of this large village promptly mounted on horseback and came to fall upon the former conquerors, for the most part still occupied in gathering up the spoils and horses of thosee defeated in the first charge. Having surrounded them, they killed sixty. The Cheyenne war chief, seeing all his men defeated, threw himself resolutely into the middle of the enemy and after several had perished from his blows, he himself perished from theirs. The twenty others who had just left the camp of the first defeat had time to throw themselves into a hole surrounded on all sides by steep banks, where the Halitannes could not approach on horseback. One of them, more skilled in the ways of making war because of his age, and determined to sell his life very dearly, encouraged the young men with him in the hole to make a vigorous defense. He had all the fusils of his men placed near him and chose to fire them himself, not trusting those who carried them, who might become confused in such great peril and only fire ineffectively.

In that way, this man, continuing to possess the calmness of judgment and presence of mind so necessary in moments of great danger, defended himself for an entire day against a multitude of enemies who surrounded them, felling with each shot as many men as approached his refuge. The Halitannes, in despair and ashamed to see themselves thus killed by such a small number of men, cut a large

couperent quantitée de brossailles, car il n'y avoit aucun bois dans ce lieu, qu'ils attacherent ensemble en forme de facines, et poussant ces fagots de branches devant eux, ils les approcherent, esperant de les détruire plus aisément de cette maniere. Celui cy, voyant leur dessein, fit reprendre les fusils a ses gens, chargés de plusieurs balles chaques, leur recommandant de les laisser approcher tout près d'eux et de ne tirer que la moitié des fusils à la fois, ce qui fut si bien éxécuté qu'en faisant la décharge de leur fusils l'un après l'autre sur ses [*sic,* ces] branches mal serrées, ils tuerent et estropierent plusieurs de ceux qui les poussoient devant eux.

Les Halitanes deconcertés abandonnerent leur proie et leurs fagots, que ceux cy tirerent au bord de leur trou et se fortifierent avec. Le grand chef de ce village d'Halitane, indigné au dernier point d'une pareille résistance par une poignée d'hommes contre un si grand nombre de ses gens, voulut faire un coup de bravoure qui lui couta chere car, s'étant couvert de son bouclier, il fonça sur le tireur {33} de fusils pour le percer de sa lance. Celui cy le laissa approcher fort près et, ayant bien ajusté son coup de fusils, il perça de sa balle le bouclier et le coeur de l'Halitanne.

Un jeune Chaguienne s'élança vivement sur luy, luy coupa la tête a la vue de tous ses gens consternés, et la jetta parmi-eux, faisant le cris de victoire pour les humilier d'avantage. Cette dernière action fit tout a fait perdre courage aux Halitannes, qui abandonnerent leur proye et se retirerent en pleurant avec des hurlements effroyables la mort de leur grand chef. La nuit étant venu, ces Chaguiennes sortirent de leur retranchement, se sauverent à la faveur des ténébres de la nuit, et se rendirent sains et saufs a leur village sans être poursuivis par les ennemis.

Voila comme un sauvage par son courage et sa présence d'esprit a sçu se déffendre contre une foule d'ennemis, et se conserver la vie a luy et a tous ses compagnons.

Je pourrois rapporter plusieurs autres avantures de ce genre arrivées chez les peuples sauvages, mais ce chapitre étant déjà trop long, je n'en dirai pas davantage.*

[. . .]

Fin

* "Ces deux actions sont suffisantes pour donner une idée de l'intrépidité de ces peuples, en même temps qu'elles pourront contribuer à diminuer l'orgueil de certaines nations civilisées, qui, trop fières de leur courage, pensent que cette qualité les met au-dessus de toutes les autres. Si elles sont persuadées qu'elles partagent cette vertu avec les Sauvages, et même avec la plupart des animaux, peut-être rabattront-elles un peu de leur amour propre et de leur impardonnable vanité. C'est par sa loyauté, sa justice, sa modération, son exactitude à remplir ses engagemens, qu'un peuple civilisé doit se faire respecter; le courage appartient aux barbares comme aux nations policées, tandis que les vertus dont je viens de parler n'ont encore été pratiquées par aucun corps politique" (Perrin du Lac 1805:313).

quantity of brush, for there was no timber in this place, which they tied together in bundles, and, pushing these bundles of sticks before them, they approached them, hoping in this way to destroy them more easily. The latter, seeing their plan, gave the fusils back to his men, each entrusted with several balls, advising them to allow them [the Halitannes] to approach very close to them and to shoot only half of the fusils at a time, which was so well executed that, in firing their fusils one after the other into the loosely packed branches, they killed and disabled several of those who pushed them in front of them.

The Halitannes, disconcerted, abandoned their prey and their bundles, which the latter [the Cheyennes] pulled to the edge of their hole to fortify their position. The head chief of the Halitane village, indignant to the last degree over such resistance from a handful of men against such a great number of his people, attempted a courageous attack that cost him dearly, for, having covered himself with his shield, he charged upon the one who fired the fusils in order to run him through with his lance. The latter allowed him to approach very near, and, having carefully aimed his fusil, his ball pierced the shield and the heart of the Halitanne.

A young Cheyenne sprang quickly upon him, cut off his head in sight of all his appalled men, and threw it among them, making cries of victory to humiliate them further. This last action caused the Halitannes to lose their courage entirely, who abandoned their prey and withdrew, lamenting with frightful howls the death of their head chief. Night having fallen, the Cheyennes left their refuge, escaping under cover of darkness, and returned safe and sound to their village without being pursued by the enemies.

Here is how an Indian through his courage and his presence of mind knew how to defend himself against a crowd of enemies and saved his own life and those of all his companions.[178]

I could report a number of other adventures of this kind that occurred among the Indian peoples, but since this chapter is already too long, I will say no more about them.

[. . .][179]

End

Instructions données à Truteau par la Compagnie du haut Missouri

Copie des instructions donées pour la decouverte des nations eloignées en passan par le Missouri

Instruction des intentions de la Compagnie du haut Missouri donées au S^r^ Trutau, conducteur de l'armemen destine pour la nation mendane, par Clamorgan, directeur de la ditte Compagnie, sur la conduite que doit tenir le S^r^ Trutau du momen de son depar de ce lieu & pendan tout le tems qu'il aura la manutention des interests de laditte Compagnie chés les nations du haut Missouri plus ou moins éloignés ou il est envoyé; & pour servir égalemen à tout autre à sa place qui par des évenemens inprevus seroit dans le cas de lui succeder.

ART P^et^

Le S^r^ Trutau en partan de ce lieu se rendra le plus promptemen possible à sa destination d'entrepos [sic, entrepôt], qui est chés la nation mendane sur le haut Missouri, pour y fixer un établissemen solide pour le compte de la Compagnie.

ART 2^e^

A son arrivée chés le Mendanes, il y batira une maison de trente pieds sur quinze de large, forte & de bon bois, construite a l'anglaise; il y aura une separation au dedan pour faire son magasin.

Instructions Given to Truteau by the Company of the Upper Missouri

Copy of the Instructions Given for the Discovery of Distant Nations by Way of the Missouri

Instructions of the intentions of the Company of the Upper Missouri given to Sieur Truteau, leader of the outfit destined for the Mandan nation, by Clamorgan, director of the said Company, on the conduct that Sieur Truteau should follow from the time of his departure from this place and during all the time that he will have the management of the interests of the said Company among the nations of the upper Missouri, more or less distant, where he is sent; and to serve equally for any other who might succeed to his place in case of unforseen events.

ARTICLE 1

Sieur Truteau, after leaving this place, will go as promptly as possible to his destination for a trading post, which is among the Mandan nation on the upper Missouri, to fix there a well-built establishment for the benefit of the Company.

ARTICLE 2

On his arrival at the Mandans he will build there a house thirty feet by fifteen in width, strong and of good wood, constructed in the English manner[1]; there will be a partition inside to serve as his store room.

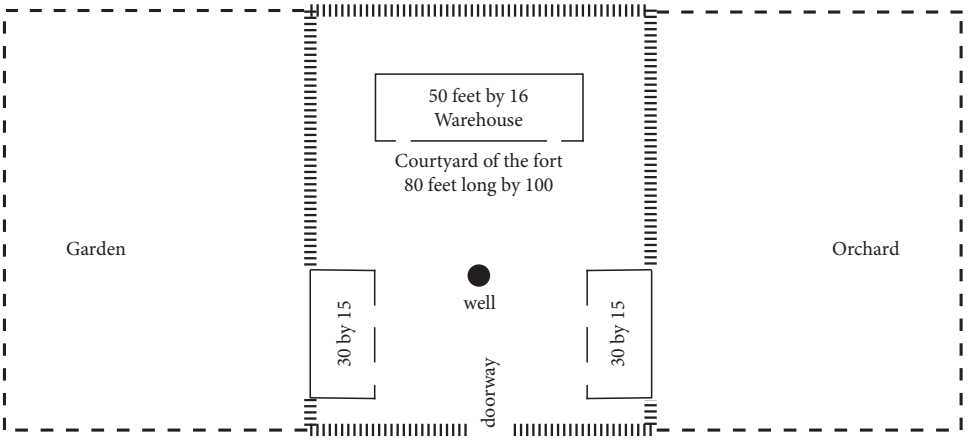


Diagram 1. Fort plan 1. "Forme de l'établissemen de la Compagnie ches la nation mendane Nation." [Form of the establishment of the company at the Mandan Nation.]

ART 3

Il en sera fait une deuxieme pour les engagés de la même maniere, l'une en face de l'autre, éloignés de 50 pieds de distance; porte & fenetre de chaque cabane oposée l'une a l'autre sur un seul coté; point d'ouverture autre part.

ART 4

Il sera fait un fort de 100 pieds sur 80 dans lequel seront renfermés les deux maisons cy dessus designés conformemen au plan, dans le lieu le plus élevé du vilage & le plus à la porté du Missouri possible, pour la comodité de l'eau, & cella sous pretexte de proteger les femes & les enfans dans une ataque. Il n'y aura q'une porte pour entrer dans le fort, qui sera en face de la cour des deux maisons. Les pieux du fort seront au moins de sept pieds hors de terre avec des lices chevilées dans le haut; ceux du jardin seront de 5 pieds.

ARTICLE 3

He will have a second one made in the same manner for the engagés, the one facing the other separated by a distance of fifty feet, the door and window of each cabin opposite one another on a single side, with no openings elsewhere.

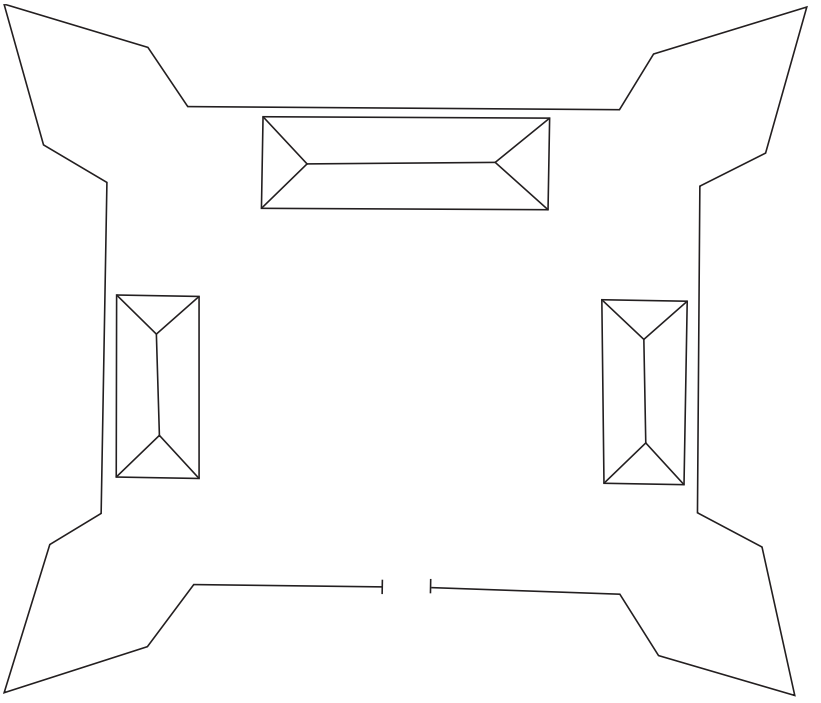


Diagram 2. Fort plan 2.

ARTICLE 4

He will have a fort made of 100 by 80 feet, within which will be enclosed the two houses designated above, according to the plan, on the place most elevated above the village and as near to the Missouri as possible for the convenience of water, and that on the pretext of protecting the women and children in case of an attack. There will only be one gate for entering the fort, which will face the courtyard of the two houses. The posts of the fort will be at least seven feet above ground, with parapets fastened at the top; those of the garden will be five feet.

ART 5

amitié
liaison

Le S^r^ Trutau emporte avec lui des petits arbres, des noyeaux & des graines pour former un jardin & un verger.

ART 6

L'année prochaine le S^r^ Trutau fera faire un batimen servan de hangar, qui aura 50 pieds de long sur 16 de large, en face de la porte du fort & dans son enceinte, ainsi qu'il est designée par le plan figure cy contre. Il faut que le tout soit solide & propre a durer longtems.

ART 7

nations

Le S^r^ Trutau aura soin de maintenir les sauvages dans leur simplicité de caractere & de ne leur doner que des avis favorables à notre comerce, en les excitan à redoubler leur chasse & a travailler les peleteries en la maniere qu'il convien de les avoir pour leur doner de la renomée.

ART 8

marchandises

Le S^r^ Trutau aura soin d'établir un haut prix sur chaque chose, atendu qu'il doit sçavoir que les fraix d'armemen sont excessifs & que sans cella la Compagnie ne pouroit pas resister a l'entreprise.

ART 9

marchandises
nations

Le prix que le S^r^ Trutau aura établi chés la nation mendane devra toujour être le même pour toutes les nations qui viendron jusqu'a lui; le prix sera plus haut pour les nations plus éloignées ou il sera forcé d'envoyer.

ART 10

conoissances

Le S^r^ Trutau aura soin de prendre toute les conoissances & rensseignemens possible sur l'eloignement, la distance & direction des nations qu'il vera ou dont il entendra parler. Il aura recour au plan que je lui remet pour s'orienter, pour relever ou coriger la position des nations et des rivieres, augmenter & placer celles qui doivent y être.

ARTICLE 5

friendship
relationship

Sieur Truteau takes with him some small trees, fruit pits, and seeds to fashion a garden and an orchard.

ARTICLE 6

The next year Sieur Truteau will have a building made to serve as a warehouse, which will be fifty feet long by sixteen feet wide, facing the gate of the fort and within its enclosure, as is designated by the plan shown on the opposite page. It is necessary that the whole be solid and suitable to last a long time.

ARTICLE 7

nations

Sieur Truteau will take care to preserve the Indians in their simplicity of character and to only give them advice favorable to our commerce, to spur them to increase their hunting and to prepare the peltries in the most proper manner so as to bring them renown.

ARTICLE 8

merchandise

Sieur Truteau will take care to set a high price on each item, understanding that he must know that the costs of outfitting are excessive, and without that the Company could not bear the undertaking.

ARTICLE 9

merchandise
nations

The price that Sieur Truteau will establish among the Mandan nation should always be the same for all the nations that come to him; the price will be higher for the more distant nations where he will be forced to send merchandise.

ARTICLE 10

information

Sieur Truteau will take care to get all the information and intelligence possible concerning the remoteness, distance, and direction of the nations that he will see or that he will hear spoken of. He will have recourse to the map that I am giving him to orient himself, to take off or correct the location of nations and rivers, to augment and locate those that should be there.

ART 11

conoissances

En montan le Micissipi [sic, Missouri] il fera note des grandes, moyenes & petites rivieres qui sont tant au sud qu'au nord du Missouri, dans lequel elles se vuident. Il placera autan que faire ce poura leur éloignemen de ce lieu ou leur distance de ches les Mandanes.

ART12

nations

conoissances

Il s'informera des Chiouitons qui sont sur le Missouri, beaucoup plus haut que les Mandanes, ou il envera pour les faire reconoitre & pour leur aprendre le sujet de sa mission. Aprés que la decouverte en sera faite, il ira lui même ches cette nation y poser les fondemens de l'amitié. Dans sa route il s'informera de l'étendue des rivieres qu'il peut y avoir dun coté ou de l'autre du Missouri en y allan.

ART13

conoissances

Il s'informera de la distance qu'il y a pour aller à la montagne de roche qui est dans le soleil couchan, d'ou sort le Missouri.

ART 14

nations

conoissances

Il cherchera à atirer à lui les sauvages qui sont de l'autre bord de la chaine de roche, ou sont des nations en grand nombre conus sous le nom de Serpens, & prendra grand soin de sçavoir par ces gens là s'ils conoissent la mer du ouest, & quelle direction prenent les eaux des rivieres qui sont de l'autre bord de la ditte chaine de roche; demander si elles ne vont pas au soleil couchan.

ART 15

nation

conoissances

Il s'informera de l'habitude de toutes les nations, de leur loix, de leur dieux, de leur m[o]eurs, de leur vice, de leur origine, de leur tradition & de leur nouriture; sçavoir si ces nations diminuent en nombre ou si elles augmentent.

ARTICLE 11

information

In going up the Missouri he will make note of the large, middling, and small rivers that are on the south as well as on the north of the Missouri, into which they empty. He will locate as many as he can for their distance from this place or their distance from the Mandans.

ARTICLE 12

nations

information

He will inquire about the *Chiouitons*, who are on the Missouri much higher than the Mandans, where he will send to find them and to make known to them the reason for his mission. After the discovery is made, he will go himself to that nation to lay the foundation for friendship. On his way he will inquire about the length of the rivers that may be on one side of the Missouri or the other in going there.

ARTICLE 13

information

He will inquire about the distance to go to the Rocky Mountains that are in the west, from where the Missouri comes forth.

ARTICLE 14

nation

information

He will seek to attract to himself the Indians who are on the other side of the rocky range, where the numerous nations known by the name of Snakes are, and will take great care to learn from those people whether they know the Sea of the West, and which direction the waters of the rivers flow that are on the other side of the said rocky range, asking whether they do not go to the west.

ARTICLE 15

nation

information

He will inquire about the customs of all the nations, about their laws, about their gods, about their manners, about their vices, about their origin, about their traditions, and about their food; to learn whether these nations are diminishing in number or whether they are growing.

ART 16

nation
paix

Il s'informera des amis & des enmis [sic] de chaque nations. Il aura soin de se manifester envers toutes pour les remetre en paix. Il leur citera le Maitre de la Vie comme le guide suprême de son intention. Enfin il établira la paix partout.

ART 17

la chasse

Il s'atachera à conoitre le foible & le penchan de chaque nation pour les induire a redoubler leur chasse par cette voye seductive.

ART 18

Le S^r^ Trutau cherchera à decouvrir la nation pelé & la nation aitan, qui doivent être dans la partie du sud des Mendanes, ches lesquelles on nation peut penetrer en passan sur le teritoire des Panis. Il fera en sorte de leur faire sçavoir qu'il y aura continuelemen un magasin pour eux chés les Mendanes afin de les y atirer.

ART 19

Le S^r^ Trutau s'atachera a decouvrir la distance qu'il y a de chés les Mendanes conoissance pour aller sur les établissements espagnols qui sont dans la partie du sud desdits Mendanes, & quelles sont les nations qu'il faut traverser pour s'y rendre; voir s[']il seroit possible de penetrer sur une riviere qui passe sur le teritoire du Nouveau Mexique conue sous le nom de rio del Norte, dont les eaux se jetent dans la baye du Mexique.

ART 20

Le S^r^ Trutau envera des paroles chés toutes les nations où il poura faire penetrer; il ne negligera poin les présens pour étendre ses nations decouvertes; il avertira toutes les nations en quelque part qu'il puisse aprendre y en avoir que les homes a barbe leur portent la paix & leur besoin.

ART 21

nation
conoissance
marchandises

Le S^r^ Trutau aura soin à tems perdu de faire la note des articles les plus recherchés parmi chaque nation, dans le rang de menus choses,

ARTICLE 16

nation
peace

He will inquire about the friends and enemies of each nation. He will take care to make himself known to all to reconcile them to peace. He will point to the Master of Life as the supreme guide for his intentions. In short, he will establish peace everywhere.

ARTICLE 17

the hunt

He will strive to learn the foibles and the tastes of each nation to induce them to increase their hunting by this seductive means.

ARTICLE 18

Sieur Truteau will seek to discover the *Pelé* nation and the *Aitan* nation, which should be in the part to the south of the Mandans, whom one can reach by passing through the territory of the *Panis*. He will see to it that they know that there will continually be a trading post for them at the Mandans, in order to attract them there.

ARTICLE 19

Sieur Truteau will seek to discover the distance from the Mandans to go to the Spanish settlements that are in the part south of the said Mandans, and what nations must be traversed to arrive there; to see whether it would be possible to reach them by a river that passes through the territory of New Mexico known by the name of *Rio del Norte*, the waters of which flow into the bay of Mexico.

ARTICLE 20

Sieur Truteau will send messages to all the nations he is able to reach; he will not neglect the presents to expand his discoveries; he will inform all the nations in whatever part he is able to learn about that the bearded men bring them peace and their necessities.

ARTICLE 21

nation
information
merchandise

Sieur Truteau will take care in his spare time to make note of the articles most sought after by each nation in the class of small items, for the desire

car il ne faut pas faire naitre a ces homes éloignés le desir de posseder des objets d[']une trop haute valeur q'un transport immensse encheri considerablemen.

ART 22

conoissance
marchandises

Si le S^r^ Trutau crain que ses rensseignemens [sic] ne suffisent pas pour nous faire conoitre les articles de gout, il nous envera des models pour la sureté de chaque chose & nous instruira des couleurs favorites & de celles qu'ils n'aiment point. Il examinera scrupuleuzem[ent] si toutes les nations de ce continen sont du même gout.

ART 23

En quelque tems que ce soit, si quelqun des engagés de la societé ou tout autre engagés particulier trafiquoit avec quelqune des nations qui sont au desous de la nation ponca, le S^r^ Trutau les saisira au nom de la Compagnie, prendra leur marchandises & leur peleteries & en instruira le directeur de la Compagnie par les premieres occasions, sans pouvoir dissimuler aucun fait à peine d'en repondre en son seul & privé nom.

ART 24

engagés

Le directeur sera instruit par le S^r^ Trutau des fautes & désobeissances des engagés à peine d'en repondre personelemen.

ART 25

Le S^r^ Trutau tiendra un compte des fournitures qu'il fera aux engagés & leur vandra chés les Mendanes & au dessus de la nation engagés ponca le même prix qu'il vandroit sur les lieux même aux sauvages de la nation mendane; mais au dessous des Poncas il vandra à cinquante pour cent sur le prix d'equipemen auxdits engagés s'ils ont besoin de quelque marchandises a valoir sur leur gages, qui n'excederon pas la moitié de ce qui leur sera dûs suivant l'article que nous passerons cy aprés pour cella.

to possess objects of too high value, which the cost of transporting over immense distances increases considerably, must not be allowed to develop among these distant people.

ARTICLE 22

information
merchandise

If Sieur Truteau fears that the information is not sufficient to make us understand the articles that they like he will send us patterns for the certainty of each thing and instruct us concerning their favorite colors and those that they do not like. He will scrupulously investigate whether all the nations of this region have the same taste.

ARTICLE 23

If at any time any one of the engagés of the Company or any other private individual trades with one of the nations below the Ponca nation, Sieur Truteau will apprehend them in the name of the Company, taking their merchandise and their peltries and informing the director of the Company at the first opportunity, without the authority to conceal any fact under pain of answering for it in his sole and private name.

ARTICLE 24

engagés

The director will be informed by Sieur Truteau of the faults and disobedience of the engagés on pain of answering for them personally.

ARTICLE 25

Sieur Truteau will keep an account of the supplies he provides to the engagés and will sell to them at the Mandans and above the Ponca nation at the same prices that he would in the same places to the Indians of the Mandan nation, but below the Poncas he will sell them at fifty per cent above the cost of the outfit to the said engagés, if they have need of some merchandise, to be charged against their wages, not to exceed half of what will be due them, following the article to which we will pass next for that.

ART 26

engagés

Le S^r^ Trutau gardera le double du compte des engagés à qui il aura fait des fournitures & l'envera au directeur touts les ans avec les voitures qui descendron pour pouvoir regler leur compte à leur arrivée ici.

ART 27

conoissance

Il gardera égalemen un double de ses decouvertes & de tout ce qui meritera la peine d'être sçu, avec des renseignemens bien complets.

ART 28

engagés

Le S^r^ Trutau envera toujours en decouverte du coté du nord ceux des engagés qui devron le moins a la Compagnie, & envera du coté du sud et du coté du ouest ceux qui devron le plus, sans cependan qu'il soit autorisé à avancer plus de la moitié des gages de chaque homme, y compris les avances faites a St. Louis s'il y en a eû.

ART 29

evenement

S'il arivoit que le S^r^ Trutau vint à deceder pendan le cours de son administration, alors le S^r^ Pieriche Berger se chargeroit de tout le maniemen des affaires en suivan les mêmes instructions.

ART 30

conoissance

marchandises

A l'expiration des trois anées d'engagemen du S^r^ Trutau, il donera un etat bien circonstancié de tout ce qui lui restera en main & de tout ce qui apartiendra à laditte Compagnie pour que le directeur puisse en representer le tableau a ses membres.

ART 31

prejudice a la Compagnie

Si le S^r^ Trutau étoit pillé par la nation des Maha dans sa route sur le Micissipi [sic, Missouri] & que la nation maha en usa ainsi pour se vanger des tords & domages que Jaque d'Église & Garau ont fait à leur village en y passan l'année derniere, le S^r^ Trutau auroit soin d'en avertir promptemen le

ARTICLE 26

engagés

Sieur Truteau will keep a duplicate account of the engagés to whom he will have furnished supplies and he will send it to the director every year with the boats that will go downriver to allow for the settlement of their accounts on their arrival here.

ARTICLE 27

knowledge

He will also keep a duplicate of his discoveries and of all that merits the trouble of being known, with very complete information.

ARTICLE 28

engagés

Sieur Truteau will always send on discoveries to the north side those engagés who owe the least to the Company and to the south side those who owe the most, without, however, being authorized to advance more than half of the wages of each man, including the advances made at St. Louis, if there were any.

ARTICLE 29

events

If it happens that Sieur Truteau dies during the course of his administration, then Sieur Pierieche Berger would take charge of all the management of affairs, following the same instructions.

ARTICLE 30

knowledge

merchandise

At the expiration of three years of engagement of Sieur Truteau, he will give a very detailed account of all that remains on hand and of all that belongs to the said Company so that the director can show the list to its members.

ARTICLE 31

damage to the Company

If Sieur Truteau were to be pillaged by the Omaha nation along his way on the Missouri, and if the Omaha nation acted in this manner to revenge the injuries and damages that Jacques d'Église and Garreau caused in their village while passing there last year, Sieur Truteau would take care to inform

directeur pour conoitre le préjudice de la Compagnie occasioné par cette inconduite.

ART 32

engagés
voyages

Le S^r^ Trutau se souviendra de ne pas avancer aux engagés aucune marchandise avan qu'il ne soit rendu chés les Mendanes, & en cas qu'il ne put pas s'y rendre cette année par des empechements de la nation otho, de la nation maha ou de la nation ponca, & qu'il fut obligé de traiter malgré lui avec l'une ou l'autre de ces nations qui bordent le Missouri, alors il avanceroit à ses hommes jusqu'à concurence de la moitié de leur gages en y comprenan les avances qu'ils auroient reçus a St Louis, qui seront toujours porté au dos de leur engagemen dont copie est entre les mains du Sr Trutau pour sa règle.

ART 33

nations
marchandises
engagés
voyage

Si le S^r^ Trutau est contrain de traiter chés l'une où l'autre des nations desiignés en l[']article cy dessus, il fera en sorte de ne traiter que du drap bleu & des couvertes, & de sauver le reste, s'il le peut, afin de pouvoir a la fonte des glaces lui & partie de ses homes faire route pour les Mendanes.

ART 34

Le S^r^ Trutau ne negligera rien pour hâter sa marche & il se conduira toujours en la maniere prescrite par les articles précédens pour former chés cette nation l'établissement que la Compagnie se propose d'y fixer.

ART 35

circonstances

Si le S^r^ Trutau a été forcé de traiter dans sa route avec les nations que nous frequento[ns] & que nous avons precedemen només, il s'arangera avec le traiteur du poste ou il aura été détenu pour faire descendre conjointemen avec une partie de ses homes la peleterie qui apartiendra a la Compagnie.

the director of it promptly to let him know the harm done to the Company by this misconduct.

ARTICLE 32

engagés
voyages

Sieur Truteau will keep in mind not to advance to the engagés any merchandise before they have reached the Mandans, and in case he is unable to reach there this year by the opposition of the Otoe nation, of the Omaha nation, or of the Ponca nation, and he is obliged to trade despite himself with one or the other of the nations that border the Missouri, then he would advance the men up to half of their wages, including the advances that they may have received in St. Louis, which will always be carried on the back of their contract, a copy of which is in the hands of Sieur Truteau for his guidance.

ARTICLE 33

nations
merchandise
engagés
voyage

If Sieur Truteau is forced to trade with one or the other of the nations designated in the article above, he will see to it that only blue cloth and blankets are traded, saving the rest if he can so that at the melting of the ice he and a party of his men can travel to the Mandans.

ARTICLE 34

Sieur Truteau will neglect nothing to hasten his journey and he will always conduct it in the manner prescribed by the preceding articles in order to form among this nation the establishment that the Company proposes to make there.

ARTICLE 35

circumstances

If Sieur Truteau was forced to trade along his way with the nations that we frequent and that we have previously named, he will arrange with the trader of the post where he was detained to send downriver jointly with a party of his men the peltries that belong to the Company.

ART 36

attention

En tout tems les effets de la Compagnie seront marqués ™, Compagnie du Missouri, & les peleteries adressées au directeur seront toujour accompagnés d'un état bien circonstancié de la quantité & qualité.

ARTICLE 37

nation

conoissance

voyage

Si le S^r^ Trutau est areté ainsi que nous l'avons cy devan suposé, il envera un exprés s'il est possible au directeur en canot a lége, qui puisse se rendre ici du 5 au 10 du mois d'avril de l'année prochaine de mil sept cent quatre vingt quinze, afin d'en instruire la Compagnie, & si le S^r^ Trutau prévoit que cet homme ne puisse pas se rendre ici à l'époque designée, il devra renoncer a le faire partir, atendu qu'il n'ariveroit ici qu'après le depar de l'expedition que nous nous proposons de faire le 15 d'avril au plus tard de l'année prochaine pour faire route pour les Mendanes sous l'administration dudit S^r^ Trutau, alors les nouvelles que nous recevrions deviendroient inutiles pour regler notre conduite.

ART 38

voyage

Si le S^r^ Trutau peut par des presens obtenir de la nation qui le detiendra la liberté de faire sa route sans obstacle, il fera tout ce qui dependra de lui pour y parvenir & ne devra point être retenu par les sacrifices qu'il faudra faire, sa mission devan de quelque maniere que ce soit être remplie.

ART 39

voyage

marchandises

retour

Si le S^r^ Trutau à le bonheur de passer, il envera l'année prochaine les peleteries qu'il aura de maniere qu[']elles soyent rendues ici le plus a bone heure qu'il poura, avec un detail circonstancié de son voyage.

ARTICLE 36

attention

At all times the effects of the Company will be marked ™, Company of the Missouri, and the peltries sent to the director will always be accompanied by a detailed account of their quantity and quality.

ARTICLE 37

nation

knowledge

voyage

If Sieur Truteau is stopped as we have supposed above, he will send an express if it is possible to the director by a light canoe that could reach here from the fifth to the tenth of April of next year, 1795, in order to inform the Company, and if Sieur Truteau foresees that this man could not arrive here at the time designated he shall refrain from sending him, understanding that he would not arrive here until after the departure of the expedition that we propose to make on April 15 at the latest of the coming year to travel to the Mandans under the administration of the said Truteau; then the news that we could receive would be useless to regulate our conduct.

ARTICLE 38

voyage

If Sieur Truteau is able, by presents, to obtain from the nation that detains him the freedom to go on his way without obstacle, he will do everything in his power in order to succeed, and he should not be held back by the sacrifices that he will have to make, for his mission must, in whatever manner, be carried out.

ARTICLE 39

voyage

merchandise

return

If Sieur Truteau has the good fortune to pass, next year he will send the peltries that he has in such a manner that they will arrive here as soon as possible, with detailed particulars of his trip.

ART 40

souvenir
retour

Le S^r^ Trutau se souviendra d'envoyer au directeur de la Compagnie quatre robes élégamen arrangées en la maniere des nations qui les doneron pour les faire passere au gouvernemen general & lui faire conoitre le gou des diferentes nations, l[']idée & le caractere de leur genies.

ART 41

souvenir
marchandises
privilége
achat
retour

En vertu du passeport de M^r^ le comandan, le S^r^ Trutau fera areter la traite de Ja[c]que d'Eglise ou Garau s'ils étoient encore chés les Mendanes, ou de tout autre en leur place, s'ils avoient de la marchandise a conssomer [sic]. Mais alors le S^r^ Trutau la leur demandera, s'il leur convien de la vandre [sic, vendre], en leur accordan un moyen benefice sur le prix de leur équipemen, ce qui sera reglé & payé a St Louis par le directeur en lui raportan un reçus qui constate de la quantité & qualité qui aura été remise pour le cte de la Compagnie.

ART 42

journal de chaque jour pour tout ce qui se passera

Le S^r^ Trutau aura soin de faire un journal de tout ce qu'il fera au service de la Compagnie; les operations de chaque jour seront portés sur ce journal, tel q'un depart pour des decouvertes, une traite avec l'une & l'autre nation, une arrivée de sauvage, un conceil, un évenemen, une circonstance, les traveaux de l'etablisemen, & finalemen tout ce qui poura arriver, être fait ou ordoné par le S^r^ Trutau par ordre de datte; & d'en envoyer une copie chaque année au directeur, en en gardan lui même un double.

ART 43

liqueur prohibé

Le S^r^ Trutau se rapelera qu'il y a de fortes amandes contre ceux qui embarquent du tafia dans leur voiture pour le Missouri. Ainsi il voudra bien en informer le directeur si jamais il aprenoit dans sa route que quelqu'un en introduisit.

ARTICLE 40

remember
return

Sieur Truteau will remember to send to the director of the Company four robes elegantly decorated in the manner of the nations that will give them to be transmited to the general government to acquaint them with the tastes of the different nations, the ideas, and the character of their spirit.

ARTICLE 41

remember
merchandise
privilege
purchase
return

By virtue of the passport from the commander, Sieur Truteau will stop the trade of Jacques d'Église or Garreau if they are still with the Mandans, or of any others in their place if they have merchandise remaining. But then Sieur Truteau will ask them if it is agreeable to them to sell it, according them a moderate profit on the cost of their goods and payable at St. Louis by the director on bringing him a receipt that verifies the quantity and quality that will have been delivered for the benefit of the Company.

ARTICLE 42

journal of each day for all that happens

Sieur Truteau will take care to keep a journal of all that he will do in the service of the Company. The operations of each day will be reported in this journal, such as the departure for discoveries, a trade with one or another nation, the arrival of Indians, a council, an event, an opportunity, the work of the establishment, and finally, all that may happen, is done, or is ordered by Sieur Truteau, in order of date, and to send a copy of it each year to the director, himself keeping a duplicate.

ARTICLE 43

liquor prohibited

Sieur Truteau will remember that there are heavy fines against those who transport tafia[2] in their boat on the Missouri. Therefore he must absolutely inform the directors if, on his way, he ever learns that someone has introduced it.

ART 44

voyage
achat
marchandises
retour

Si dans la route du S^r^ Trutau il trouvoit quelque traiteur [sic] qui eussent des marchandises de trop qui fussent convenables aux Mendanes, il poura les acheter pour cte de la Compagnie a raison de cen cinquante pour cen sur le prix d'Europe, payables a St Louis par le directeur.

ART 45

voyage

Si le S^r^ Trutau à le bonheur de passer les nations otho, ponca & maha sans être vus, & qu'il soit obligé d[']hyverner en route, il aura soin de se bien fortifier contre les Sious pendan l'hiver où contre tout autre nation inprevue.

ART 46

souvenir

Le S^r^ Trutau ne se servira ny laissera servir a aucun engagé de la vaisselle d'etain destiné pour la traite parce que cella pouroit désaprécier & discrediter cette marchandise.

ART 47

conoissance

Le S^r^ Trutau demandera a touts les sauvages qu'il croira en état de lui rendre compte quels especes de mineraux il peut y avoir dans la partie du teritoire qu'ils habitent ou ailleurs. Il fera enssorte [sic, en sorte] de nous envoyer des echantillons de chaque chose & se souviendra du lieu de chaque mineral pour pouvoir le conoitre au besoin. Il en fera de même pour les fruits, pour les especes d'animeaux & pour les plantes medecinales que nous ne conoissons pas.

ART 48

pavillon
medaille
tabac

Le S^r^ Trutau emporte avec lui trois pavillons espagnols que la Compagnie lui done pour les trois premieres nations qu'il vera. Il joindra à chaque pavillon une carote de tabac. Le plus beau des pavillons est pour la nation

ARTICLE 44

voyage
purchase
merchandise
return

If on the way Sieur Truteau finds some traders who have surplus merchandise that would be suitable for the Mandans, he will be able to buy them for the benefit of the Company at one hundred fifty per cent above the European price, payable at St. Louis by the director.

ARTICLE 45

voyage

If Sieur Truteau has the good fortune to pass the Otoe, Ponca, and Omaha nations without being seen, and he is obliged to spend the winter on route, he will take care to fortify himself well against the Sioux during the winter, or against any other unforeseen nation.

ARTICLE 46

remember

Sieur Truteau will not use or let any engagé use the tin dishes meant for the trade because they might reduce the value and discredit this merchandise.

ARTICLE 47

knowledge

Sieur Truteau will ask of all the Indians who he believes are able to give him an account what types of minerals there may be in the part of the territory where they live, or elsewhere. He will see to it that samples of each thing are sent to us and will remember the place of each mineral in order to be able to recognize it as needed. He will do the same for the fruits, for the species of animals, and for the medicinal plants that we are not acquainted with.

ARTICLE 48

flag
medal
tobacco

Sieur Truteau takes with him three Spanish flags that the Company gives him for the first three nations that he will see. He will put with each flag a carrot of tobacco. The most beautiful of the flags is for the Mandan

mendane, avec une medaille que le gouvernemen lui envoy pour l'engager a établir & repandre la paix ches toutes les nations & a vivre en amitié avec nous.

ART 49

amitié
liaison

Le S^r^ Trutau liera la Compagnie d'amitié avec les Blancs qui sont chés les Mendanes & qui y ont établi leur residence en les favorisan autan que faire ce poura, sans faire tord à la Compagnie, notre intention étan de leur être utile comme nous desirons qu'il nous le soyent.

ARTICLE 50

marchandises
préferences

Le S^r^ Trutau se souviendra que si les Blancs qui restent chés les Mendanes tirent de chés les Anglais quelque marchandises pour leur besoin de les engager a prendre [de] la Compagnie tout ce que les Anglais peuvent leur fournir en nous donan la préference de leur peleteries.

ART 51

conseil de la nation

Qu'à l'arivée du S^r^ Trutau chés la nation mendane il comance a convoquer les chefs a un conseil qu'il tiendra au nom du chef des Espagnols de ce lieu; qu'il leur anonce que le chef de ce lieu leur envoy un pavillon de sa nation & une medaille qui est le portrait de Sa Majesté le grand chef de touts les Espagnols, protecteur & ami de toutes les Peaux Rouges, qui aime les terres belles, les chemins libres & le ciel serein; qu'il leur dise que le pavillon qu'ils reçoivent est le simbole de l'aliance & de l'amitié la plus sincere qu'il puisse doner à la nation mendane, & que la medaille doit être celui du souvenir éternel que le chef mendane doit avoir de la verité qui sort de la bouche du chef des Espagnols, qu'il protegera toujours contre touts ceux qui chercheroient à leur nuire.

ART 52

Le S^r^ Trutau invitera les Blancs qui sont chés les Mendanes à assister au conseil pour doner plus de poids & plus de concistance aux motifs de la convocation, & chacun cimentera la paix & l'amitié respective (le chef des Mendanes à la tête) par le calumet d'aliance.

nation, with a medal that the government sends them to persuade them to establish and spread peace among all the nations and to live in friendship with us.

ARTICLE 49

friendship
relationship

Sieur Truteau will bind the Company in friendship with the whites who are among the Mandans and who have established their residence by aiding them as much as he can, without doing harm to the Company, our intention being to be useful to them as we wish them to be to us.

ARTICLE 50

merchandise
preferences

Sieur Truteau will remember that if the whites who stay among the Mandans obtain from the English any merchandise for their needs to persuade them to take from the Company all that the English can furnish them, giving us preference for their peltries.

ARTICLE 51

council of the nation

That on the arrival of Sieur Truteau at the Mandan nation he will begin by calling the chiefs to a council that he will hold in the name of the chief of the Spaniards of this place; that he will announce to them that the chief of this place sends them a flag of his nation and a medal, which is the portrait of His Majesty, the great chief of all the Spaniards, protector and friend of all the Indians, who loves beautiful lands, free roads, and clear skies; that he will tell them that the flag that they receive is the symbol of the alliance and the most sincere friendship that may be given to the Mandan nation, and that the medal should be the eternal reminder that the Mandan chief should have of the truth that comes out of the mouth of the chief of the Spaniards that he will always protect against those who would seek to harm them.

ARTICLE 52

Sieur Truteau will invite the whites who are among the Mandans to attend the council to give more weight and more consistency to the motives for the convocation, and each one respectively will cement the peace and friendship (the chief of the Mandans at the head) by means of the calumet of alliance.

ART 53

Le S[r] Trutau declare par ces presentes accepter & trouver agréable les instructions du directeur de la Compagnie, qui sont conforme à leur volontés, pour les mettre en usage & à éxecution en quelque tems que ce puisse être, à moins de contre ordre de sa part ou de tout autre le representan, demeuran cependan libre de se conduire pour des choses imprevues seulmen en la maniére la plus avantageuse pour la Compagnie dont il repond des interests par la charge & direction que laditte Compagnie lui met en main, toujours sans pouvoir s'écarter des articles redigés cy devan au nombre de cinquante trois, y compris celui cy, s'obligean en outre trés essentielemen d'exécuter tout nouvel ordre ou nouvelles instructions qu'il plaira au directeur de lui faire passer pour le compte de laditte Compagnie, de quelque maniere qu'elles puissent être, sans pouvoir s'en écarter.

Fait & passé double a St Louis des Illinois & de bone foy ce 30 de juin de 1794 en presence de monsieur le lieutenan gouverneur.

Signé Trutau = signé Clamorgan = signé Reylhe, sous directeur.

Plus bas est écrit: Vû par nous ce même jour & an que dessus Zenon Trutau. Conforme a l'original entre les mains du directeur de la Compagnie. [signed] Jacques Clamorgan

ARTICLE 53

Sieur Truteau declares by these presents that he accepts and finds agreeable the instructions of the director of the Company, which conform to their wishes; to put them in practice and to carry them out whenever possible, unless there is a contradictory order on his part or from any other representative, remaining nonetheless free to conduct himself in unforeseen things solely in the manner most advantageous for the Company whose interests he represents by the commission and directions that the said Company puts in his hands, always without authority to deviate from the articles drawn up above to the number of fifty-three, including this one, being very essentially obliged besides to carry out all new orders or new instructions that it may please the director to transmit to him for the benefit of the said Company in whatever form they might be, without authority to deviate from them.

Done and made in duplicate at St. Louis of the Illinois, and in good faith, this 30 June 1794, in the presence of monsieur, the lieutenant governor.

Signed Truteau = signed Clamorgan = signed Reylhe, under director.

Farther below is written: Seen by us this same day and year as above. Zenon Truteau. True to the original in the hands of the director of the Company. [signed] J. Clamorgan.

[Description de la traite avec les sauvages]

[JACQUES CLAMORGAN]

{7r} Ches les Gds Osages il entre environ 14 a 15 M̶^es^ p^es^ de M^es^ y compris les gages des hommes & armement; il en sort environ 20 M̶^es^ p^es^, presque tout peaux de chevreuil de la petite espece.

Ches les Petits Osages il entre environ 4 a 5 y compris les gages & l'armemen; il en sort environ 7 a 8000 p^es^ belle peleterie de chevreuil.

Chés les Kancés il entre & sort a peu prés comme chez les Petits Osages. Belle peleterie.

Chés les Ototata [Otoctata] il entre environ 2 M̶^es^ a 2500 p^es^ de M^es^ y compris les gages & l'armement; il en sort environ 3500 a 4000 p^es^ tres belle peleterie de chevreuil [et] environ le 1/4 en beau castor.

Chés les Maha & Ponca conjointement il en sort & entre a peu pres autan que ches les Othoctata, cependan il y a plus de castor, mais les Anglois le soutirent par terre sur la riviere des Moins, qui tombe dans le Micissipi a environ 100 & q̄q̄ue lieux de St Louis.

Chés les Panis, forman 2 vilages y comp[ris] les Loup (ce ne sont point les Delawares; ils sont des Panis separé qui ont pris le nom de Loup) qui sont de la même branche sauvage que les Panis, il entre a peu pres 2 M̶^es^ p^es^ de M^es^ a 2500 & sort en robes & castor de la p^ere^ qualité environ 4000 p^es^.

Ches la Republique, qui n'est autre que des Panis detachés des premiers, il entre & sort a peu prés la moitié des Panis, cependa[nt] ils font touts vilage a part & quelquefoi[s] {7v} trés eloignés les uns des autres, cest a dire a 50 lieux a 100 lieux plus ou moins.

Ches les Grands Osages, Petits Osages & les Kancés il sufit de partir a la fin d'aoust ou au comancemen de 7^bre^ pour arriver avan le rût du chevreuil qui comance en 8^bre^ jusqua la fin de 9^bre^ suivan, quelque fois jusquau 15 X^bre^. Alors touts les sauvages rentrent a leur vilage pour y faire la traite & fixent le prix conjointement avec le traiteur, plus ou moins haut, suivan que les chefs sont payés par le traiteur, cest a dire que lon donne une couverte 2 pt ½ pour 6, 7 ou 8 p^x^ de chevreui[l] suivan l'accord fait. Alors chaque sauvage est obligé a sy

Continuation of the First Notebook

Account of the Indian Trade

JACQUES CLAMORGAN

To the Great Osages about fourteen to fifteen thousand piastres of merchandise is taken, including the men's wages and outfitting; it returns about twenty thousand piastres, almost all in deerskins of the small kind.

To the Little Osages about four to five thousand piastres of merchandise is taken, including wages and outfitting; it returns about seven to eight thousand piastres in good deerskins.

To the Kansas nearly the same amounts are taken and returned as among the Little Osages. Good skins.

To the Otoes about two thousand to two thousand five hundred piastres of merchandise is taken, including wages and outfitting; it returns about three thousand five hundred to four thousand piastres in very good deer skins and about one-quarter in good beaver.

To the Omahas and Poncas together nearly the same amounts are taken and returned as among the Otoes, although there are more beaver. However, the English on the Des Moines River, which falls into the Mississippi one hundred and some leagues from St. Louis, draw them [the beaver pelts] off by land.

To the Pawnees, forming two villages, including the Loups (these are not the Delawares; they are some Pawnees who separated and took the name of Loup),[1] who are of the same branch of Indians as the Pawnees, is taken approximately two thousand to two thousand five hundred piastres of merchandise, and it returns robes and beaver of the first quality worth about four thousand piastres.

To the Republicans, who are none other than Pawnees detached from the others, approximately half as much is taken and returned as to the Pawnees. However, they all make their villages apart and sometimes far distant from one another, that is to say from fifty or a hundred leagues, more or less.

To go to the Great Osages, Little Osages, and Kansas it suffices to leave at the end of August or at the beginning of September in order to arrive before the deer rut, which begins in October and lasts until the end of November, sometimes until the fifteenth of December. At that time all the Indians return to their villages to conduct trade there and fix prices together with the trader, more or less high, according to how much the chiefs are paid by the traders—that is to say that for a two and one-half point blanket[2] six, seven, or eight deerskins are

conformer. La traite s'ouvre & dans 2 ou 3 jours tout est fini; la chasse est entre les mains du traiteur. Si les glaces ne s'oposoient a la navigation, les traiteur[s] seroient de retour avan Noel.

Il est essentiel que le traiteur se rende chés les nations avan le rut, autremen la traite est manquée parce quils sont obligés de chasser l'hyver a une peleterie qui ne vaut rien & que le traiteur est obligé de prendre sans pouvoir en exiger un plus grand nombre que l'usage ordinaire; alors les 7 ou 8 peaux que l'on recoit n'en valent par 4 ny même trois, & il en resulte au moins 25 p% de pert[e]. La traite est raremen manquée ches les Osages & ches les Cancés parce quils sont proche, mai[s] chés les nation[s] qui sont au dessus, il est {8r} assés dificile de se rendre a tems parce que le comerce de St Louis ne recoit ses M^{es} que de Michilimakina ou de Moreal, qui ne peut les expedier assés a bon heure pour les faire partir a tems de St Louis & se rendre ches les nations eloignés, non seulmen avan le rut du chevreuil, mais au moin un mois plus tot, pour donner le tems aux sauvages de quiter leur vilage & se rendre au lieu de la chasse, qui est quelquefois eloignée de 200 lieux de leur etablissement, parce quils n'ont pas pour habitude de chasser touts les ans au même endroit. Avan leur depart pour la chass[e], il faut leur faire credit de poudre, fusil, bale[s], & chodierre [or: *chodieres*]; ce credit devroit etre au plutard du 15 de 7^{bre} au 30, & quelquefois a cette epoque les voitures ne sont pas encore sortis de St Louis, faute des M^{es} que l'on atend de Moreal. La Belle Riviere ofriroit plus d'avantages parce quelle pouroit transporter aux Illinois les M^{es} dont on auroit besoin avan le tems des expeditions, sans être obligé[s] de leur faire eprouver une année d'interest pour leur sejour d'avance aux Illinois si l'on vouloit se precautioner des M^{es} necessaires a la traite, mais en revanche le Canada of[fre] des hommes a trés bon C^{te} pour le transport des M^{es} & pour le retour des peleteries.

Le prix de la couverte 2 pt ½ regle les autres prix de la couverte de drap & de la jointée de poudre qui pese environ 3/4 de lb. Quand aux autres M^{es}, le prix est arbitraire; cependan, {8v} il est a peu pres le même touts les ans, mais il y a sur ces menus articles de gros benefic[es].

Un armemen de 3 a 4 M^{es} p^{es} exige environ 6 a 7 homme, compris le patron. Leur gages sont suivan leloignemen, depuis 100 p^{es} jusqu'a 150 p^{es} pour aller & venir de St Louis chés les nations du Missouri, d'ou lon reviens en avril ou may & q̄q̄ue fois en juin, malgré quils ayent quitté les sauvages avec les glaces; mais les vents sont si violens que l'on est obligé de s'arreter souvent 1, 2, 3 & 4 jours de suite. On reste q̄q̄uefois autan a descendre comme a monter malgré que le couran est une fois plus rapide que dans le Missouri [*sic,* Mississippi]. Si l'on

given, according to the agreement made. Then each Indian is obliged to conform to this. The trade opens and in two or three days all is finished; the hunt is in the hands of the trader. If ice did not prevent navigation, the traders would return before Christmas.

It is essential that the trader arrive at the nations before the rut; otherwise the trade is unsuccessful, because they are obliged to hunt during the winter for hides that are worthless and that the trader is obliged to take without being able to exact a greater number than is the ordinary practice. Then the seven or eight skins that they receive are not worth four or even three, and it results in at least a twenty-five percent loss. The trade is rarely unsuccessful among the Osages and Kansas because they are nearby, but it is rather difficult to arrive in time among the nations above because the commerce of St. Louis receives its merchandise only from Michilimackinac or Montreal, which cannot ship them early enough to allow them [the traders] to leave St. Louis in time to go to the distant nations not only before the deer rut, but at least a month sooner to give the Indians time to leave their villages and go to the hunting grounds, which are sometimes two hundred leagues distant from their place of residence, because they do not customarily hunt in the same locality every year. Before their departure for the hunt it is necessary to give them on credit powder, fusils, balls, and kettles; this credit should be given at the latest from the fifteenth to the thirtieth of September, and sometimes at that period the boats have not yet left St. Louis for want of the merchandise that they await from Montreal. The Beautiful River [the Ohio] would offer greater advantages because it could transport to the Illinois the merchandise that would be needed before the time of the expeditions, without being obliged to make them suffer a year's interest for their stay beforehand at the Illinois, if they wanted to supply themselves [in this manner] with the merchandise necessary for the trade; but on the other hand Canada offers men at a very good price for the transport of the merchandise and for the return of the peltries.

The price of a two and one-half point blanket sets the other prices of woolen blankets and of double-handfuls of powder, which weigh about three-quarters of a livre. As for the other merchandise, the price is arbitrary; nevertheless, it is about the same every year, but there are large profits on these small articles.

An outfiting of three to four thousand piastres requires about six or seven men, including the *patron*.[3] Their wages depend on the distance, from 100 to 150 piastres for a round trip from St. Louis to the nations of the Missouri whence they return in April or May and sometimes June, even though they left the Indians at the breakup of the ice, but the winds are so violent that they are often obliged to stop one, two, three, or four days at a time. They sometimes take as long in descending the river [the Missouri] as in going up it, even though the

se servoit de barge au lieu de voiture, je pense que la navigation non seulemen seroit plus sure, mais plus prompte en descendan. Il y auroit l'inconvenien du calfetage a la sortie de l'hyv[er] p^{r} lequel il faudroit se pourvoir non seulemen des choses necessaires a le faire, mais encore d'un engagé propre a y travailler. Il faut que les embarcations soyent tirées a sec ausitot que l'on est rendu pour eviter que les glaces ne les brisen[t] & les entrainent.

Les Grands Osages comptent environ 7 a 800 hommes. Les Petits Osages 250 a 300 homes.

Les Cancés environ autant que ces d^{ers}.

Les Maha de 4 a 500 homes.

Les Poncas de 200 a 250 hom[mes].

Les Panis, 2 villages, 4 a 500 hom[mes].

Les Loups environ 200 ou 250 hom[mes].

La Republique environ 4 a 500 hom[mes].

{9r} Ces 3 d^{eres} nations chassent peu. Il leur faut tres peu de couverte & trés peu de drap. Ils se servent de robes de beuf. Les menus articles sont les plus necessaire. Il y a aussi plus de benefice que sur le drap & les couvertes. Ils chassent peu au castor malgré que ce soit un lieu tres convenable a cette chasse & qu'il y soit trés abondan.

Pour faire ces voyages avec peu de fraix, il faudroit avoir des voyageurs du Canada, que lon a pour 250 a 300^{o} pour 18 mois de leur travail, que lon paye trés souven en march^{es} sur lesquelles on beneficie de la moitié.

Il y a un peu plus de discipline dans le Missouri que dans les voyages de la N^{e} Orleans parceque ce sont touts des Créoles ou gens établi[s] qui ne peuvent deserter une fois parti. Ils vivent en route de leur chasse, car en partan de St Louis ils ont tres peu de biscuit & peu de lard, mais asses de mahis pour se rendre avec un peu de graice.

L'eloignement & la distance de chaque vilage situé sur le Missouri est marqué sur ma carte.

Toutes les nations dont je vien de parler ont la guerre les unes contre les autres, a l'exception des Grands & Petits Osages, qui n'en ont pas entre eux, mais bien avec les autres nation du Missouri & même avec toutes celles du Micissipi, & au contraire, les Otho, les Panis, les Maha & les Poncas ont la paix avec les nation du Micissipi. Il y a une politique de la part de ces derniers de se conserver en paix parce quils ont besoin d'aller {9v} faire la chasse jusque la pour vivre, les terres du Micissipi etant ruinés & le chevr[e]uil presque detruit.

Les Loups, les Panis & la Republique sont touts aliés.

current is twice as rapid as in the Missouri [*sic*: Mississippi]. If boats were to be used instead of pirogues I think that navigation would not only be more certain, but more prompt in descending. There would be the inconvenience of caulking at the end of winter, for which one would have to provide oneself not only with the things necessary to do it, but also with a suitable engagé to do the work. It is necessary that the boats be taken to dry land as soon as they arrive in order to prevent the ice from damaging them and carrying them off.

The Great Osages number about 700 to 800 men. The Little Osages 250 to 300 men.

The Kansas about as many as the last-named.

The Omahas from 400 to 500 men.

The Poncas from 200 to 250 men.

The Pawnees, two villages, 400 to 500 men.

The Skiri Pawnees about 200 or 250 men.

The Republican Pawnees about 400 to 500 men.

The three last-named nations hunt little.[4] Very few blankets are required for them and very little cloth. They use buffalo robes. The small articles are the most necessary. There is also greater profit on them than on cloth and blankets. They hunt few beaver even though it is a very suitable location for that hunt and they are very abundant there.

To make these voyages cheaply it would be necessary to have voyageurs from Canada, who are had for 250 to 300 livres for eighteen months of their labor, which is often paid in merchandise on which there is a profit of one-half.

There is a little more discipline on the Missouri than on the voyages to New Orleans because they are all Creoles or men who are settled [in the Illinois] and who cannot desert once they have left. They live on the way by the hunt, for on leaving St. Louis they have very little biscuit and little pork, but enough corn for the trip, with a little grease.

The remoteness and the distance of each village located on the Missouri is marked on my map.[5]

All the nations of which I have just spoken are at war, each one against the others, with the exception of the Great and Little Osages, who do not make war with one another but certainly do with the other nations of the Missouri and even with those of the Mississippi; and, in contrast, the Otoes, Pawnees, Omahas, and Poncas are at peace with the nations of the Mississippi. There is a policy on the part of the latter to remain at peace with them because they need to go hunting as far as there [the Missouri] in order to live, the lands of the Mississippi being ruined and the deer almost destroyed.

The Skiris, Pawnees, and Republicans are all allied.

Les Maha & les Poncas le sont egalemen, & malgré cella les Maha tienent les Poncas sous leur despotisme, car ils ne leurs permetent de recevoir des marches de nos traiteurs que lorsque leur interest y entre pour ¬ue chose.

Plus les nation sauvages ont frequentés les blanc plus elles sont vicieuses, & plus celles que nous frequentons ont de comunication avec les traiteur du Canada, plus la traite est dificil[e] lorsque une des nations que nous avons sur notre teritoire voit devan ses yeux diferens moyen de se procurer ses besoins, tant par le canal des Anglois ou des Americains que par le notre. Alors elle cherche a sen prevaloir, surtout lorsque les interests opposés des blancs qui la frequentent ne cherchent qu'a se detruire entre eux en donan q̄q̄ue fois, tel que font les traiteur du Canada, au prix coutan d'Angleterre, les restes de leurs march[es] aux nations du Micissipi avec lesquels ils font la traite.

Touts les sauvages du ouest du Micissipi comprenent un peu la langue siouse, sans cependan la parler, mais chaque nation a comunemen des interpretes pour se faire entendre lorsqu'ils vont en parole les uns ches les autres.

La langue otawa est celle que les nation[s] {10r} de l'est du Micissipi comprenent le mieux entre eux. Mais dans touts les cas toutes les nations s'entendent par signe. Il semble que ce soit le language general des sauvages. Ils ont entre eux des simboles d'amitié, de paix ou de guerre designés par des couleurs reunies sur un colier qui a 4 a 5 pouce de large & 4 a 5 pieds de long, ou toutes les nations les plus eloignées les unes des autres lisent les intentions & les propositions de l'une a l'autre.

Une preuve que la frequentation des blancs a detruit chés les nations sauvages leur innocence naturelle c'est que toutes celles que lon decouvre ne conoissent que la douceur & la bienfaisance envers nous, & même de nation a nation, a moins quil ny ait quelque sujet de guerre entre elles, ce qui arrive quelquefois par le vol de quelque chevaux ou l'enlevemen de q̄q̄ues femmes.

Les meurs & les usages des diferentes nation sauvages sont diferens entre eux en raison de leur distance & de leur eloignement, quoique toujours dans le genre sauvage. On peut donner pour exemple le caractere, les meurs & les habitudes des peuples du nord de l'Europe, qui diferent de celles des peuples du sud.

Les nations qui vivent de chasse ont pour maxime de ne jamais tuer plus de beuf qu'ils n'en peuvent manger. Le jour du cerne est marqué & le chef de la nation regle l'ordre & la marche que lon ne peut franchir d'une lign[e] sans des peines graves.

{10v} Les nations du haut Missouri chassent tres peu parce quils ils [*sic*] sont encore sans besoin. Ils ne sy adoneront qu'a mesure que les blancs les frequenter[ont] pour leur fournir des march[ese] en echange du castor dont ils font griller le poil pour manger la viande. Il n'y a dans le haut Missouri que du castor, des loutres, du cabrit & du beuf. Le castor y est si comun que quelqun

The Omahas and Poncas are likewise [allied], but in spite of that the Omahas hold the Poncas under their despotism, for they allow them to receive merchandise from our traders only when their interest is involved in some way.

The more Indian nations have associated with whites, the more tricky they are, and the more communication those whom we frequent have with the traders from Canada, the more difficult the trade is when one of these nations that we have on our territory sees before their eyes different means to procure their necessities, as much by way of the English or the Americans as by our own. Then they seek to take advantage, especially when the opposed interests of the whites who visit them seek only to ruin one another, as the traders from Canada sometimes do, by giving the remainder of their merchandise at the price it costs in England to the nations of the Mississippi with whom they trade.

All of the Indians west of the Mississippi understand the Sioux language a little, without, nonetheless, speaking it, but each nation commonly has some interpreters to make themselves understood when they go to parley with others.

The Ottawa language is that which the nations east of the Mississippi understand the best among them.[6] But in every case all the nations understand each other by signs.[7] It seems that this is the general language of the Indians. They have among them symbols of friendship, of peace, or of war designated by colors joined together in a wampum belt that is four to five inches in width and four to five feet in length, from which all nations the most distant from one another read each other's intentions and propositions.[8]

A proof that the association with whites has destroyed the natural innocence of the Indian nations is that all those that we discover feel only kindness and benevolence toward us, and even from nation to nation, unless there is some reason for war between them, which sometimes happens because of the theft of horses or the carrying off of women.

The customs and practices of the various Indian nations differ from one another on account of their distance and remoteness, although always in the Indian style. One can give as example the character, customs, and habits of the peoples of the north of Europe, which differ from those of the peoples of the south.

The nations that live by hunting have as a maxim never to kill more buffalo than they can eat. The day for the surround is appointed and the chief of the nation regulates order and the march [on the herd], which cannot be transgressed without serious punishment.

The nations of the upper Missouri hunt very little because they are still without needs. They will devote themselves to it only to the extent that whites come to them to furnish them with merchandise in exchange for beaver, the fur of which they singe in order to eat the meat. On the upper Missouri there are only beaver, otter, antelopes, and buffalo. Beaver is so common there that someone

qui n'est pas habitué a leur bruit nocturne ne peut absolumen dormir. Il ne faut quaccoutu[mer] les sauvages a le tuer pour tirer de ces lieux éloignés plus de 10 mille paquets de castor. Aussi, les Sioux de la riviere St Pierre traversent un espace immense de teritoire pour se rendre dans le sud du Missouri pour y faire leur chasse, qu'ils reportent sur leur dos dans le lieu d'ou ils sont venus pour le donner aux traiteur du Canada. Le nombre des Sioux n'est pas connu mais ils passent 30 a 40 mille hommes. Si les Sioux qui vienent chasser sur le Missouri y trouvoient leur besoin dans un lieu de depo[t], ils se garderoient bien de porter leur castor sur le dos 2 ou 300 lieux pour se rendre a la riv^{e} St Pierre. C'étoit un des projets de la C^{e} lorsque M^{r} Todd y prit interest. La traite de cette natio[n] immense devoit se fixer sur [le] Missouri & ils devoient y être apelé en leur envoyan des interpretes d'avance. La traite est dautan plus avantageuse avec cette nation quil ne lui faut ny drap ny couverte. Il leur faut de la poudre, des bales, des bons fusils & des menus {11r} articles sur lesquels on gagne 3 a 400 p% en echange d'un castor qui ne coute pas plus qu'une pau de chevr[e]uil ou d'une pau d'ource qui na que soye & duvet colé sur un parchemin.

Voila le seul comer[c]e sur lequel il faut jetter actuelemen les yeux, duquel la Comp^{e} est seule proprietaire, parce qu'il offre de grands avantages en y debutan, & que le comerce du castor qui se trouve plus éloign[é] ou qui est entre les mains des nations qui n'y sont pas encore habitués ne presente que du retard, tandis que l'on peut jouir de celui ci des le momen de son principe.

Il est probable qu'en disposan l'etablissem[en]t de ce commerce, tant par les interpretes dont il faut se prémunir que par les paroles qu'il faut envoyer d'avance chez touts les Sioux pour les y préparer, en fixan le tems & le lieu du depot dans le Missouri, il en sortiroit peut être 3 a 400 paquets de castor la p^{ere} année & il n'est pas douteux que cella augmenteroit considerablement la seconde, parce qu'il y a des Sioux si éloignés que l'on ne pouroit pas leur faire passer les paroles aisement. Le castor de cette nation vaut ordinairemen le double de l'autre en Canada par la bauté de son duvet & la finesse de son parchemin.

La C^{e} fut aprouvé en 1796 avec le droit exclusif pendan 10 ans de faire le comerce avec toutes les nations qui sont au dessus des Ponca[s], tant au sud, a l'ouest, qu'au nord du Missouri, avec une recompence de 3000 p^{es} pour la {11v} decouverte de la mer du sud.

Il y eut dans le principe de la creation 10 a 12 interessé qui entrerent dans la premiere expedition, mais la dificulté du passage chés les Maha & Ponca, qui s'oposoient á la comunicatio[n] du haut Missouri fit renoncer plusieur des

who is not used to their nocturnal noise absolutely cannot sleep. In order to extract from these far-distant places more than ten thousand packs of beaver, all that is necessary is to accustom the Indians to killing them. Also, the Sioux of the St. Peter's River cross an immense amount of territory to go south of the Missouri to make their hunt, which they carry home on their backs to the place from which they came in order to give them to the traders from Canada. The number of the Sioux is not known, but it surpasses thirty to forty thousand men.[9] If the Sioux who come to hunt on the Missouri found their needs at a trading post there, they would save themselves entirely from carrying the beaver on their backs two to three hundred leagues to the St. Peter's River. This was one of the projects of the company when Mr. Todd took an interest in it.[10] The trade of this immense nation was supposed to be located on the Missouri and they were supposed to be called there by interpreters sent to them in advance. Trade with this nation is all the more advantageous since they do not need either cloth or blankets. They need powder, balls, good fusils, and small articles on which three to four hundred percent is earned in trade for beaver, which costs no more than deerskin or bearskin, that is only guard hair and soft fur adhering to the hide.[11]

Here is the only commerce of which the Company is the sole proprietor to which it is currently necessary to pay attention, because it offers great advantages from the start, and because the trade in beaver that is found farthest away—one that is in the hands of nations that are not yet accustomed to it—presents only delays, whereas we could be in possession of it [the trade] from the moment of its beginning.

It is probable that in organizing the establishment of that commerce both by the interpreters with whom it is necessary to provide oneself and by the messages that it is necessary to send in advance to all the Sioux to prepare them by setting the time and the place of the trading post on the Missouri, it would return perhaps three to four hundred packs of beaver the first year and there is no doubt that it would grow considerably in the second because there are Sioux so distant that messages could not be carried easily to them. The beaver of this nation is ordinarily worth double that of the other in Canada because of the softness of the fur and the fineness of the hide.

The Company was approved in 1796 with the exclusive right for ten years to carry out commerce with all the nations that are above the Poncas, to the south, as well as to the west and to the north of the Missouri, with a reward of 3,000 piastres for the discovery of the southern sea.

There were at the beginning of its establishment ten to twelve interested individuals who had shares in the first expedition, but the difficulty of passing the Omahas and Poncas, who opposed communication with the upper Missouri,

membre de la Compe. Une portion des interessés continua sous l'espoir des 10 M^es^ p^es^ de gratification par an, que Sa Majesté devoit payer pour l'entretien d'une milice, mais les entreprises de feu Todd pour un vaste comerce dans cette partie fit aprehender une portion des membres restan qui se demirent de leur action en sa faveur.

Le peu de faculté de chaque interessé a été cause de son peu de prosperité & ensuite de sa decadance, parce qu'il ny a eû aucune exped^on^ qui nait raporté de la perte, faute de sujets capable a leur tétte. En outre, les uns vouloient la traite des Sioux, les autres ne le vouloient point par la crainte des fraix des interpretes diferents quil faloit indispensablement sortir du centre du comer[ce] du Canada pour les fixer a nos interests, & sans cella il faut y renoncer parce que ces même interpretes sont comme des vrays Sioux. Ils ont leur familles parmi eux & sont tres ecoutés.

Le sol du Missouri est un des plus fertiles {12r} de l'univers. Les rivieres qui tombent dans le Missouri sont toutes navigables, les unes plus, les autres moins, cest a dire depuis 50-100 lieux jusqu'a 200 ou 300 lieux. Quant au Missouri, il y a de l'eau pour porter une fregate jusquau lieux les plus eloignes connus.

[Endorsement:] Account of Indian trade by C[lamorga]n

caused several members of the Company to withdraw from it. A portion of the interested individuals continued in hope of the 10,000 piastre gratuity per year that his majesty was expected to pay for the support of a militia, but the enterprises of the late Mr. Todd for a vast commerce in that region made a portion of the remaining members apprehensive, and they resigned their shares in his favor.

The lack of ability of each of the interested individuals was the cause of its limited prosperity and then of its decline, because there had been no expedition that had not reported a loss, for the want of capable persons at their head. Moreover, some wanted trade with the Sioux, while others did not want it for fear of the cost of the different interpreters who must of necessity be brought from the center of Canadian commerce to align them with our interests, and without that it is necessary to give up on it since these same interpreters are like the real Sioux. They have their families among them and are much listened to.

The soil of the Missouri is one of the most fertile in the universe. The rivers that fall into the Missouri are all navigable, some more, others less, that is to say, from 50–100 leagues up to 200 or 300 leagues. As for the Missouri, there is sufficient water to carry a frigate up to the most distant places known.

[Endorsement:] Account of Indian trade by C[lamorga]n

Appendix 1

The Language of Truteau

ROBERT VÉZINA

The value of Truteau's journal and description for historical, ethnological, and especially linguistic study has not been fully appreciated. Although Truteau's style has been criticized as "much inferior to that of Pierre-Antoine Tabeau," whose narrative was composed a few years later (Brouillette 1979: 143), Truteau's writings constitute a unique corpus that is important for documenting the speech of the voyageurs of the Missouri River and the history of the varieties of French spoken in North America.

Study of the language used by the French-speaking voyageurs during the eighteenth century, especially after the French regime, is hindered by the paucity of written records.[1] That lack is in stark contrast to the mass of documents composed by English-speaking traders during the same period.[2] This situation has several explanations. First, in most of the trading companies, English speakers held most of the official positions, where writing was a necessity and occasions to write were frequent. Next, the French-speaking voyageurs were for the most part illiterate, and those who could read had few occasions to write and little motivation to consign their experiences to paper. Finally, it seems likely that many of the texts that were written by French-speaking voyageurs have not been preserved.

Reconstructing the French vocabulary that developed in the context of the fur trade is a relatively arduous task, especially as it concerns the trade that was carried on in the Missouri drainage and, more broadly, in the Mississippi valley. From this perspective, Truteau's writings appear as veritable treasures, constituting the earliest and richest firsthand accounts of the activities of the voyageurs of the Missouri River. Moreover, they document the linguistic usages of the French-speaking voyageurs at the end of the eighteenth century and inform us about the language spoken by the descendants of the French colonists living in Canada and in the Illinois Country during the years preceding the sale of Louisiana to the United States.

Rediscovering the Speech of the Voyageurs

The philological approach constitutes the best means for studying the French-speaking voyageurs, even though they left relatively few written documents.

Fortunately, the philologist can draw on other sources than those of the voyageurs: the writings in the French language of Roman Catholic missionaries, explorers, and military men who often went with them and shared a part of their vocabulary or who gave accounts of it; notary records (such as contracts of partnership or of employment), and the various documents produced by the colonial governments. In addition, scrutinizing English-language sources proves very helpful: English-speaking traders, explorers, and military men borrowed terms used by the voyageurs or made mention of them.[3] These sources permit us to draw a portrait of the speech of the voyageurs—especially their lexicon—which, while certainly incomplete, nonetheless authentically evokes their linguistic universe.

One can also take into account descriptions and commentaries left by observers who visited the region, but they must be interpreted carefully. Usually they refer not to the speech of the voyageurs but rather to their maternal language, generally Canadian French, sometimes the French of the Illinois Country or that of Lower Louisiana. Since most voyageurs were of Canadian origin, it is relevant to examine how Canadian French has been evaluated in the past. Likewise, since the Illinois Country furnished a certain number of voyageurs beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, it is equally pertinent to examine the variety of French that was spoken there. To better determine the nature of the speech of the voyageurs, it is necessary to know not only their maternal language but also the different lexical components that characterized their speech in comparison with that used among the other North American Francophones.

CANADIAN FRENCH

The reputation of Canadian French among European visitors was excellent before the British conquest in 1760, particularly in regard to phonetics (Caron-Leclerc 1998, 3: 809, 814). Lexical innovation (adaptations to the North American environment, borrowings from the language of sailors and Indians) was remarked on without being evaluated negatively. Subsequently, although most French-speaking foreign commentators remained positive, discordant notes appeared (3: 599–604). Some traits of pronunciation were not as well received. Some lexical traits were felt to be archaic or obsolete, although some commentators appreciated this quality and believed they saw in Canadian French the French of the seventeenth century. Other traits were viewed as evidence of the Anglicization of the population. However, in the nineteenth century, the most negative criticisms were formulated by American, British, Irish, and German observers.

Several explanations may be suggested for the change in perception that took place after the French regime. European visitors to Canada in the nineteenth century noticed the differences between Canadian French and the Parisian

norm, which had undergone notable changes, especially following the Revolution of 1789. After the integration of Canada into the British Empire, communication between France and her former colony was greatly reduced for almost a century, and this favored a kind of parallel (but partially divergent) evolution of French on both sides of the Atlantic.[4] In regard to pronunciation, European French speakers were led to make comparisons between the Canadian accent and those accents characterizing provinces in France, especially Normandy. Little versed in dialectology, they allowed themselves to be influenced by stereotypes of peasant speech and by their ignorance of the characteristics of seventeenth-century Parisian French (Morin 2002: 45–47, 72–73; Caron-Leclerc 1998, 3: 814). As for the influence of English that they detected, it remained essentially an urban phenomenon and touched on specific domains of vocabulary, including politics, justice, commerce, and the world of work (Dickinson 2000; Poirier 2000; Caron-Leclerc 1998, 3: 639–87, 811–12). English-speaking observers may have been more critical of Canadian French because for them French was a second language; they experienced greater difficulty in dealing with geolinguistic variation, and to some extent they may have been influenced by political and cultural prejudices (Caron-Leclerc 1998, 3: 815). Finally, it may be remarked that some French Canadians were equally critical of their maternal language. A feeling of cultural inferiority in relation to the Francophones of Europe explains, at least in part, this tendency for self-criticism.

Europeans passing through Canada during the French regime were astonished to discover that the inhabitants spoke French and not a patois, even though most colonists had come from provinces in France, such as Anjou, Aunis, Normandy, Perche, Poitou, and Saintonge — regions where, during the ancien régime, patois were still strongly rooted, especially outside the urban centers.[5] The Canadian population, making no distinctions among classes, spoke a French comparable to that used in France (Caron-Leclerc 1998, 3: 597, 813–14).

In the nineteenth century the word *patois* referred to a speech form deriving from one of the dialects spoken during the Middle Ages in the various French provinces (for example, the Norman, Picard, and Poitevin dialects).[6] Modern French originated in a common written language used in several regions of France, including the Île-de-France (that is, a supraregional scriptural koine). Its development, especially since the fourteenth century, was shaped in good part by Parisians.[7] By extension, the word *patois* also served to designate the linguistic characteristics that colored the French spoken by the inhabitants of the provinces. These characteristics were often perceived negatively by speakers of standard French. Thus it is not surprising that *patois* also designates a "langue pauvre et grossière [language poor and unpolished]" (Littré, s.v. *patois*; Académie 1835). *Patois* generally assumed a pejorative connotation.

No patois (in the sense of *dialect*) took root in New France. Research into linguistic history shows that from the beginning of the colony on the St. Lawrence River in the seventeenth century (Québec was founded in 1608, Trois-Rivières in 1634, and Montréal in 1642), the language in use was strongly attached to the Parisian norm of the day, particularly in regard to pronunciation, although it was marked by traits inherited from the places of origin of the colonists and the innovations brought about in the North American environment.[8] That said, the idea that the French spoken in Canada was a patois and that, as a result, the voyageurs of Canadian origin spoke a patois would endure, especially in the English-speaking world.[9]

THE FRENCH OF THE PAYS D'EN HAUT

French was spoken in the settlements and posts of the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi valley, an immense territory called the Pays d'en Haut (the upper country), where fur-bearing animals abounded. It can be related to the Canadian French spoken in the St. Lawrence valley, with which it maintained very close relations. Certain specific tendencies can nevertheless be perceived.

In the eighteenth century the two principal poles of the French presence were Detroit (founded in 1701) and the Illinois Country, with a population at first centered around Cahokia (founded in 1699) and Kaskaskia (1703) and later around Ste. Geneviève (ca. 1750) and St. Louis (1764). Trading posts studded the map of the Pays d'en Haut. Many were ephemeral, while others were substantial, like Michilimakinac, located at the junction of Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. Some even became prominent settlements in the nineteenth century, notably for the old voyageurs who retired from the trade; such was the case, for example, with La Baie (now Green Bay, Wisconsin) and Sault Sainte Marie. In each trading post lived a microsociety of voyageurs—traders and engagés—one or more of whom were interpreters of Indian languages, often with craftsmen (especially a blacksmith), soldiers, and missionaries.[10] Indians settled around the largest and most stable posts, usually on a seasonal basis; this proximity brought about relationships between Indian women and voyageurs that resulted in métis descendants (Vézina 2010: 126–27).

In Truteau's time, the economy of the Pays d'en Haut was still strongly oriented to the fur trade, even though agriculture was well developed around Detroit and in the Illinois Country. The fairly small population was composed of cultivators, craftsmen, and fur traders; also found there, especially in the Illinois Country, were slaves of African and American Indian origin.[11]

The French spoken in the Pays d'en Haut differed from that used in the St. Lawrence valley by its inclusion of what Halford (2003: 98) called the "vocabulary of the frontier" or "vocabulary of the interior." Lexical items testify to the adaptation of French speakers to their new geographical and social environment.

Voyageurs and missionaries made use of it, as did the habitants and the soldiers who were stationed there, although the various groups probably integrated this lexicon into their linguistic usage in different proportions. It includes borrowings from American Indian languages that resulted from the very close relationships maintained with the tribes, especially by the French speakers involved in the fur trade (see pp. 412–13). In certain communities established around trading posts it may even be supposed that intermarriage (*métissage*) between whites and Indians favored linguistic mixing of the type that gave birth to Michif, the mixed French-Cree language still spoken in North Dakota and the Canadian West. In any case, such linguistic mixing must have occurred in communities where there were numerous marriages between whites and Indians.

Besides the vocabulary of the frontier, the French spoken in the Pays d'en Haut included its own innovations as well as features from regional varieties in use in France that cannot be explained as adaptations to the new environment. This is documented especially for the area around Detroit and for the Illinois Country, the two areas of colonization for which there are enough linguistic data to allow us to examine the vocabulary in use.[12]

THE FRENCH OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

After Canadian French, the French spoken in the Illinois Country was the maternal language for the largest number of voyageurs of the Missouri. In Truteau's time the principal French-speaking villages of this region were all situated in the Mississippi valley: St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve on the west side, and Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Prairie du Rocher on the east side, St. Charles on the north bank of the Missouri, near its junction with the Mississippi, and Vincennes, situated on the left bank of the Wabash River. Colonization had been carried out largely from the St. Lawrence valley, the seat of the principal peopling of the French in North America, or directly from France. The French-speaking inhabitants born in the Illinois Country were sometimes called Créoles to distinguish them from the Canadians and the French. Judging by the French still spoken in Missouri during the 1930s, the language of the Créoles may be seen as a variety of Canadian French, but distinguished by several specific characteristics and sharing others representative of the French of Lower Louisiana (Vézina 2005).

THE SOCIOLECTAL ASPECT

Given the usual social origins of the voyageurs—most of them unschooled and coming from humble backgrounds—it may be supposed that they spoke a lower-class Canadian French. Even if the characteristics of this sociolect remain to be defined, its existence seems incontestable. Although the distinction between social classes in French Canada was less clear-cut than in France, the Canadian

variety of French was subject to a certain variation based on social characteristics. For example, certain phonetic, morphosyntactic, and lexical traits came to be used with different frequencies among uneducated people and not among those engaged in the professions or belonging to the upper clergy. This sociolinguistic variation was less accentuated than in France, but even if what Dunn (1976: xv–xvi) said about it ("Dans ce pays, ceux qui ont fait un cours d'études classique et ceux qui n'ont pas dépassé l'école primaire parlent, à quelques nuances près, le même langage" [In this country those who have followed a course of classical studies and those who have not gone beyond primary school speak, aside from some minor nuances, the same language]) is probably close to the truth, it ought to be a little more complex than he led us to understand.

An allusion to the sociolect used by the uneducated voyageurs appears in the report of trials involving French speakers and English speakers working in the fur trade west of the Great Lakes:

> In preparing these trials for the press much difficulty occurred from the indifferent French in which [a] great part of the proceedings were minuted. This must be attributed partly to the provincial jargon which the lower class of Canadians make use of, partly to the bad French spoken by the De Meuron soldiers, partly to the circumstance of several of the English gentlemen who had to express themselves in French in the course of the trials not being perfect masters of the idiom of that language, and partly to the many anglicisms both with regard to words and to construction which have crept into use in Canadian French particularly in the Courts and law proceedings. (Wilcocke 1818: xiii)

Further, the linguistic usage of the voyageurs developed degrees of stylistic variation. A voyageur expressing himself in an informal style of speech could be difficult to understand by anyone who had not mastered French.

In the literature relating to the voyageurs, they are most often depicted as men of modest condition, little educated, but generally of a hearty cheerfulness and good nature. It is therefore scarcely surprising that the authors who have represented the voyageurs have often envisioned a picturesque language, typical of a casual style of speech.[13] Behind the cliché, one suspects that there is some degree of truth (Vézina 2010: 136–38).

THE SPECIALIZED VOCABULARY OF THE VOYAGEURS

Terminology of Work

The specialized vocabulary of the voyageurs could be called a trade jargon. For the uninitiated, it sounded strange. This was the case, for example, with the

Canadian Thomas Verchères de Boucherville, who expressed his confusion on his first voyage in 1803:

> Moi, jeune homme de dix-huit ans, n'ayant jamais laissé la maison paternelle pour aucun long voyage, ne connaissant aucunement le jargon presque barbare des voyageurs, leur coutume, leur manière de vivre, et me trouvant seul au milieu d'eux dans cette fragile embarcation, pour faire un voyage de près de six cents lieux [lieues], alors, seulement je commençai à réfléchir à la folie peut-être de l'idée qui m[']était venue de partir pour un tel voyage. (Verchères de Boucherville 1847: 1–2)
>
> [Myself, a young man of eighteen years, having never left my paternal home for any long trip, knowing nothing of the almost barbarous jargon of the voyageurs, their customs, their way of life, and finding myself alone in the midst of them in this small, fragile boat to make a voyage of almost six hundred leagues, then, only then, I began to reflect on the madness, perhaps, of the idea that had come over me to leave on such a voyage.]

The terminology of the voyageurs covered many domains: the trade merchandise, the boats utilized, inland navigation, transport by river and by land, the equipment, the topography of the areas traversed, the fur-bearing animals, hunting, the types of peltries, the various titles and functions of the trade personnel, relations with the Indians, the conduct of the trade, trading posts, food, clothing, and social life (Vézina 2010: 149–51).

This terminology developed from the start of the seventeenth century until the mid-nineteenth century; certain elements even date back to the sixteenth century, during the period of first contact between Europeans and Indians. Its sources are diverse: creation, specialized use of a word from the common French language, borrowings from foreign languages (especially American Indian languages and English), and borrowings from the language of sailors and military men.[14] I use the term *voyageurisms* to designate the lexical items belonging to this more specialized part of the voyageurs' vocabulary. Without their being always exclusive, these terms nonetheless characterize the speech of the voyageurs in comparison with the standard language of French-speaking North Americans.

One of the first mentions of the existence of a speech peculiar to the voyageurs dates to 1763; it is found in a memoir describing the western territories of New France:

> Les voïageurs ont l'habitude de ne nommer plusieures nations que par la premiere sillable de leur véritable nom; ainsi ils disent *Pou,* au lieu de *Pouteouatamis*; *Sak,* au lieu de *Sakis*; *Ouïa,* au lieu de *Ouïatanons*; *Chi,*

> au lieu de *Chicachas*; *Kas,* au lieu de *Kaskacia*; *Pé,* au lieu de *Péoria,* &c. (Anonymous 1763: 19)
>
> [The voyageurs have the habit of calling several tribes only by the first syllable of their real name: thus they say *Pou* instead of *Pouteouatamis, Sak* instead of *Sakis, Ouïa* instead of *Ouïatanons, Chi* instead of *Chicachas, Kas* instead of *Kaskacia, Pé* instead of *Péoria,* etc.]

The tendency to shorten the names of Indian tribes may initially have been a habit of the voyageurs; it affected the names of the tribes that the French met in the Great Lakes region and in the Mississippi valley, but only the names of Indian origin. In the eighteenth century, some shortened names were adopted by the colonial administration, by the military, and even by the colonists in Louisiana and the Illinois Country (many of whom were former voyageurs). From this process of lexical formation came such forms used by Truteau as Kans or Cans (from Kansés, Cansés), Ris (from Ricaras), and Autos or Otos (from Otoctatas); to these can be added the word Sioux, a shortened form that preserves only the final part of Nadouessioux.[15]

External Influences

Although the voyageur lifestyle and sociocultural environment were propitious for the development of linguistic interference such as code mixing and code switching, not all voyageurs were much exposed to American Indian languages or to English; some had very little exposure. Moreover, in a multilingual context, nonverbal language was abundantly used to compensate for the absence of a common language.[16] Nonetheless, linguistic mixing may be considered one of the important characteristics of the voyageurs' vocabulary. The fur trade always fostered linguistic contact, from the sixteenth-century exchanges between white fishermen and Indians on the East Coast, out of which a Basque–American Indian pidgin developed (Bakker 1989), until nearly three hundred years later, in the Pacific Northwest, where another pidgin developed, the Chinook jargon, which was strongly marked by the influence of French-speaking voyageurs and English-speaking traders (Lang 1995).

The Influence of American Indian Languages

Indian languages left numerous traces in the French of the voyageurs in the form of direct borrowings and calques. The degree of exposure to Indian languages varied according to the position an individual occupied in the trade. It is incorrect to assume that the voyageurs as a group mastered American Indian languages. For example, voyageurs of the class *mangeurs de lard* 'pork-eaters', engagés who conducted the canoes between Montréal and Grand Portage, at

the western extremity of Lake Superior, had much less contact with Indians than the *hivernants* 'winterers', who spent at least an entire winter at a trading post, far from the colonial settlements.

In a post like Michilimackinac, given the close relations that the resident whites had with the various native groups, particularly the Ojibwes and the Ottawas, cultural borrowings occurred, such as learning the art of canoe building and the techniques of fishing. They were reflected in lexical borrowings from Ojibwe into the vocabulary of the French speakers, such as *okantican* 'big float made of cedar wood placed at both ends of a fish net', *ouatape* (or *watap*) 'fine lash taken from the roots of certain conifers, particularly the black spruce, that was used to sew together the pieces of a bark canoe', and *makaque* (*makaque, makak,* etc.) 'container made of birch bark, used to hold or preserve food'.[17] In fact, *okantican* was in use as early as the late seventeenth century. It should be noted that the same borrowing could have several contemporary sources. This is the case with *ouatape,* which seems to have entered French usage in the context of the fur trade through the medium of the Algonquin canoe builders living near Trois-Rivières, although other sources are equally possible and indeed probable (Vézina 2010: 534).

It may be assumed that the influence of Indian languages was stronger among those French speakers who became bilinguals and even polyglots. It was not rare for a trader to settle periodically in an Indian village and acquire a certain command of the language of that particular tribe. Traders who were cut off from other French speakers might be strongly influenced by the Indian languages, but this phenomenon is poorly documented.

The Influence of English

The influence of English on the voyageurs' French came about later. In fact, in the domain of the fur trade, the opposite influence was more notable: French left a profound imprint on the English of the traders in the Great Lakes region, the West, and the Northwest. This process began with the arrival of English-speaking traders after the fall of New France. Borrowing from French seems to have been particularly intense between 1780 and 1829 (Vézina 2010: 597). Even at that time, the phenomenon did not go unnoticed. For example, the writer Samuel Hull Wilcocke, when he was a publicist for the North West Company, asserted: "Many French expressions and idioms are adopted into the English that is used in the North West arising from the constant intercourse with the Canadian voyageurs" (Wilcocke ca. 1820: 77–78).

The anglicization of the voyageurs' speech was noticeable in the nineteenth century; it especially affected the voyageurs based in the United States, often Créoles from the former Illinois Country, sometimes Canadians or Europeans.

Several reports indicate that Créoles boatmen were already much in contact with the English language from the early nineteenth century, following the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and that some of them were bilingual.[18] See, for example, the report of Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, relating to the years 1822–24:

> In the larger towns where Creoles live, considerable numbers of the male youths work as boatmen on river vessels. These are also in a position where a knowledge of English is an absolute necessity. For these various reasons I found but few individuals of this class of people who could not speak the English language fluently. To those must be added further facts, the transactions in the courts of law are handled in English, the bulk of business is carried on by Anglo-Americans, and finally the recently established schools are conducted only in the English language. (Lottinville 1973: 198)

However, this is not the case with the voyageurs originating in the St. Lawrence valley, who learned little English (Vézina 2000: 148). The influence of English on the French of the Créoles during this period is even perceptible in the writings of certain merchants in Ste. Genevieve, such as Félix Vallé: "Reglez aussi vite que possible tous les comptes qui sont *of long standing*, et vendez autant que possible pour *cash*" [Settle as quickly as possible all the accounts that are of long standing, and sell as many as possible for cash].[19] Code switching is also attested, although rarely, in the writing of Honoré Picotte, a trader on the upper Missouri: "Le vieux [an Indian] est un bon amie des Blanc et un *first-rate hunter*" [The old man is a good friend of the whites and a first-rate hunter].[20]

As the Créoles and other French speakers were integrated into the American trading companies in which affairs were administered chiefly in English, they borrowed English terms for commerce, such as the names of merchandise as well as units of measurement or quantity, including *yard* and *bunch*.[21] With certain traders, well-established French words were replaced by their English equivalents, as is noticeable in a letter that Pierre Ménard of Kaskaskia wrote to his son on April 29, 1828:

> Si par azard tu trouvoit des pecand[,] pichou[,] *mink*, ourse[,] loutre, ses [=ces] article bien achetay donneron un profil [=profit]. . . . Il an est de meme avec *les raccoon*[;] pour bien faire il faudr[ait] que les plus beau *raccoon* de se pais la [=ce pays-là] ne coute que 20 [cents?] car il paroit quil ne le vende pas comme le *muskrat*.[22]
>
> [If by chance you find any fisher, bobcat, mink, bear, otter, these articles bought on good terms will make us a profit. . . . It is the same with raccoon;

to do well the most beautiful raccoon from that country must cost only 20 (cents?) for it seems they do not sell like the muskrat.]

During the late eighteenth century, some American colonists crossed the Mississippi to settle in Spanish territory (which was returned to France in 1800), and after 1803, owing to the massive arrival of colonists in Upper Louisiana, the process of anglicization of the Créoles accelerated.[23] A generation later, we find that several traders whose native language was French wrote letters in English.[24] In the mid-nineteenth century, various authors (including Ruxton, Garrard, and Parkman) borrowed from the old stereotypes and depicted the voyageurs of the American West as speaking a type of pidgin English with a strong French accent (Lecompte 1997: 19–20). This situation was aided by the growing collaboration between French and English speakers in the fur trade. It is true that such a collaboration also induced some American traders to learn French on the job. Trapper Osborne Russell described a scene that unfolded in 1840 in present-day Utah:

> I have already said the man who was the proprietor of the lodge in which I staid was a French man with a flat head wife and one child[.] The inmates of the next lodge was a half breed Iowa[,] a Nez percey wife and two children[,] his wife's brother, and another half breed[; in the] next lodge was a half breed Cree[,] his wife a Nex percey[,] 2 children[,] and a Snake Indian. . . . Three of the party spoke English but very broken[,] therefore that language was made but little use of as I was familiar with the Canadian French and Indian tongue. (Russell 1986: 114)[25]

In addition, some Americans and British, especially those coming from the upper classes, could communicate in French, a language that they had learned in school. But this was not the case for the majority.[26]

Although English dominated as the language of commerce, that fact should not be interpreted to suggest that all the French speakers of the American West were on the road to assimilation in the early nineteenth century. Most workers in the fur trade preserved a French-speaking countenance for a long while, both in the United States and in Canada (Vézina 2000: 152–54; Tykal 1989: 200).

THE SPEECH OF THE VOYAGEURS

The designation "speech of the voyageurs" (*parler des voyageurs*) covers two principal meanings. On the one hand, it refers to the language of the voyageurs as a system of expression and communication that corresponds according to the origin of the speakers to the Canadian French of the St. Lawrence valley, to the French of the Pays d'en Haut (essentially that of the Illinois Country and of

Detroit), or, more rarely, to the French of Lower Louisiana. Although it is likely that this language was subject to a degree of social variation, most voyageurs used a popular variety, which accounts for its characterization as a *sociolect*—a form of speech distinctive of a particular social group (Vézina 2010: 136).

On the other hand, the "speech of the voyageurs" refers more specifically to a group of lexical traits. It may be considered a *technolect*—a vocabulary adapted to a particular professional activity. Indeed, this speech was a professional jargon developed to account for the activities of the fur trade (the word *jargon* is used here in a nonpejorative sense). This terminology draws on diverse sources, such as the language of sailors and that of the military, as well as diverse Indian languages spoken from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Pacific Coast, especially Algonquian languages throughout the region of the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay. It also borrowed lexical and semantic innovations from words used in standard or regional French, and it occasionally assumed a comical character: for example, the term *bois de vache* (literally "cow wood") 'dried buffalo dung used as fuel'.

The speech of the voyageurs is the oldest specifically North American technolect,[27] and it could as well be called "the speech of the fur trade," since it was used throughout this profession, except by the upper administrative echelons of the companies based in London, New York, Montréal, and St. Louis. This speech was known and used by most of the fur trade's working class.[28] Within this group, the speech of the voyageurs played a distinctive role in articulating its identity (Vézina 2010: 150).

A Window on the Speech of the Missouri River Voyageurs

Truteau serves as an exception to the common stereotype that the voyageurs were illiterate men of little culture, as certain of their contemporaries suggested (for example, "the ignorant Canadian boatmen, who are unable to appreciate the science" of natural history [Brackenridge 1814: 240]). While not a man of science—far from it—Truteau was a worthy representative of the most cultivated level of fur trader society. It is true that he was not just a simple boatman at the time of his voyage to the upper Missouri; his years as a *mangeur de lard* and his apprenticeship in the trade were already far behind him. In addition, he knew how to read and write, abilities that were quite rare among Canadians of that period.[29] Doubtless it was for these reasons that he was entrusted with leading the first trade expedition of the Company of the Upper Missouri.

Truteau cannot be characterized as a careful observer of natural phenomena; he understood little of natural science. Even the description includes very little concerning plants and animals and rarely goes beyond simple enumeration. It is far from the learned observations that naturalists like John Bradbury and Thomas

Nuttall made in the early nineteenth century. Even Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, another voyageur on the upper Missouri who was Truteau's contemporary, gave more details in his descriptions of natural phenomena in the journal that he wrote some ten years later. Truteau was more interested in people, and his narrative is strongly centered on the relations, sometimes peaceful but more often tense, between himself and the Indians with whom he interacted. He devoted a considerable portion of his journal and description to describing—albeit from a subjective point of view—the way of life and the psychology of the Indians whom he met, as well as their morals, customs, and beliefs. And he did it in a singularly detailed fashion. Although one could imagine that this thematic preference, consciously or not, was motivated by the conflicts that disrupted his projects and those of the Company of the Upper Missouri, one cannot deny that Truteau was truly fascinated by the Indians. This fascination was most clearly expressed in the description. Although Truteau did not always escape the trap of ethnocentrism and prejudice (notably on the issue of religious beliefs), he displayed a remarkable openness toward Indians and did not hesitate to plead their case: "I have said enough about it to make known to those who think Indians are entirely stupid, crude, rustic, incapable of thinking and of reflecting on whatever it might be, that they are grossly mistaken" (DQ Ia: 60).

Introducing his description, Truteau emphasized that he was a voyageur, not a man of letters: "The author, far from being an academician, is but a poor voyageur who, although he received some education in his youth, has since then so badly neglected it that a flowery style embellished with all the graces of rhetoric is no longer his practice" (DQ Ia: 1). In order to present as polished an account as possible, Truteau did not rely solely on his own resources but took inspiration from two works that were literary successes throughout the eighteenth century: *Description de la Louisiane*, by Louis Hennepin (1683), and *Mémoires de l'Amerique septentrionale*, by Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan.[30] Certain passages of Truteau's description reproduced extracts from Lahontan and Hennepin more or less verbatim (see pp. 418–20). But these borrowings do not diminish the historical, ethnological, or linguistic value of the description. Together with the various versions of the journal, the description constitutes a valuable corpus for linguists interested in the French spoken by the voyageurs in the Missouri valley at the end of the eighteenth century. The official character of these documents, destined to be read by superiors and members of the administration of Upper Louisiana, and the level of Truteau's education explain why one finds in them few linguistic traits that could qualify as representing popular or familiar style. Consequently they reveal only a portion of the complex linguistic reality of the voyageurs, many aspects of which will always escape us.

In the remainder of this essay I examine components of Truteau's language, based on his journal and description: the spelling and what spelling can reveal about pronunciation, some elements of grammar, and vocabulary. It is, in fact, the vocabulary on which I will focus most attention. But before turning to the language of Truteau, it is relevant to explore the literary influences that directly inspired Truteau when he was preparing the description.

"An illustrious plagiarist": Jean-Baptiste Truteau

Much has been made of the fact that Perrin du Lac plagiarized from Truteau in his book *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes,* published in 1805 (Grenier 1953). Yet this may be considered just payback, for Truteau was guilty of the same offense when he drew up his description. Previous scholars have overlooked the fact that Truteau borrowed freely from Lahontan's *Mémoires de l'Amerique septentrionale* and, in a more limited manner, from Louis Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane,* specifically from a chapter in the second part of the book entitled "Les mœurs des Sauvages." Unlike Perrin du Lac, who indicated that he was indebted to a "former trader" and his memoirs, Truteau remained silent concerning his sources. This should not surprise us. In attempting to impress the Spanish authorities, he had recourse to a strategy that was common during his time: hidden literary borrowing. He used what he had at hand. If Truteau did not own copies of the books by Lahontan and Hennepin, someone among the notables of St. Louis was able to loan them to him, since we know that the books of those authors were available there.[31] From today's perspective, the use that Truteau made of the works of Lahontan and Hennepin would qualify as plagiarism; to avoid this word, laden with negative legal and moral connotations, literary theorists would rather speak of intertextual practices or, more simply, borrowings. Such literary borrowing was part of a tradition to which many authors of the colonial period subscribed (Tremblay 2006: 16–17), including Hennepin himself.[32]

It was Lahontan's *Mémoires* that Truteau used most freely. Even his title, *Description abrégée du haut Missouris,* echoes that of a chapter in Lahontan's book, "Description abrégée du Canada." The organization of the description into thematic chapters clearly follows that of Lahontan's *Mémoires,* as is shown by comparing the titles of certain of the chapters in the two works (see table 4).

Truteau incorporated passages not only from those chapters of Lahontan whose titles he borrowed but from other chapters as well. Although he did not take information concerning the Indians of the upper Missouri, he nonetheless extracted from Lahontan's work remarks on the subject of Indians in general. Thus while some of the ideas concerning Indians expressed in the description

are borrowed from Lahontan, the ethnographic details concerning the upper Missouri come from Truteau himself.

In comparison, the borrowing from Hennepin's chapter "Les incivilités des Sauvages" (Hennepin 1683: 2: 51–55) appears only in a single chapter of the second notebook, *Manierre inciviles et grossières des sauvages* [Uncivil and impolite manners of the Indians], which reappears with some variations at the end of the third notebook. The same strategy is again evident, with Truteau borrowing little-nuanced generalizations from Hennepin. The contrast between commentaries applying to Indians in general and those specifically concerning the peoples of the upper Missouri adds a somewhat encyclopedic dimension to Truteau's observations.

Table 5 compares extracts from the description with their sources in the writings of Lahontan and Hennepin. One can see that Truteau's intertextuality sometimes amounts to repeating passages from these two authors, word for word, without any significant changes (examples 1, 2, and 8); at other times, incorporating into the texts passages from Lahontan that relate to the Indians of the Great Lakes region in the second half of the seventeenth century, but adapting them to the context of the upper Missouri in the late eighteenth century (examples 3, 4, and 6); or giving a more general turn to an observation not associated with any particular people, even if it means overgeneralizing (example 5). He sometimes endeavors to rewrite extracts from the two authors, especially from Lahontan, imprinting them with his own style and reorganizing the ideas according to an order that suited him (example 9), sometimes further enriching them (examples 4 and 10), and sometimes suppressing details (examples 3 and 7). Despite the work of rewriting, the integration of elements

Table 4. Lahontan and Truteau chapters compared

CHAPTERS OF LAHONTAN	CHAPTERS OF TRUTEAU
Description abrégée du Canada (1990, 1:528)	Description abrégée du haut Missouris
Habits, Logemens, Complexion & temperament des Sauvages (1:629)	Habit, logements, compléxion et tempérament des sauvages du haut Missouris (DQ Ib:1)
Mœurs & Maniéres des Sauvages (1:637)	Mœurs des sauvages du haut Missouris (DQ Ia:53)
Amours & Mariages des Sauvages (1:668)	Amours et mariages des sauvages du haut Missouri (DQ Ib:9)
Guerre des Sauvages (1:711)	Guerre des sauvages (DQ III:1)

coming from Lahontan occasionally provoked Truteau to appropriate Lahontan's "I," even though that observer had been born almost a century before him (Lahontan was born in 1666 and died in 1716) (examples 1, 2, and 3); when it is a question of "I" valued as the narrator-observer, the effect of this usurpation of identity is remarkable (example 2).

In appropriating the extracts from Lahontan, Truteau tacitly revealed that he shared a number of Lahontan's perspectives and observations on the Indians, opinions most often rather favorable. He embraced as well Lahontan's critique of Catholic missionaries, the objectivity of whose published accounts relating to the Indians he called into question (see description, folios 52, 60, and 61). At the other extreme, by copying "The Incivilities of the Indians" from Hennepin, while leaving aside the chapter that counterbalances it, "Civilities of the Indians" (Hennepin 1683: 2: 55–58), Truteau expresses a certain disdain for them, which could appear paradoxical. As a start at explication, beyond the inevitable prejudices following from cultural shock, one could advance a simple rhetorical trick, for it goes without saying that a negative representation of Indians ("the savage") could contribute to justifying in part the difficulties that had thwarted Truteau during his expedition.

In this edition, all the passages of Truteau's description that we have identified as taken from or inspired by Lahontan and Hennepin are indicated by footnotes. A serious effort was made to study the external sources Truteau used in writing the description, particularly those belonging to the historiography of New France. Nonetheless, the likelihood remains that some of them have escaped us. In any case, despite the external borrowings that garnish it, even enrich it, the description remains essentially the product of Truteau, the experienced voyageur.

DEFECTS OF THE WRITING

The Québec versions of Truteau's texts contain a surprising number of spelling and grammatical errors, which are especially noticeable because Truteau was not only a voyageur but also a school teacher. The quality of the orthography is lessened by simple errors: *étangts* instead of *étangs* (DQ Ia: 14), *spaçieuses* instead of *spacieuses* (JQ: 19), *quelquonques* instead of *quelconques* (JQ: 126); the very limited use of hyphens (for example, *celle cy* instead of *celle-cy*) and apostrophes (for example, *jai* instead of *j'ai*), the apostrophe being used improperly (for example, *l'assitude* [JQ: 4]); by the inconsistent use of diacritical marks; by false lexical analyses; and by inappropriate joining or breaking up of words (for example, *paraport* instead of *par rapport*, *sa proprie* instead of *s'approprie*, *de la proche* instead of *de l'approche*). In addition, the punctuation of the two texts is somewhat fluctuating. The writing of certain words whose spelling Truteau mastered elsewhere shows inconsistencies; this is the case with the word *voiture*,

Table 5. Lahontan and Truteau passages compared

	LAHONTAN	TRUTEAU
1	Il y auroit mille choses curieuses à dire au sujet des Amourettes & du Mariage de ces Peuples; mais comme cela m'emporteroit trop de tems & que vous pourriez peut-être vous rebuter d'un détail trop particularisé, je me contenterai d'en raporter l'essentiel. (Lahontan 1990, 1:668)	Il y auroit milles choses curieuses a dire au sujet des amourettes et du mariage des sauvages, mais comme je crains d'être trop long, et que l'on pourroit se rebuter d'un détail trop particularisé, je me contenterai d'en rapporter l'essentiel. (DQ Ib:9)
2	Les Sauvages ont des talens merveilleux pour faire une guerre de surprise, car ils connoissent mieux la piste des hommes ou des bêtes sur l'herbe & sur les feuilles, que les Européens ne le pourroient connoître sur la nége ou sur le sable moüillé. Outre cela ils distinguent facilement si ces traces sont vieilles ou nouvelles, aussi bien que le nombre & l'especе qu'elles designent, & ils suivent ces vestiges des jours entiers sans prendre le change, c'est une vérité dont je ne sçaurois douter après en avoir été tant de fois le témoin. (Ibid.:714)	Ils ont des talents merveilleux pour faire une guerre de surprise, car ils connoissent mieux la piste des hommes ou des bêtes sur l'herbe ou sur les feuilles que les Européens ne la pourroient connoitre sur le sable ou sur la neige. Outre cela, ils distinguent facilement si ces trâces sont vielles ou nouvelles, aussi bien que le nombre et lespèce qu'elles désignent, et ils suivent ces vestiges des jours entiers sans prendre le change. C'est une véritée dont je ne saurois douter après en avoir été tant de fois temoins. (DQ III:10–11)
3	Les Sauvages sont fort sains & exemts de quantité de maladies dont nous sommes attaquez en Europe, comme de Paralisie, d'hidropisie, de goute, d'éthisie, d'asme, de gravelle & de pierre. Ils sont sujets à la petite verole & aux pleuresies. Quand un homme meurt à l'âge de soixante ans, ils disent qu'il est mort jeune, parce qu'ils vivent ordinairement quatre-vingt jusqu'à cent ans, & même j'en ai vû deux qui alloient beaucoup au delà. Cependant, il s'en trouve qui ne poussent pas si loin par leur propre faute, car ils s'empoisonnent quelquefois, comme je vous l'expliquerai ailleurs; il semble qu'ils suivent assez bien en cette occasion les maximes de Zenon & des Stoïciens, qui soûtiennent qu'il est permis de se donner la mort; d'où je conclus qu'ils sont aussi foûs que ces grands Philosophes. (Ibid.:637)	Les sauvages sont fort sains et éxempts de quantitée de maladies dont nous sommes attaqués, comme de paralisie, d'hydropisie, de goutte, d'éthisie, d'asme, de gravelle, de pierre, &c. Ils vivent fort vieux. Cependant ils s'en trouvent qui ne poussent pas si loin leur carrière par leur propre faute, car ils se pendent ou se poignardent eux mêmes communement, surtout parmi les Sioux. Il semble qu'ils suivent assez bien en cette occasion les maximes de Zenon et des Stoïciens, qui soutiennent qu'il est permis de se donner la mort, doù je conclus qu'ils sont aussi fous que ces grands philosophes. (DQ Ib:14)

(continued)

Table 5. Lahontan and Truteau passages compared *(continued)*

	LAHONTAN	TRUTEAU
4	Les Sauvages ne sont pas susceptibles de jalousie, & ne connoissent point cette passion. (Ibid.:679)	Je passerai a la maniere dont en agissent les Panis Mahas, les Mendannes, les Aricaras et les Gros Ventres au sujet des femmes, qui, quoi que également barbares, different tout a fait didée et de sentiment des autres pour elles, car en effet ces derniers ne sont point susceptible de jalousie. Ils ne connoissent point cette passion. (DQ Ib:7)
5	L'on trouve parmi les Ilinois quantité d'Hermaphrodites; ils portent l'habit de femme, mais ils font indifféremment usage des deux Sexes. Ces Ilinois ont un malheureux penchant pour la Sodomie, aussi-bien que les autres Sauvages qui habitent aux environs du Fleuve de Missisipi. (Ibid.:681)	Il y a parmi tous les peuples sauvages de ce continent des hommes qui portent l'habit de femme. Ils ne vont jamais ni a la guerre ni a la chasse. Ils sont assujettis aux travaux des femmes et font usage de deux sexes. Je ne saurois vous dire avec véritée les raisons qui peuvent determiner ces espèces d'hermaphrodite a prendre cet état, si c'est par quelques idées chimériques ou par une abominable passion de déréglement, car les barbares ont un malheureux penchant pour la sodomie. (DQ Ib:15)
6	Ils ont plusieurs sortes de danses, la principale est celle du Calumet, les autres sont la danse du Chef, la danse de Guerre, la danse de Mariage, & la danse du Sacrifice. Elles sont différentes les unes des autres, tant pour la cadence que pour les sauts: mais il me seroit impossible d'en faire la description, par le peu de rapport que ces danses ont avec les nôtres //[note by Lahontan in the margin:] Toutes ces danses peuvent être comparées à la Pyrrique de Minerve, car les Sauvages observent, en dansant d'une gravité singulière, les Cadences de certaines Chansons, que les Milices Grecques d'Achille appelloient Hyperchematiques.* Il n'est pas facile de sçavoir si les Sauvages les ont apprises des Grecs, ou si les Grecs les ont apprises des Sauvages. (Ibid.:641–42)	Les sauvages ont plusieurs sortes de danses. Les principales sont la danse du soleil, la danse du calumet, la danse du boeuf et celle qui réprésente leurs actions de guerre. Elles sont différentes les unes des autres, tant pour la cadanse que pour les chants et les sauts, mais il me seroit impossible d'en faire des descriptions par le peu de rapport que ces danses ont avec les notres. Toutes ces danses peuvent être comparés a la pirrique de Minerve, car les sauvages observent en dansant d'une [sic, une] gravitée singulierre, et aux danses de certaines chansons que les milices grecs d'Achille appelloit hyporchématiques, mais il n'est pas facile de savoir si les sauvages les ont appris des Grecs ou les Grecs des sauvages. (DQ II:10)

	LAHONTAN	TRUTEAU
7	La maladie Venérienne est tout à fait commune du côté des Ilinois & du Fleuve de Missisipi. Je me souviens qu'étant avec les Akansas que je rencontrai sur ce grand Fleuve à la sortie de la Riviére des Missouris, (comme je vous l'ai marqué dans ma seiziéme Lettre,) je vis un Sauvage qui s'étant dépoüillé devant moi me fit voir une partie de son corps tombant en pourriture; il faisoit boüillir des racines & lui ayant demandé à quel usage, il me répondit par interpréte, qu'il espéroit bien être guéri au bout d'un mois en bûvant le suc de ces mêmes racines & en prenant incessamment de bons boüillons de viande & de poisson. (Ibid.:683–84)	. . . les maux vénériens sont fort communs parmi des peuples où il regne une si grande dissolution. Les sauvages s'en guérissent parfaitement bien par le jus de certaines racines qu'ils boivent. On m'en a montré qui-il-y-a six mois tomboient en pourriture et qui sont parfaitement guéris. (DQ Ib:14)
	HENNEPIN	TRUTEAU
8	. . . les enfans respectẽt fort peu leurs parens, les peres se laissent battre par leurs enfans; parce disent-ils, que s'ils chastioient leurs enfans, ils seroient trop timides, & ne seroient pas bons guerriers. (Hennepin 1683, pt. 2:53)	Les enfants ne respectent point leurs parents; le père se laissent battre par le fils, parce que, disent-ils, sils chatioient leurs enfants, ils seroient trop timides et ne seroient pas guerriers. (DQ II:29)
9	. . . lors qu'ils arrivent dans un lieu, ils ne saluent le plus souvent personne ; mais ils demeurent acroupis, & quoi qu'un chacun les viennent voir ils ne regardent personne; quelques fois ils entrent dans la premiere cabanne qu'ils rencontrent sans dire mot, ils prennent place là où ils la trouvent, puis ils allument leurs pipes & fument quelques tems sans parler . . . (Ibid.:51)	Ils entrent et sortent librement dans la première cabanne qui leur vient a l'idée, sans saluer personne. Ils prennent place où ils la trouvent, ils allument leurs pipes et fument quelque tems sans parler, ou demeurent assis ou accroupis, et sortent souvent sans dire mot. (DQ II:27)
10	Les hommes & les femmes ne cachent que leurs parties : Ils lâchent des vents devant tout le monde sans se soucier de personne. Ils traitent fort incivilement leurs Anciens, jusques à lâcher des vents dans leurs nés . . . (Ibid.:52)	Ils lachent des vents devant tout le monde sans se soucier de personne. Ils n'ont aucun respects ni politesses pour les viellards, quoiqu'ils ayent beaucoup de déférence pour leurs conseils et une aveugle croyance a toutes leurs superstitions ridicules, et confiance en leur médecine. (DQ II:27)

Note: The edition cited gives *Hyperchematiques*, but it is a misprint; in the original edition of Lahontan the word is written *Hyporchematiques*, as Truteau reproduced it.

correctly written in several repetitions except for the final occurrence, where it is written *voyturre* (JQ: 175). As he explains at the beginning of the description (DQ), some of these errors may be attributed to the inattention of his students, who copied various notebooks of the description and the journal. Doubtless he was right. The three notebooks of the description seem to have been retranscribed by five or six copyists, excluding Truteau himself, and the journal by two copyists:[33]

Folios / Copyist

Journal
- 1–116 A (Pascal Vincent)
- 118–87 B

Description
- First cahier
 - 1–2 Truteau
 - 3–70 C
- Continuation of the first cahier
 - 1–9 Truteau
 - 10–14 D
 - 15–20 Truteau
- Second cahier
 - 1 E (possibly the same as H)
 - 2–29 F
- Third cahier
 - 1–18 G
 - 19–20 H
 - 20–31 Truteau
 - 32 H
 - 33–35 Truteau

The work of the copyists is of variable quality, though generally less than that of which Truteau was capable when he himself wrote or recopied. Even if it is a clean copy, the Québec version of the journal (JQ), taken as a whole, includes errors of spelling and agreement that are no less frequent—every allowance being made—than in the National Archives version, hereafter called the Washington version (JW), a manuscript that was written by Truteau himself. Moreover, in the Washington version, the use of apostrophes and accents is much more regular and punctuation is more coherent, generally following eighteenth-century usage.[34]

The Seville version of the journal (JS) is clearly not in Truteau's hand. Although some of the errors that riddle the Québec version are not found in this later one

(for example, one finds here *lassitude* [JS: 3] and not *l'assitude* [JQ: 4]), this version is nonetheless quite imperfect. It includes missing words and errors of all kinds, some of which reflect the mistakes of the copyist (for example, *au cungrain* [=*aucun grain*] [JS: 33], Moussouris [=Missouri] [JS: 35], *j'amais* [=*jamais*] [JS: 41], *pirer* [=*pire*, which Truteau had perhaps written as *pires* in the original version] [JS: 46]). Some of these errors are quite disconcerting, and Truteau could not easily have made them in the original version. Those words written according to sound seem to suggest that certain passages might have been recopied from dictation, for example, *cancas* in place of *qu'en cas* (JS: 5) and *nomble* in place of *nombre* (JS: 10). However, several errors of a similar nature (grammatical homophones) are found here and there in the Québec versions (see pp. 430–31).

The version of the description preserved in the Nicollet Papers (DN) was the work of another copyist who had a good hand but was also inattentive. He made many errors of spelling and agreement that are not in the Québec version; for example, *cinq lieu* in place of *cinq lieues; raport* in place of *rapport; des grande montagne* in place of *des grandes montagnes; disent il* in place of *disent ils* (DQ Ia: 8 and DN: 1).

THE WORK OF REVISING AND REWRITING

Truteau had the leisure to revise the complete versions of the journal and the description that were copied after he returned from his voyage. Those manuscripts bear the marks of revision done after the fact: for example, there are strikeouts of words or word endings that were incorrect or incorrectly transcribed, as well as the addition of corrected forms and missing words. Truteau's concern for correction, even if it did not guarantee a copy of irreproachable quality, stands out in opposition to the often casual attitude of other well-educated individuals in his circle (Clamorgan, for example); his work as schoolmaster as well as the education he received at the Séminaire de Québec fashioned this metalinguistic awareness in relation to the norms of written French. Besides, it may be assumed that a certain amount of revision was accomplished before or during the copying of the manuscripts, since the errors in the earlier versions of Seville and Washington are corrected in the Québec version of the journal: for example, "Le dix huitième du même mois, arriva dix hommes de la nation chaguienne" (JW: 40); "Le dix huit du mois dix hommes de la nation chaguienne sont arrivés" (JQ: 130). Other errors were recopied as they were: for example, "une grande batture qui nous separoient" (JS: 12); "une grande batture qui nous séparoient" (JQ: 21). Certain other errors were even added: "on trouve quantitée d[']isles" (JS: 10); "ils se trouvent quantitée d[']isle" (JQ: 16); "Ainsy nos espêce d'ambassadeurs sont revenus sans chevaux. On jugera aisément du mécontentement du deuxième village ricaras" (JW: 35); "Ainsi nos espêces d'embassadeurs

sont revenus sans cheveaux. On jugera aisément du mécontentement du deuzième village ricaras" (JQ: 125).

To illustrate differences between the Washington and Québec versions of the journal, table 6 enumerates the principal modifications to the first page of text (see p. 428):

Differences between the Washington version (p. 1) and the Québec version (f. 96–97)

Correction of spelling errors: *Apprés* → *Après*; *toute-fois* → *toutes fois* [variant of *toutefois* still attested in the eighteenth century]; *plutot* → *plutôt*; *lieux* → *lieuës*

Addition of missing apostrophe: *larrivée* → *l'arrivée*

Reformulation that suppresses an error of agreement: [*le départ*] *arrivé le vingt quatre du mois de mois de mai* → *qui a été le vingt et quatre de may*

Change of graphic variants without correction of spelling error: *hyvers* → *hivers* [the word does not take *-s* in the singular]

Addition of various errors: *dont* → *d'ont*; *ayant parcouru toutes les pointes* → *ayant parcourus toutes les pointes*

Various errors not corrected or incorrectly corrected: *quatre vingt quinze* [in place of *quatre-vingt-quinze*]; *primpte*[*ms*] → *primtems* [in place of *printems* or *printemps*]; *menuitées* [in place of *menuités*]; *cette étée* [in place of *cet été*]; *a monter* [in place of *à monter*]

Reformulations that add various errors: (see also the example taken from page 1 in the next table): *convenable a* [in place of *convenables à*]; *munition de chasse que je leur ai promis* [in place of *promise*]; *s'il me faisoit* [in place of *s'ils me faisoient*]

Loss of apostrophe: *j'ay* → *jai*; *quelqu'autres* → *quelquautres* [the form *quelqu'autres* was much less valued by the grammarians than *quelques autres*]; *m'auroient* → *mauroient*

Change of graphic variants: *ay* → *ai*; *Lavoie* → *La Voye*; *mai* → *may*; *Mendannes* → *Mandannes*

Morphological or syntactic modifications: *vingt quatre* → *vingt et quatre*; *je trafiquai* → *jai trafiqué*; *toutes les pelleteries des Ricaras* → *toutes les pelleteries que pouvoient avoir les Ricaras*; *recherches inutiles* → *recherche inutile*; *le village des Ricaras* → *les villages ricaras*

Change of word to correct the text: *quinze jours de recherches* → *douze jours de recherche*

Words struck out: *cette automne*

The Québec version of the journal is not simply a compilation of the Washington and Seville manuscripts. It represents a revision and expansion of the texts that he had transmitted to his employers. The original from which the Québec copy was made is now lost; it may have been the one in St. Louis that Perrin du Lac copied (or even took away with him). Although that intermediate editorial version was propitious for the revision of the original texts, it also introduced new spelling and grammatical errors. If one assumes that the Québec manuscript is a relatively faithful reproduction of that intermediate version, one can make use of it to try to illustrate the work of rewriting that Truteau accomplished as well as corrections or new errors that might be attributed to the copyists.

The work of rewriting the first versions of the journal also involved the abridgment of words, sentences, even paragraphs; most of those elements that Truteau preferred not to include in the Québec version are reproduced in the present edition. As for the work of rewriting involved in the editing of the description, it is not possible to comment in the absence of versions previous to that of Québec. The version of Boilvin, now lost, may plausibly have come from a document other than the Québec manuscript. The Nicollet version also presents several variations when compared with the corresponding parts of the Québec version, suggesting that it, too, was copied from a different version that is now lost. The principal differences between it and the Québec version are reproduced in the present edition.

SOME DISTINCTIVE TRAITS OF THE WRITING

In many cases it is difficult to know whether any particular imperfection or characteristic of the texts should be attributed to Truteau or to his copyists. Nonetheless, certain peculiarities are directly attributable to him inasmuch as they figure in most, sometimes in all, of the versions of the journal and the description. That signifies that the copyists in general reproduced them, a reflex that is more comprehensible on the part of his students, who undoubtedly adopted some of the distinctive characteristics of their teacher's writing. Certain striking errors appear from the pens of different copyists. Such is the case with the form *paraport* in place of *par rapport*: it appears six times in the journal (as against a single instance of the correct form) and once in the description, and that in the hand of three different copyists.

Truteau was inclined to apply some methods of writing certain syllables to a greater number of words than in standard French spelling. This is the case with the ending *-erre,* taken on the model of such words as *guerre, pierre, terre,* and *tonnerre,* which Truteau used to represent the sequence of sounds /ɛr/ at the end of words in cases where the standard orthography in the late eighteenth century was already *-ère* (*-ere* or *-ére,* a little earlier).[35] Thus Truteau almost always

Table 6. Passages in Seville and Québec versions of the journal compared

SEVILLE	QUÉBEC
Je croyois perie [sic] cette fois par leau. Je passai cette journée a faire secher nos peaux de couverture, déjà bien endommagées par les pluyes et les chaleurs excescives que nous essuyont. [p. 3]	Je croyois périr cette fois par l'eau. Je passai cette journée pour faire sécher nos couvertures de peaux, déja bien endommagés par les pluyes et les chaleurs excessives que nous essuyons. [f. 3]
Les eaux montant touts les jours avec force, etant venues a demy écorres, mes rameurs sont accablés de lassitude, etant contraint, du matin au soir, de ramée de toutes forces, sans aucun delai. [p. 3]	Les eaux montant toujours avec rapiditée, mes rameurs sont accablés de l'assitude étant contraints du matin au soir de ramer de toutes forces sans aucun d'élai, les eaux étant venus a demi ecorre. [f. 4]
Nous vîmes sur le rivage, des deux côtés de la rivierre quantitée de pistes d'hommes qui avoit traversés quelques jour auparavant. Jay scu depuis que cetoient des Sacques qui-y-étoient venus en parole. [p. 7]	Nous avons vû sur le rivage vis a vis ce village un grand nombre de pistes d'hommes qui y avoient traversés quelques jours auparavant. Jai sçu depuis que cétoient des Sakis qui y étoient venu en parole. [f. 11]
WASHINGTON	QUÉBEC
J'ay fait partir quatre hommes, dont deux, les nommés Québec et Lavoie, gens capables de faire des pirogu[es], m'ont promis de faire la recherche d'un arbre assez gros pour faire une voiture assez grande pour porter les marchandises qui me restent aux Mendannes. [p. 1]	Jai fait partir quatre hommes, d'ont deux, les nommés Québec et La Voye, gens capables pour construire des pirogues, m'ont promis de faire la recherche d'un ou de deux gros arbres convenable a ce sujet moyennant quelque munition de chasse que je leur ai promis s'il me faisoit une pirogue assez grande pour porter mes effets pour monter aux Mendannes le plutôt possible . . . [f. 97]
Ces nations cy ne se servent, pour les bois de chauffage et construction de leurs cabannes, que des bois de dérive dont ils font amas dans les montages d'eau du Missouris. [p. 3]	Ces nations icy, Ricaras, ne se servent pour les bois de chauffage et construction de leur cabane que de méchant bois de dérive dont ils font amas lorsque les eaux du Missouris montent dans la saison du primtems. [f. 98]
Véritée dautant plus incontestable que les peuples sauvages qui n'ont point ou peu eus de fréquentations avec nous sont plus polis, plus doux, plus humanisés que ceux que nous fréquentons habituellement . . . [p. 7]	Véritée d'autant plus incontestable que les nations sauvages qui n'ont point ou peu eû comunication avec nous sont plus polies, plus douces, plus sincères, plus humanisés, que celles que nous fréquentons habituellement . . . [f. 104]

writes *entierre*, *chaudierre*, and *rivierre* (sometimes *rivièrre* or *riviérre* in the Washington version); however, he writes both *caracterre* and *caractère* (*-ere* or *-êre*), *dernierre* and *dernière* (*-ere*), *guerrierre* and *guerrière*, *manierre* and *manière* (*-ere* or *-ére*), *miserre* and *misère* (*-ere*), *particulierre* and *particulière* (*-ere*), *premierre* and *première* (*-ere*). Another peculiarity of his writing is the relatively regular use of the ending *-itée* in feminine nouns that normally end in *-ité*: *antiquitée*, *capacitée*, *divinitée*, *extrêmitée*, *facilitée*, *fermetée*, *mortalitée*, *nécessitée*, *nuditée*, *proximitée*, *quantitée*, *rapiditée*, *tranquil[l]itée*, *véritée*, etc. Also, the name of the summer season is written *étée* instead of *été*, and the same goes for nouns ending with *-tié*, sometimes written *-tiée* in the documents: *amittiée*, *inimitiée*, *moitiée*, *pitiée*. These different written forms were not invented by Truteau; some are found in other North American writings from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries (*rivierre* and *etée* or *étée* are especially frequent). Moreover, some occurrences of these written forms may eventually be attributed to his copyists and not directly to him. They nonetheless contribute to the character of Truteau's writing because he used them in a particularly systematic fashion. However, it may be noted that the copyist of the Nicollet version of the description largely eliminated them, leaving only the form *divinitée* (Nicollet version: 13) and several occurrences of *rivierre* (DN: 5, 7, 10, 11, 12).

In sum, even taking into account their different defects in spelling and punctuation, Truteau's texts—particularly the Washington version of the journal in his own hand—compare favorably with texts written by other North American traders of his time.

A HYBRID SPELLING SYSTEM

Between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth century, French spelling underwent many reforms of varying importance; some were short-lived and little followed, others were generalized and imposed in a lasting manner. These modifications transformed its look a little and gave it an appearance very close to that of French today. The graphic aspect of Truteau's writings, which his students seem to have faithfully reproduced, reflects diverse tendencies affecting the evolution of written French during the Enlightenment. Thus in the body of versions of his texts—setting aside the version of the description in Nicollet's papers (with the exception of *celle cy* [DN: 13])—one can observe the use of written forms that had in large part passed out of fashion among most educated people of his time, such as *ay*, *appuy*, *estre*, *icy*, *interest*, *luy*, *midy*, *moy*, *ny*, *parmy*, *pluye*, *toy*, and *voicy*. But his writing is not consistent on this point, and Truteau sometimes uses newer forms of writing, some already used in the sixteenth century (some even before that time) but definitively adopted in the middle of the eighteenth century, such as *appui*, *ci*, *ici*, *midi*, *pluie*, and *voici*.[36]

As a matter of fact, some of these "modern" written forms were clearly privileged, notably in the Québec manuscripts: *être, lui, moi, ni, parmi,* and *toi* are more frequent than *estre, luy, moy, ny, parmy,* and *toy*. In addition, he always writes *aussi* and *parti,* not *aussy* and *party,* following the Académie, which had begun to write them in this way from the first edition of its dictionary in 1694. On the other hand, he used *y* for the ending of the past participle of the verb *éclaircir:* "le tems sétant éclaircy" (JQ: 14, JS: 9), which the Académie had replaced with *i* since the end of the seventeenth century for the final letter of past participles of verbs ending in *-ir* (Catach 2001: 201–2). For other verbs ending in *-ir* Truteau used final *-i:* "qu'ils ont consenti" (JQ: 161). Concerning plural nouns, adjectives, and participles ending in *-é,* Truteau wavered between the old usage (*-ez*) and the current usage (*-és*), which, even though it was already attested in the seventeenth century,[37] was only adopted by the Académie in the 1762 edition of its dictionary (Catach 2001: 257–58). Truteau writes, "j'étois leur allié" (JQ: 28) and "maltraiter leurs alliez" (JQ: 127), "avec leurs alliez" (JW: 9), "les Sioux et leurs alliés" (DQ III: 25), and "amis et alliez" (DQ Ia: 14, DN: 5); however, he always writes the plurals of *côté* and *difficulté* with *-és* (JQ: 68, 185). Likewise, he writes, on the one hand, "aux chefs . . . réfugiez chez les premiers" (JW: 24), on the other, "les deuxieme se sont refugiés" (JQ: 2) and "les deuxiême se sont réfugiés" (JS: 2).

This ambivalence in Truteau's spelling—torn between older traditions and more contemporary trends—is not surprising on the part of someone who was educated during the mid-eighteenth century. The lessons of his teachers, the influence of available reference works, and his diverse reading habits apparently inculcated in him a rather heterogeneous spelling system. In this regard, Truteau is no different from most of his contemporaries.

GRAMMAR

Since an exhaustive examination of the various morphological and syntactic peculiarities of Truteau's writings falls largely outside the boundaries of the present study, I will discuss only a limited number of specific topics.

GRAMMATICAL MISTAKES

In reading Truteau's texts, the reader will rapidly discover that errors of agreement and number are abundant, as many for nouns, pronouns, and adjectives as for past participles: "les deuxieme[s]" (JQ: 2); "les mêmes insolence[s]" (JQ: 33); "ses gens m'auroi[en]t retenu" (JQ: 4); "Quelques affaires nous y ont retardé[s]" (JQ: 1), "toutes les raisons que jay citée[s]" (JS: 5), "grande[s] landes" (DN: 2), etc. Even though mistakes of this type are more frequent in the versions that are not in Truteau's hand, they are far from absent in those he wrote himself: "les nations sauvages fréquentée[s]" (JW: 7), "des espèce[s] de chemises" (DQ Ib: 1),

"leur[s] visage[s] sont beau[x]" (DQ Ib: 13[=7]), "Les femmes n'entre[nt] jamais" (DQ Ib: 17), "ils arrivent et entre[nt] la nuit dans leur[s] cabanes sans que personne les voyent" [*voie* or formerly *voye*] (DQ III: 24).

Sometimes the past participle with *avoir* agrees with the subject: "quelques familles . . . ont formées les deux villages" (JW: 12), "trois villages . . . avoient formés un corps" (JW: 3), "Ils ont acceptés le present" (JQ: 117); more rarely it agrees with the indirect object: "jay recommandés a mes gens" (JQ: 107). Sometimes it is left invariable when it should be in agreement: "aux trois nations que j'ai cité[es] plus haut" (JW: 32); it is the same with the past participle with être: "Cette rivière n'est bordé[e] que de côtes" (JW: 2). Certain past participles are constructed following the wrong model: the past participle of *partir* is, without exception, written *partis* (the correct form is *parti*), both in the singular and the plural, on the model of *mis* (verb *mettre*) and of *pris* (verb *prendre*). In the same way, he confused certain grammatical homophones, as primary and secondary students still regularly do: *ce* for *se* (JS: 45), *si* for *s'y*[38] (JQ: 24, 36, 67), *on* for *ont* (JQ: 45), *fumez* for *fumer* (JQ: 121), *ces* for *ses* (JQ: 182). That phenomenon, which is not systematic, is also caused by the deficient use of accents and apostrophes: *où* is sometimes confused with *ou*, *là* with *la*, etc. Once again, the copies in Truteau's hand are less affected by such errors, which probably resulted from the inattention of the copyists. Nonetheless, Truteau himself is not totally immune to this type of confusion: "ont [on] ne peu [peut] au moins disconvenir" (DQ III: 29).

In addition, one finds several surprising morphological features, such as the grammatical barbarism *résultai* in place of *résolus* (verb *résoudre*): "je résultai de faire cache de douze a treize cent livres de plomb" (JQ: 47), as well as the nonstandard participle *dissoudé*[39] in place of *dissoutes* (verb *dissoudre*): "les glaces du Missouris ce sont dissoudé" (JS: 45). Those forms appear in passages written by copyists, but they were probably present in Truteau's original version; for example, the form *résultai* is found in the Seville version in the same sentence (JS: 25). These deviations from the grammatical norm illustrate the difficulty with the conjugation of verbs ending in *-soudre*. Other mistakes are less excusable, such as *prisent* in place of *prises*: "les marchandises qui restent apres les parts de ces coquins de chefs et considérés prisent" (JQ: 63); this instance may be a copyist's error, but errors of the same type are found in Truteau's hand: "Ce sont elles qui . . . portent les chargent [charges] dans la marche" (DQ Ib: 16). I might also mention the solecism *voyages furtives* in place of *voyages furtifs* (JQ: 84, 97).[40] Grammatical errors of this type, however, are rare.

THE VARIABLE PRESENT PARTICIPLE

A morphosyntactic peculiarity repeated in the Québec versions of Truteau's writings might surprise readers today: the agreement in gender and number

of the present participle with its subject: "autres marchandises provenantes des Anglois" (JQ: 134); "un volier de gruës blanche venantes du coté du levant" (DQ Ia: 39); "disposés a faire tout le mal possible a tous ceux qu'ils attrapperont sur les routes portants des marchandises" (DQ Ia: 28). But Truteau did not inflect the present participles systematically; far from it: "tous ceux qu'ils attrapperont portant des marchandises" (JQ: 201); "Na Lecuyer, les sieurs Québec and Lavoie, voulant aussi se rendre" (JW: 1). One could suppose that Truteau occasionally tried to correct himself, unless it was the student copyists: "Ces nouveaux ambassadeurs m'ont promis d'être de retour . . . employants cinq jours de marche" (JW: 27) became "Ces nouveaux embassadeurs m'ont promis d'être de retour . . . employant cinq jours de marche" (JQ: 116). Agreement in gender and number of the present participles, assimilated to verbal adjectives, experienced a certain vogue during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[41] This tacit rule tended to be applied by certain authors during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even after having been condemned by the Académie française in 1679 (Grevisse 1986: 1341–42; Quillacq 1968: 722–23). In the contexts in which Truteau used *venant* and *provenant*, those words were considered adjectives in the dictionaries of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, from which comes their variation in gender and in number.[42] Today they are considered to be invariable present participles.

FEMINIZATION OF NOUNS WITH INITIAL VOWELS

Among the morphological phenomena observable in Truteau's writings, the most interesting for the history of the varieties of North American French is the assignment of certain nouns to the grammatical gender opposite to that found in normative language. More precisely, there is a tendency to feminize masculine nouns that begin with vowels. This tendency does not relate to a word like *troque*, which Truteau employs several times and which is a feminine variant of the masculine word *troc* 'barter, exchange'. Nor does it relate to the word *vivres*, which Truteau also used as a feminine noun.[43] For this word, the assignment of feminine gender might have been motivated by the influence of feminine synonyms that often occur in the same types of context (*provisions*, *victuailles*, and *denrées*); it is an isolated case that does not testify to any systematic process. However, for the cases of vowel-initial nouns (VIN), it seems possible to speak of a tendency whose explanation would be of a morphonological order. Actually, the determinants (articles, adjectives, possessives, demonstratives, indefinites, numerals, etc.) placed immediately before a noun starting with a vowel undergo a phonetic or phonological transformation that involves the neutralization of the formal alternation that carries the information about gender: *le*/*la* becomes *l'*; *ce* becomes *cet*, which is pronounced like the feminine *cette*; *ma*

becomes *mon* (*ma grande amie* becomes *mon amie*). Following the example of *une*, the indefinite article *un* remains unchanged in writing before a VIN, but its final *n* is pronounced and links up with the noun (as does the /n/ in *une*), which could sometimes involve a complete denasalization of its vowel.

This phenomenon explains in part the confusion that French speakers can feel in regard to the grammatical gender of certain VIN (Barbaud et al. 1982: 106–7), that is to say, those whose gender does not correspond to the sexual dichotomy male/female. It is above all a matter affecting the spoken language, but it also has repercussions in the written language. Among others, this is the case with the word *automne*, whose gender has varied in the course of centuries: at first masculine (< Latin *autumnus*), the word was considered to be either feminine (Furetière), masculine (Académie 1694), or both (Richelet 1970; Académie 1762–1878; Littré 1863–72); in the twentieth century, the masculine gender won out and is the only gender for this word recognized today in standard French (TLFi, s.v. *automne*). It is not surprising that Truteau used it as a feminine noun at the end of the eighteenth century.[44]

To varying extents, Truteau did the same thing with other VIN whose masculine gender was already stabilized in his time, at least in normative language as depicted in the dictionaries: *acte*, *air*, *effets*, *embarras*, *envoi* (written *envoie*), *établissement*, *été* (written *étée* or *etée*), *exercice*, *hiver* (written *hivers* or *hyvers*), *orage*, *ouvrage*. I have made an exploratory study of the phenomenon of feminization of eleven VIN in the Québec versions of the journal and description as well as in the Washington version of the journal. To be considered feminine, each occurrence of a VIN must be part of a phrase in which gender is revealed by the nature of a determinant or attribute that agrees with it; for example: "étée derniere" (JQ: 148, 183), "mon embaras nétoit pas petite" (JQ: 19), "la deuxième envoie" (DQ Ia: 5). Sometimes the gender of a VIN is revealed by a pronoun that represents it: "L'air qui sort de leur bouche est aussi pure que celle qu'ils respirent" (DQ Ib: 13). Because they do not always agree correctly in the texts, past participles whose pronunciation does not change according to gender (of the type *donné*/*donnée*, *fini*/*finie*) were not considered to be valid indicators of the gender of a VIN in the corpus, nor were the demonstratives *cet* and *cette*. In fact, despite a relatively uniform use of *cet*/*cette* according to the gender of the noun referred to, one finds such anomalies as *cette homme* or *cet action* (a word of feminine gender clearly used as feminine in several occurrences in the corpus, especially in the phrase *cette action*), which makes the interpretation of the opposition *cet*/*cette* hazardous. For the same reasons the determinants *toute* and *toutes* were not considered to be trustworthy criteria of feminization, since there are some occurrences in which these feminine forms determine a masculine noun (see pp. 436–38), for example, "Toutes ces préparatifs." Thus

in contexts like "toutes ces ouvrages finies," "toutes leurs éxercices," "toutes les étées," "toute l'automne," even though they quite strongly indicate a feminine noun, they were nonetheless rejected. On the other hand, the determinant *tous* (sometimes written *touts*) has been retained as an indicator of masculine gender, for example, "tous nos effets." Likewise, the opposition *un/une* was judged sufficiently trustworthy to be taken into account: "un ouvrage dicté" and "Je n'aurois osé entreprendre une ouvrage qui est hors de mes forces, ny vous la présenter" (DQ Ia: 1). In addition, I have found two occurrences where the VIN with the feminine grammatical gender (*envie* and *épaule*) are apparently treated as masculine: "soit par un envie, soit par jalousie" (JQ: 34); "l'os d'un epaule de vache" (DQ Ia: 43). In such a case some would interpret the determinant *un* as being the neutralized form taken by the determinant *une* before a vowel; from this standpoint it is a phonetic phenomenon and the VIN are not really treated as masculine (Barbaud et al. 1982: 104–5); I believe that this is the way the two occurrences should be interpreted. In any case, I have also calculated the results of the study without *un/une* or *aucun/aucune* as distinctive criteria of gender. The larger the sample of text taken into account, the more the phenomenon is perceptible for these eleven words, as shown in table 7.

One notes a convergence of results for the Québec versions: an average of 61.2 percent of occurrences of the feminine in the journal alone and 69.8 percent in the journal and description (these two documents together form a corpus of about 67,800 words). If the opposition *un/une* is not retained as a valid criterion for distinguishing gender, the results remain nonetheless significant (JQ = 49.1 percent; JDQ = 67.4 percent). Moreover, the table shows that the words *accident* and *endroit* are never feminized,[45] an indication that the tendency for feminization of VIN was not completely systematic and uniform. In the Washington version, with about 8,700 words, the gender switch is less notable (an average of 26.7 percent). But the small size of the corpus may not explain everything. It is possible to establish a link between this weak result and the fact that the Washington version was written by Truteau himself and with a level of attention that seems to have been quite high in terms of respect for the grammatical norm.

The tendency to feminize VIN masculines in the Québec versions of the journal and description is perhaps caused by the unconscious interference of the copyists who sometimes would allow themselves to be influenced by their own usage. Nevertheless, this possibility does not invalidate the results obtained. By examining the Québec manuscripts, which illustrate the written language of a Canadian living in the second half of the eighteenth century—a written language perhaps slightly influenced by the usage of French-speaking copyists from Upper Louisiana—one can uncover the tendency to feminize VIN of the masculine grammatical gender. Although it essentially relies on the idiolect of

Table 7. Initial-vowel masculine nouns feminized in writings of Truteau

NOUN	TOTAL NUMBER			CLEARLY FEMININE			CLEARLY MASCULINE			INDETERMINATE			% FEMININE OF TOTAL OCCURRENCES WHERE GENDER IS IDENTIFIED		
	JDQ	JQ	JW	JDQ	JQ	JW	JDQ	JQ	JW	JDQ	JQ	JW	JDQ	JQ	JW
acte	2	1	0	1	1	-	0	0	-	1	0	-	100	100	-
air	10	1	0	1	0	-	2	1	-	7	0	-	33.3	0	-
effets	45	36	4	4	3	0	12	10	3	29	23	1	25	23	0
embarras	12	11	0	2	2	-	2	2	0	8	7	-	50	50	-
envoi	4	3	0	3	2	-	0	0	-	1	1	-	100	100	-
établissement	7	3	2	2	1	0	1	1	1	4	4	1	66.7	50	0
été	44	27	3	5	4	1	0	0	0	39	23	2	100	100	100
hiver	29	16	4	3	2	0	0	0	1	26	14	3	100	100	0
orage	3	2	0	1	1	-	0	0	-	2	1	-	100	100	-
ouvrage	6	3	0	1	0	-	2	0	-	3	3	-	33.3	0	-
usage	36	6	6	3	1	1	2	1	2	31	4	3	60	50	33.3
													70	61	27
accident	5	5	3	0	0	0	2	2	2	3	3	1	0	0	0
endroit	44	29	5	0	0	0	11	8	0	34	21	4	0	0	0

Note: JDQ = Journal + Description (Québec); JQ = Journal (Québec); JW = Journal (Washington).

Truteau, this result is probably applicable to North American French in general. It adds historical depth to what has been observed more recently in the varieties of French spoken in North America. The tendency to feminize VIN of the masculine grammatical gender not based on sex (which excludes such words as *homme*, *évêque*, etc.) is attested in Acadian French (Péronnet 1989), in Québécois French (Péronnet 1989: 220; Barbaud et al. 1982; La Follette 1969: 51; Rivard 1914: 87–102), and in Louisiana French (Papen and Rottet 1997: 78–79; Conwell and Juilland 1963: 138n36).

In Québec the phenomenon has a socioeconomic correlate: the propensity to feminize VIN is stronger when the speaker is less educated and belongs to a lower socioeconomic class (Barbaud et al. 1982: 123–28). In Truteau's time, in French-speaking America, it is difficult to know how this tendency was evaluated. However, to the extent that it went against the grammatical norm, we might suppose that it was resisted by speakers who were conscious of it and that the latter considered it as characteristic of popular speech. Moreover, the tendency to feminize VIN of the masculine grammatical gender is also observed in the popular French spoken in France (Guiraud 1965: 31–33; Gadet 1992: 58–59). For the word *ouvrage*, the tendency was already noted in the nineteenth century, indeed, since the seventeenth century: "C'est une faute commise quelquefois dans le peuple, de faire ouvrage féminin. Vaugelas remarque que les femmes, en parlant de leur ouvrage, le faisaient toujours féminin: voilà une belle ouvrage" [It is an error committed sometimes among the populace to make *ouvrage* feminine. Vaugelas remarks that women, speaking of their work, say: there is a beautiful work] (Littré, s.v. *ouvrage*). In examining the gender attributed to the words *âge*, *argent*, *automne*, *été*, *héritage*, *hiver*, *or*, and *orage* in the *Atlas linguistique de la France*, one discovers the same tendency in the regional French varieties and dialects of the *domaine d'oïl* (the northern half of France, as far as the south of Belgium) (Péronnet 1989: 220–21). Masculine words such as *âge* and *orage* were in common use in the feminine by certain seventeenth-century French authors (Rivard 1914: 96). Thus the occurrences of feminized VIN in Truteau's writings reflect an old morphophonological dynamic in French that is not properly North American.

THE ADVERBALIZATION OF THE *TOUT* SERIES

One finds a passage in the Québec version of the journal in which the word *tout* is used as an adjective that apparently quantifies the feminine subject (*tout*/*toute*), but in a position and with a semantic value ("totally" or "exclusively") that corresponds rather to an adverb of a predicate: "il m'avoit caché que cette bande étoit toute des Titons" (JQ: 28). In normative French one would expect to find a phrase like "cette bande était toute composée de Titons," where *toute* is

considered an adverb. It is, indeed, exactly what is found in the Seville version: "cette bande étoit toute composée de Titons" (JS: 13). In a little more familiar style, one could also have "toute cette bande était des Titons," where *toute* is considered an indefinite adjective, that is to say, a predeterminer. The construction used by Truteau brings to mind the morphosyntax of Québécois French speech today, in which the *tout* series (*tout, tous, toute, toutes*) knows a high degree of morphological invariability (the pronunciation amounts to [tUt] in several of its functions) and is used with an adverbial value in several contexts (Lemieux 1982; Léard and Beauchemin 1993; Léard 1995: 121–43). This morphological invariability, which gives the impression that *tout*—pronounced [tUt] (or /tut/) and not [tU]—is used in the feminine forms (*toute/ toutes*) in contexts that call for the masculine forms (*tout/ touts*), is attested in Truteau's texts, where the word could be considered a predeterminer:

toutes les peuples sauvages qu'il pouvoient découvrir (JS: 36)
toutes les chemins qu'ils avoient ouverts etoient arrosés de leur sang (JS: 37)
Toutes ces préparatifs sont finis avant le lever du soleil (DQ II: 23)
je ne ferois [finirais] pas si je citois toutes les impertinents discours qu'il me tiennent tous les jours (JS: 41, erroneously numbered 43)

In Truteau's writings, this morphosyntactic treatment remains nevertheless marginal in comparison to the normal form *tous les/tous ces*, which is much more frequent (see the usage in the last phrase in the example above, *"tous les jours")*. One cannot escape the impression that the four written occurrences above constitute intrusions from Truteau's oral usage relative to the *tout* series, which thus gives historical depth to the phenomenon of the invariability of *tout* [tUt] that is remarked on today in Québécois French speech.[46] Whatever the case, in the phrase "cette bande étoit toute des Titons," the nature of *toute* is ambiguous. Possibly *toute* corresponds to the feminine form of *tout,* in agreement with the singular feminine group noun *cette bande*, in the manner of a predeterminer of a subject; if not, it could simply be the invariable form [tUt]. Moreover, the word occupies a position and possesses a semantic value (the idea of totality or exclusivity) that makes it rather like the adverb of a predicate, as if the latter were the hypothetical feminine singular adjective **titonne* (cette bande étoit toute titonne). But the predicate is a masculine plural group noun *(des Titons)*, which makes this formulation peculiar. Without being identical to it, it nonetheless foreshadows constructions such as "Bientôt, ça va être toute de la nourriture préparée" (Léard 1995: 140) and "C'était /tut/ des petits nains" (Lemieux 1982: 63), attested in contemporary oral Québécois French, in which *toute* is an adverb meaning "exclusively." Finally, the use that Truteau makes of *toute* in the phrase

in question seems to constitute an old manifestation of the adverbalization of the *tout* series that took place in Québécois French.

THE PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTION *SORTIR DE* + INFINITIVE

The various versions of Truteau's journal provide attestations, among the oldest in French, of the use of the verb *sortir* 'go out / come out' as a semi-auxiliairy in the periphrastic construction *sortir de* + infinitive, which serves to express a very recent past; it is the equivalent of *venir de* + infinitive 'to have just'. Truteau uses it in contexts where the spatial value of the verb *sortir* is completely absent. Keep in mind that the three first citations, taken from the Seville and Washington versions, can be dated to 1795 with certainty:

> Un de mes gens trouva un chevreuil que les loups *sortoient détranglér*, qui nous fit faire un bon repas [had just strangled]. [JS: 24]
>
> que sans doute le dessein de notre chef et de nous étoit de nous ouvrir les chemin par le sang et le pillage. "Tu *sors* toi même, me dit-il, *de l'éprouvér* par la main des Sioux, qui ont étés pret a t'oter la vie" [had just experienced it]. [JS: 37]
>
> répèter mes discours . . . pour maintenir la paix et les beaux chemins chez les nations du haut du Missouris, sans ne lui rien donner, cétoit jetter des paroles au vent, surtou[t] auprès d'un homme qui *sortoit de perdre* touts ses chevaux, qui sont leur richess[e] . . . [had just lost] [JW: 38]
>
> quoique les Mahas ou les Poncas *sortoient de* leur *tuer* un homme tout nouvellement, ils auroient préféré a tenir le chemin beau plutot que de se vanger . . . [had just killed] (JQ: 93–94)

It may be assumed that Truteau learned this construction in his youth in the St. Lawrence valley; it was also probably in general use in Upper Louisiana, since it appears in all the versions of his journal, seemingly without fear of not being understood. The oldest attestation of *sortir de* in the sense of *venir de* in North American French is taken from a journal published in Québec City, *La Gazette de Québec* (July 20, 1769, p. 3):

> JOSEPH NEGRIÉ, jeune homme d'environ vingt-deux ans, brun . . . avec un visage échauffé comme s'il sortoit d'avoir la petite verole, menû de jambes, parlant François et Anglois passablement (FTLFQ)
>
> [JOSEPH NEGRIÉ, a young man of about twenty-two years, brown hair . . . with red blemishes on his face, as though he had just had smallpox, slender legs, speaks French and English passably]

This use of *sortir de* + infinitive has been noted by Québécois glossographers since the nineteenth century (Ross Cuthbert in Blais 1998: 259; Dunn 1976, s.v. *sortir;* Clapin 1974, s.v. *sortir de*). Some have criticized it (among others, Rinfret 1896; Blanchard 1919, s.v. *sortir*) without a precise reason other than their sense that it is of a nonstandard character. It was still in use in the twentieth century (Dionne; GPFC; DGLFC, s.v. *sortir*), but without having disappeared it seems to be little used. It is equally attested in Louisiana French, in which it is still usual, at least in certain localities (Daigle 1984: 155; Ditchy 1932: 195; Guidry and LaFleur 1994: 132; Papen and Rottet 1997: 102; Bollée and Neumann-Holzschuh 1998: 197).

This same use is attested in France since 1718 in the statement *"sortir d'entendre la messe* [just heard mass]" (RH, s.v. *sortir*), in which the spatial value of *sortir* is still perceptible; this is apparently an isolated attestation. *Sortir de* + infinitive came to be used more regularly in France at the beginning of the nineteenth century, first as a characteristic of popular speech, especially Parisian. It was picked up in several regions of the *domaine d'oïl* as well as in the *domaine franco-provençal,* more precisely in Lyon (FEW: *sortīri* 12, p. 127b–128a; TLFi, s.v. *sortir*). It was included in several French dictionaries, for example, Littré (s.v. *sortir*), which attempts to restrict its meaning by stressing the spatial value of the verb *sortir*:

> On dit: Je sors d'entendre le sermon, je sors de dîner ; mais cette locution, admise dans les cas où effectivement on quitte un lieu après avoir entendu, dîné, ne doit pas être étendue au delà d'emplois analogues; et on ne peut dire correctement: je sors de le voir.
>
> [One says: I just heard the sermon, I just had dinner; but this expression, allowed in cases where one in fact leaves a place after having heard, dined, should not be extended beyond that to analogous uses; and one may not say correctly: I just saw him.]

Today the construction *sortir de* 'to have just' seems still to be in use in France. Grevisse (1986: 1237) indicates that it occurs especially in familiar speech, an opinion shared by Robert (2001) and *Le Petit Larousse illustré* (2007). It is interesting to note that this periphrastic construction, with certain transformations, was handed down and is still alive in the French Créoles spoken in Louisiana (at Breaux Bridge), in the Antilles, and in the Indian Ocean (Bollée and Neumann-Holzschuh 1998: 197; Neumann 1985: 233–34; Valdman 1978: 224; Chaudenson 1974, 1: 342, 2005: 239). For example, according to Chaudenson (2005: 239), the phrase *Il vient juste de dire ça* 'He just said that' may be translated by *I sorti di(r) sa* in the Créole of Saint-Barthélemy.

The wide diffusion of this morphosyntactic trait in the speech of former French colonies as well as in a great expanse of France suggests that it belonged

to the koineised French of the French colonists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus the North American facts relating to the use of *sortir de* + infinitive during the colonial period, which are provided by Truteau's writings, are fundamental for a better understanding of how this periphrastic construction could have been introduced into the French Créoles during the same period.

CONFUSION BETWEEN THE AUXILIARIES *AVOIR* AND *ÊTRE*

During the sixteenth century, usage still allowed some possibility of choice between the auxiliaries *avoir* and *être* for conjugating the active voice of intransitive verbs in compound tenses according to the desired shade of meaning: *avoir* to mark an action or movement in a dynamic perspective, *être* to mark a state or even a movement from the perspective of result or completion. This was especially the case for verbs of movement: *entrer, courir, marcher, partir* (Gougenheim 1973: 119). Thus *j'ai rentré* (at a moment in the past; I performed the action of reentering [the house]) does not have the same meaning as *je suis rentré* (I am at home) (Brunot and Bruneau 1956: 358–59). Throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the evolution of the norm restricted this freedom more and more,[47] so that today certain intransitive verbs of movement (*avancer, courir, marcher, voler*) are only conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir,* and others (*aller, arriver, échoir, entrer, partir, rester, retourner, sortir, tomber, venir,* and their derivatives) are only conjugated with *être* (Grevisse 1986: 1218; Nyrop 1930: 208). Nonetheless, in popular speech several of the latter verbs are still often conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir* (Bauche 1946: 112), according to a tendency to extend the use of this auxiliary to the entire group of verbs, which is by far more frequent in the conjugation of the compound tenses in the active voice.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, despite the debates among grammarians, this normative evolution was far advanced (except for the verb *partir*), as is attested by the 1762 edition of the dictionary of the Académie française, as well as by the remarks of the grammarian Féraud (1787–88). Nonetheless, for certain verbs (notably *partir, rester, sortir,* and *tomber*), the usage was somewhat variable up to the nineteenth century, with certain grammarians and lexicographers attempting to maintain a semantic nuance between, for example, *il a parti* and *il est parti* (Grevisse 1986: 1219; Littré 1863–72, s.v. *partir, rester, tomber*). However, the use of the auxiliary *avoir* for this type of verb became less common in cultivated speech. Consequently, the Académie française, in the 1835 edition of its dictionnary, ceased to accept the auxiliary *avoir* for the conjugation of the verb *partir*.

As is the case for orthography, Truteau's writings illustrate the confusion during the eighteenth century over the use of the auxiliaries *avoir* and *être*.

Although he conjugated certain intransitive verbs of movement *(aller, parvenir, retourner, revenir, sortir, venir)* only with *être*—according to the norm of his time and of today—he conjugated others *(arriver, entrer, partir, rester, tomber)* sometimes with *être,* sometimes with *avoir*; for example, "quatre *ont restés* avec nous" (JQ: 92); "les nommés Québec et Chorette *ont partis* pour le même voyage" (JW: 24); "il n'*a tombé* que quatre pouces de neige" (JS: 45). The tendency to use the auxiliary *avoir* seems a bit more marked for the verbs *partir, rester,* and *tomber*. For Truteau, it is probably a matter of free variation, since he never seems to distinguish the variants semantically or stylistically (except with the verb *arriver,* discussed below), as is shown in two occurrences of the verb *partir* that appear within a few lines of one another: "Et le dix sept du mois, trois sauvages *sont partis* pour cette ambassade. . . . Le vingt du même mois, deux François, les nommés Québec et Chorette, *ont partis* pour le même voyage" (JW: 24).

Influenced by the usage of the first half of the eighteenth century, and doubtless little conscious of more recent developments in the norm in Europe regarding this point of grammar, Truteau did not take the step of correcting the use of auxiliaries in the original parts of the journal (Seville and Washington) or the version in Québec. For example: "Le lendemain j*ay entré* cher eux" (JS: 46) = "Le lendemain j*ai entré* chez eux" (JQ: 82); "Le quinze, j*ay partis* de grand matin" (JS: 9) = "Le 15eme, j*ai partis* de grand matin" (JQ: 15). Curiously, on one occasion, the auxiliary *être* is replaced by the auxiliary *avoir* ("ils *sont partis* le huit au matin" [JW: 32] = "ils *ont partis* le huit au matin" [JQ: 122]). But when one compares this occurrence with the body of attestations of *partir* in the *passé composé* (past tense), it does not seem to have any shade of meaning. In contrast, the distinction in meaning is clear in the case of the verb *arriver*. With the auxiliary *être,* it signifies "to arrive" ("les six Sauvages envoyés aux Mendannes *sont arrivés*" [JW: 34]); with the auxiliary *avoir,* it signifies 'to happen' or 'to come true' ("il ne m'*a* jamais *arrivé,* ni a ceux qui m'ont accompagné, aucun funeste accident" [JQ: 123]; "Il accuse surtout M^{r}. Montardy de luy avoir fait de grandes promesse qui n'*ont* point *arrivées*" [JS: 34]). That said, Truteau is not always consistent, and on some occasions he uses the auxiliary *avoir* with *arriver* in its primary sense: "le Sr Jacques Déglise at arrivé a nous, venant des Illinois" (JS: 4); "ils avoi[e]nt arrivés après plusieur jours de marche" (DQ Ia: 20). In the use of auxiliaries, Truteau's weakness resides in the absence of uniformity, not in his use of the auxiliary *avoir* to conjugate certain intransitive verbs of movement in the past tense, even if this usage seems incorrect to readers today.

SUBSTITUTION OF THE SUFFIX *-AIL* FOR THE SUFFIX *-AL*

Truteau systematically used the forms *chenail* (JS: 11, 13; JQ: 19, 22) and *métail* (DQ Ib: 5, Ib: 19) instead of *chenal* (channel) and *métal* (metal), the only forms

now used in standard French. This peculiarity is more than a simple phonetic change. It is a morphological change, specifically, a change of ending (*-al*, *-ail*). The confusion between these two endings, which occurred in a number of words in the history of French (*coral/corail*, *cristal/cristail*, *portal/portail*), stems from the fact that both form the plural with *-aux* (Bourciez and Bourciez 1982: 56 [§35, rem. II]; Juneau 1972: 263).

Métail is attested in French from the thirteenth century (1279) and was accepted in normative speech until the middle of the eighteenth century, concurrently with *métal*. It was maintained longer in the speech of certain regions (Normandy, Picardy) (FEW *metallum* 62: 56a). Mentioned in the dictionary of the Académie in 1718 (s.v. *métal*: "On prononce plus ordinairement métail" [More usually pronounced *métail*]), it appeared in the 1740 edition (in a double entry with *métal*), but it was retired beginning with the edition of 1762. The pronunciation *métail* is attested from the seventeenth century in Canadian French (Juneau 1972: 262). It is also found in Louisiana in a letter from the Sieur de Bienville, governor of Louisiana, in 1706 (Margry 1875–86, 6: 182). Elderly individuals still used it in Québécois French in the 1970s (PPQ: quest. 961x and 2310).

PECULIARITIES OF PRONUNCIATION

When the form of a word recorded in old texts departs from the spelling now in use, it sometimes reveals pronunciation traits that differ from those considered standard today. In this regard, Truteau's writings are not very revealing of phonetic peculiarities of the French spoken in Upper Louisiana at the end of the eighteenth century. In fact, most of the spelling deviations in his text that betray an imperfect mastery of written French are not attributable to the influence of pronunciation, which, it may be emphasized, has not undergone any great upheaval since the end of the eighteenth century, even though it has continued to evolve and to undergo notable changes.[48]

As an educated person, Truteau observed in large measure the conventions regulating French spelling, as much in its phonetic aspect as in its etymological, ideographic, and grammatical aspects. For example, the digraph *oi* long ago lost its actual phonetic sound (it has not been pronounced as the "oy" in the English word *boy* since the Middle Ages). Truteau doubtlessly pronounced it /we/ or /wɛ/ in most contexts (except in those where the pronunciation /ɛ/ was established, e.g., *connoitre*), /wa/ in some others, as was the Canadian norm during his time, a norm that was beginning to differentiate itself from that of Paris. Nevertheless, contrary to a transcriber who wrote by sound, he was not inclined to use the graphemes *oué* or *ouè*. On the other hand, the copyist of the Seville version of the journal could have written certain passages of the text according to sound, as though someone had dictated it to him. Additionally, it

is this version in which are found most of the written forms suggesting peculiar phonetic traits. Nonetheless, it is necessary to remain cautious. It is not always easy to differentiate between a simple error and faulty writing that reveals a phonetic fact, especially in texts transcribed by copyists. Uncertainty as to the phonetic value of an unorthodox written form confounds whatever interpretation might be made by a language historian. It is with this caution in mind that I present several—perhaps all—traces of the phonetic peculiarities of Truteau's speech, that of his copyists, or of their social sphere.

CONSONANT PECULIARITIES

Loss of the consonants /r/[49] and /l/ in final postconsonantal position: *autes* [= *autres]* (DQ Ia: 32); *crainde* [= *craindre]* (JS: 46); *paroite* [= *paraître]* (JS: 8); *peupes* [= *peuples]* (DQ Ia: 35); *prêtes* [= *prêtres]* (DQ Ia: 42)

These written forms, which are careless mistakes (the correct forms are found elsewhere in the texts), may have been unconsciously motivated by a pronunciation that could have been current among Truteau's entourage in a familiar style. This pronunciation trait, attested in Canadian French since the second half of the seventeenth century (Poirier 1975: 213–14), is equally attested in the popular French of the region of Paris at least since the seventeenth century, as well as in the dialects and regional varieties of northern France (Juneau 1972: 207–8; Bourciez and 1875–86 1982: 185, 191). More globally, this phonetic phenomenon falls within the scope of the reduction of groups of final consonants in the spoken language. It is still alive today in all the varieties of French (Ostiguy and Tousignant 1993: 169–70). In France, it is still associated with popular French or with the familiar style (Bauche 1946: 47–48; Guiraud 1965: 101; Gadet 1992: 41–42). In Québécois French, it also characterizes especially the familiar style.

Dropping of the consonant /r/ in postvocalic final position: *je croyois perie* [= *périr*] (JS: 3); and *un hommes qui paroissoit venis* [= *venir*] (JS: 26)

In the French of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the final *r* (/r/) of the verbal ending *-ir* was not pronounced, like the final *r* of several series of inflexional morphemes (*-oir*, *-eur*, etc.). In the seventeenth century, prononciation of the final /r/ began to be reintroduced in most of these endings, including the verbs ending in *-ir*. Although this reintroduction is sometimes attributable to the influence of grammarians (Zink 1999: 79), it also has a popular origin, as is the case of the *-ir* ending (Rosset 1911: 265). It seems that it was influenced by the verbs ending in *-ire* (*dire*, *rire*), in which the pronunciation of /r/ had always been maintained (Bourciez and Bourciez 1982: 184). In any case, the

pronunciation without final /r/ survived for a long time, both in France (especially in the area of the dialects of the *domaine d'oïl*) and in America. In the second half of the eighteenth century, one still finds attestations in Canadian French of the *-ir* verbs in which the /r/ was not pronounced (*couvrir*, *fournir*, *sentir*) (Juneau 1972: 165). Moreover, in cultivated speech in France at that time, the final /r/ was not pronounced in several of the *-ir* verbs (*courir*, *fournir*, *périr*, *quérir*, *sentir*, and *venir* were pronounced kouri, fourni, péri, kéri, santi, and veni, according to Féraud 1788). It is then completely likely that Truteau, the copyist of the Seville version, or someone who might have dictated the journal to him—indeed, all of them—actually pronounced several verbs ending in *-ir*, such as *périr* and *venir*, without the final /r/.

In regard to the term *prelat* (JS: 3) (written *prélat* in JQ: 3), it is simply a lexicalized variant of *prélart*. This variant without a final /r/, the only one that seems to have been in use among the voyageurs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, could have resulted from confusion between the suffixes *-at* and *-art*/*-ard*, a frequent one during the Middle Ages and up to the seventeenth century, a confusion that is explained by the loss of the final /r/, as discussed above (DFQ: 122, s.v. *prélart*).

In Truteau's texts, other written forms might eventually reveal the dropping of /r/ in other than final position: *machandise* [= *marchandise*] (JQ: 77), *pami* [= *parmi*] (DQ Ia: 47), *patisant* [= *partisan*] (DQ Ia: 20). That disappearance of the implosive /r/ is attested in Canadian French in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as in Normandy at the end of the nineteenth century (Juneau 1972: 163–64). However, in these particular cases, it is probable that they are simple scriptographic errors without phonetic motivation.

Dropping of the consonant /l/ in postconsonantal, nonfinal position: *pu* [= plus] (JQ: 173)

In the seventeenth century the pronunciation of *plus* without the /l/ is attested by certain grammarians (Thurot 1966: 2: 266); it was usual even at court (Poirier 1975: 217). At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was found in almost all the regional varieties in France (Juneau 1972: 174). It was also attested in popular speech (Bauche 1946: 217); more recently, some considered it vulgar or childish (Gadet 1992: 43). In Canadian French, it has been attested since the eighteenth century (Juneau 1972: 173) and is still used in the familiar style of Québécois French.

In the journal one also finds the written form *peurer* [= *pleurer*] (JQ: 62), which might equally illustrate the loss of implosive /l/ in the combination /pl-/ in initial position, but is probably only a scriptographic error without any phonetic motivation.

Dropping of the consonant /l/ in postvocalic, nonfinal position: *queques* [= *quelques*] (JQ: 89)

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the pronunciation without /l/ of the word *quelque* was accepted by several grammarians; certain of them even considered it to be the better way to pronounce it: "danz *quelque*, pour bien parler, on ne la [consonne l] prononce jamês"; "*quelque, quelqu'un* se prononcent comme s'il y avoit *quèque, quèqu'un*, sans l" (Lartigaut 1669 and Restaut 1730, cited in Thurot 1966: 2: 263–64). Toward the end of the eighteenth century, it seems that the pronunciation with /l/ was considered to be better in cultivated speech, that without /l/ was still current and doubtless did not attract attention: "Prononcez *Kèlke*. En conversation, *kèke*" (Féraud 1788). This pronunciation without /l/ was still current in the regional French varieties throughout the *domaine d'oïl* (Juneau 1972: 174). There is no doubt that Truteau would have used it spontaneously. Today this pronunciation is still alive on both sides of the Atlantic; in France it is associated especially with popular speech (Gadet 1992: 43), and in Québec it is mostly heard in familiar style.

Confusion between the consonants /r/ and /l/: *nomble* [= *nombre*] (JS: 10 and 20)

The replacement of /r/ by /l/ (as well as the reverse) is accounted for by the weakening of the articulation of the apical [r] (or *r roulé*), pronounced by flapping the tip of the tongue (Straka, cited in Juneau 1972: 162n10). This apical [r] is the phonetic realization of the phoneme /r/ inherited directly from Latin. Since it has the same place of articulation (apico-alveolar) as the consonant /l/, the only other liquid consonant in French, during the seventeenth century speakers had the tendency to use one for the other in certain words (borrowings, recent formations, or little-known words), especially in the popular French of the region of Paris. The same tendency is also attested in Canadian French during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Juneau 1972: 159–61).

Moreover, toward the end of the seventeenth century, apical [r] began to be replaced by its uvular counterpart (produced with the uvula and symbolized phonetically as [ʀ]). First attested in court, it expanded rapidly to Paris, then to other urban centers, and later into the countryside (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1994: 199). This back consonant had several variants, of which the constrictive postdorsal-uvular (designated phonetically as [ʁ]) is now the most usual in standard French. In Québec, the apical [r] is traditionally associated with the west of the province (with the epicenter in Montréal), the [ʀ] with the east of the province (centered in Québec City) (Juneau 1972: 159; Ostiguy and Tousignant 1993: 158, 162). The form *nomble* suggests that at least certain individuals

used the apical [r] in Upper Louisiana in Truteau's time. In addition, one finds other indirect tokens of it in texts contemporary with Truteau, for example: *"les meultrier [= meurtriers] qui ont fait cou* [*coup*] *dans le Missouri"* (1799, letter of L. Honoré Taisont [Des Moines Rapids, Illinois/Iowa] to Charles Dehault Delassus [St. Louis] [Aug. 18], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 2, frame 396).

Pronunciation of final /t/: *juillette* [= *juillet*] (JS: 3, 4; JW: 24, 25, 32, 35); and *toute* [= *tout*] (JW: 15)

The use of the form *juillette*, which clearly shows the pronunciation of the final *t* of the word *juillet*, is systematic in the Seville and Washington versions of the journal; in contrast, it is corrected to the standard spelling *juillet* in the Québec versions of the journal and description. One could conclude from this that Truteau pronounced the end of the word *-ette* /ɛt/, but that he became conscious of the proper spelling of the word after his trip and his return to St. Louis. He adopted the latter in the Québec versions of his texts.

The final /ɛt/ of Truteau corresponds to the Parisian pronunciation during the seventeenth century, which was more or less lost by the nineteenth century (Morin 2002: 71), progressively replaced by a pronunciation without the final /t/. The pronunciation of the final /t/ of the word *juillet* is equally attested in Canadian French from the end of the seventeenth century (Juneau and Poirier 1973: 91; Juneau 1972: 188) and was still in use in the twentieth century in Québécois French (Morin 2002: 71), as well as in the French of Missouri (Dorrance 1935, s.v. *juillet*).

Pronunciation of final /t/ in the word *tout* has been attested in Canadian French since the end of the seventeenth century: *"toutte le merquerdy"* (Juneau 1972: 194). This phonetic trait might be linked to a more general tendency to pronounce the final /t/ of certain French words during the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, at least in some contexts; for example: "*t* ne se prononce à la fin des noms et des verbes que devant une voyelle et l'*h* muet, et lorsqu'ils finissent la frase" (Milleran 1692, cited in Thurot 1966, 2: 94). But this tendency was not always followed in Paris. An influence from regional forms of speech, especially from the west and north of France, is not impossible (Juneau 1972: 188). In Truteau's texts, the existence of the phenomenon is suggested in this passage: "toute l[']attirail de la police civile" (JW: 15). Since *attirail* is a masculine noun, one would expect to have *tout* and not *toute*. Truteau uses it correctly elsewhere: "tout leur attirail de chevaux" (JQ: 49). It is possible that Truteau was inclined to feminize the word *attirail* because it was a VIN (see pp. 432–36). Remember that some passages in Truteau's texts suggest that a final /t/ would have been pronounced in the plural of *tout*, that is to say,

tous: "toutes les peuples sauvages" (DQ II: 23). In fact, it is a question here of a trait that is not purely phonetic but morphophonological (see pp. 436–38).

Pronunciation of the final /p/ in the word *beaucoup, beaucouppe* (JS: 38)

This pronunciation is attested in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it was already challenged by the pronunciation without /p/, the only one used today (with the exception of the liaison that is made in elevated style when the word is placed before a word beginning with a vowel). For certain grammarians, the /p/ should be pronounced when the word finishes a phrase or a unit of meaning (Thurot 1966, 2: 124). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the form *biaucoupe* is attested in Tourangeau speech (Department of Indre et Loire); different forms with the final /p/ pronounced are equally preserved in Occitan speech (FEW *colaphus* 2: 868b). The occurrence of *beaucouppe* in Truteau's journal is somewhat surprising and shows that this variant was sometimes used in America after the seventeenth century. It is attested elsewhere sporadically during the nineteenth century in the French of the Pays d'en Haut; for example: *"Je mannuis [= m'ennuie] boucoupe"* (1819, letter of Louis Grignon, Lac Appacquoy, Wisconsin, to John Lawe, Greenbay, Wisconsin, Nov. 3, SHSW, Grignon, Lawe and Porlier Papers, 5B62, reel 2, frame 10).

Reduction of /lj/ to /j/: *ailliance* [= *alliance*] (JQ: 151)

The written form *ailliance* strongly suggests a pronunciation /ajãs/, different from that which is now standard (/aljãs/) and that was already so in Truteau's time (Féraud 1787–88). The pronunciation /ajãs/ might simply have resulted from the complete palatalization of the consonant /l/ by the influence of the yod (/j/) (a palatal approximant consonant that is articulated by raising the middle or back portion of the tongue toward the hard palate). A similar phenomenon is attested in popular Parisian French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; for example, *soulier* was pronounced /suje/ instead of /sulje/ (Juneau 1972: 137). The pronunciation /ajãs/ was not unknown in France; it was found in the nineteenth century in the speech of Boulognais sailors (Boulogne-sur-Mer) and in the twentieth century in a regional speech variety in the west of France (Saint-Seurin d'Uzet) (FEW *lĭgāre* 5: 327b). In earlier times, its area of use must have been greater. In America I have only found it clearly in Truteau. However, it is reported that a field situated in a small Québécois village was called "champ de la yance" in the middle of the twentieth century and that "les gens qui veulent bien parler disent *de l'alliance*" [people who want to speak correctly say, *"de l'alliance"*] (Lorrain 1960: 92); however, it is not certain that the origin of *la yance* is actually *l'alliance*.

VOWEL PECULIARITIES

Reduction of *oi* to *o*: *motie* [= *moitié*] (DQ Ia: 62)

The pronunciation *motié* for *moitié* is attested during the nineteenth century in most of the varieties of speech in the *domaine d'oïl*, as well as in popular French (FEW *medietas*, 61: 607a; Thurot 1: 371). Its origin must be ancient given that it has also been found in Canadian French since the second half of the seventeenth century (Juneau 1972: 65–66). During the eighteenth century it was also found among Francophones living in American territory: "j'ai motié de benefice que je ne pouray toucher qu'au bout de l[']an" (Letter of Langlois, Lexington, Kentucky, to Antoine Maréchal, Vincennes, Indiana, May 2, 1799, Lasselle Collection [L127], doc. 406, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library). This pronunciation is attested in Acadian French (Massignon 1962, 2: 578); in Québec, it still is used to some extent, especially among the elderly.

Passage from pretonic *e* (/ə/) to *é* (/e/): *dangéreux* (JQ: 6; DQ III: 10); *dangéreuse* (DQ Ia: 10); *dangéreuses* (DQ III: 27 and 29); and *dégrés* (JQ: 14)

The pronunciation *dangéreux* (/dãʒerø/), rather than *dangereux* (/dãʒrø/ or /dãʒrø/) was attested in Paris at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was also found at the beginning of the twentieth century in Haute-Normandie (Le Havre) (FEW **dominiarium* 3: 128a). The closure of /ə/ might as well be explained by the analogical influence of the word *danger* (/dãʒe/) (Thurot 1966, 1: 123). The forms *dangéreux* and *dangéreuse* are found in a 1702 work of Lahontan, *Suite du voyage de l'Amerique* (Lahontan 1990, 2: 826, 867, 914, 917).

As for the pronunciation of *dégré* (/dəgre/) in place of *degré* (/d gre/), it has been attested in France since the seventeenth century (Thurot 1966, 1: 99). It is found in the nineteenth century in the regional speech of Bourgogne; variants with final /ɛ/ and /a/ are equally found in the east of France during the twentieth century (Alsace, Ardèche, Lorraine) as well as in Switzerland (Canton de Vaud) (FEW *gradus* 4: 205b). This pronunciation could have resulted from the influence of final /e/ (the phenomenon of distance assimilation) or from the identification of the element *de* with the prefix *dé-* (< Latin *dis-*) (Thurot 1966, 1: 97). In the documents relating to North America, one finds *dégré* in a text from 1682 (Margry 1875–86, 2: 281, 284) as well as in Lahontan's 1702 *Mémoires de l'Amerique septentrionale* (1990, 1: 731).

In these two cases one can also imagine that it was a question of maintaining the old timbre of /ə/, which still resembled /e/ during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at least according to the prescriptions of certain grammarians (Juneau and Poirier 1973: 79). Examples of a similar phenomenon are found in

Canadian French during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries (*chemise/chémise*; *mesure/mésure*) (Juneau 1972: 114; Juneau and Poirier 1973: 79).

Dilation (or distance assimilation) and dissimilation of atonic /i/: *crétique* [= *critique*] (JQ: 166); *déligence* [= *diligence*] (JQ: 162); and *décrépétées* [= *décrépitées*] (DQ III: 19)

The pronunciation *crétique* (/kretik/), a variant of the adjective *critique* that results from vowel dissimilation, is attested in French since the fourteenth century; it is also found in the regional French of Neuchâtel (Switzerland) since the eighteenth century (FEW *criticus* 2: 1354b). For the noun, the pronunciation variant *crétique* is found in regional speech varieties in the west of France (in Saintonge, Charente), as well as in Québécois French since the nineteenth century (1894) (FEW *criticus* 2: 1355a). Truteau's attestation (1796) seems to be the oldest example in North American speech.

Another case of vowel dissimilation, the pronunciation *déligence* (probably /deliʒãs/, although /dɛliʒãs/ is not impossible) likely had a certain usage in sixteenth-century French, as the written forms *deligence* and *delligence* plausibly attest (Huguet 1925–67, s.v. *deligence*). The form *déligence* was found in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in regional speech varieties of Normandy, of north of the Ardennes, of Berry, and of Switzerland (FEW *diligentia* 3: 79b–80a), indicating that in the past it extended over a vast area. The form *delligence* is attested in Canadian French since 1699 (FTLFQ). It was still in use among traders in the Missouri valley during the nineteenth century: "je vous prie de faire déligence pour anvoyer des cheveau" (letter of Joseph Halcrow, Grand River, [S. Dakota,] to Pierre Didier Papin, Fort Pierre, [S. Dakota,] March 20, 1838, MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 25, frame 546).

The form *décrépété* (which corresponds very likely with /dekrepete/) is a phonetic variant (by dilation) of the adjective *décrépité*, itself an old morphological variant of *décrépit* (/dekrepi/) 'decrepit'. It is worth mentioning that it is possible that the written form *pé-* is a copyist's error for *-pi-*; the *é*, moreover, is not very clearly written. Whatever the case, the adjective *décrépité*, attested in French since the fifteenth century, was still in use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, perhaps sometimes with the initial *de-* pronounced /də/ (Godefroy 1969, s.v. *decrepité*; Huguet 1925–67, s.v. *decrépité*). Without being unknown in North America, it does not seem to have been very usual there. An occurrence of it in Québécois French is found in 1884: "Un jeune homme ne voulant pas abandonner sa mère toute décrépitée, la mit sur ses épaules" (*La Gazette de Joliette*, Jan. 29, 1884, p. 4, col. 2, in FTLFQ). An older attestation is in the journal of Vaugine de Nuisement (1765): "Il y a des nations . . . qui quand ils ont des veillards d'un age decrepite les eloignent au plus loin qu'ils peuvent

de leur village" (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 52). Contrary to Canac-Marquis and Rézeau, who evoke an error for the adjective *décrépit* (52nb), I believe that it is the form *décrépité* from which the accents were omitted. A similar passage is found in a narrative of a voyage to Brazil written in the seventeenth century: "Quand elles atteignent l'aage [= âge] decrepité" (Huguet 1925–67). The form *décrépété ("Les femmes les plus décrépétées"* [DQ III: 19]), if it is not simply a scriptographic error, might be a North American innovation, since it is the only attestation known.

Lexicalized traces of the old variation between *ou* (/u/) and *o* (/ / or /o/)

The old confusion (particularly during the sixteenth century) between the pronunciation /u/ and /ɔ/ (or /o/) in certain words (sometimes called *querelle de l'ouisme et du non-ouisme)* had for the most part been resolved during the seventeenth century (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1994: 196) and was no longer truly alive in Truteau's time. His texts nonetheless include two words whose written forms suggest pronunciations that, departing from those that are usual today, recall this phenomenon: *coupeau* (= *copeau* 'shaving' or 'wood chip') and *brossailles* (= *broussailles* 'brushwood').

Conclusion

The several phonetic peculiarities that stand out in Truteau's writing, taken together, belong to Canadian French of the time. Since Truteau was a Canadian, that is hardly surprising. If certain traits are attributable to his copyists, one may assume that they characterize not only Canadian French but the French spoken in Upper Louisiana as well, inasmuch as these writers, at least the great majority of them, came from the area of St. Louis. This hypothesis is all the more plausible since the close affiliation between Canadian French and the French of the Illinois Country has already been established (see p. 409). In fact, Truteau's speech was probably not significantly different from that in general use in Upper Louisiana and, more widely, in the Illinois Country, exclusive of the social variation that affected this speech, if, indeed, such regional variation existed.

However, there must have been subtle differences between Truteau's speech from Montréal and that of his new compatriots in the Illinois Country. For example, it seems that Marie-Catherine Giard, a Créole born in 1747 at Kaskaskia, "s'exprimait en fort bons termes et son français[,] comme celui des hommes créoles des Illinois[,] sonnait agréablement à entendre" [expressed herself in very good terms and her French, like that of the Créole people of the Illinois, was agreeable to hear], according to her granddaughter, Louise-Amélie Panet-Berczy,

who was born in Québec City in 1789. Giard pronounced an open *o* (/ɔ/)[50] in such words as *jaune*, *côte*, and *haute* (Faribault-Beauregard 1987: 10), words that called for a closed *o* /o/, according to the Parisian norm of the time and that of today; that pronunciation, moreover, attracted the attention of her Canadian granddaughter, an indication that it was felt to be non-Canadian but typical of the Créoles of the Illinois Country.[51]

In addition, it is necessary to remark that almost all the traits of pronunciation pointed out in Truteau's texts fit within the realm of Parisian French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, most of those traits that depart from the norm of good usage *(bon usage)* are nonetheless attested in popular French of the region of Paris. Even the few traits that do not seem to be directly attested in Parisian French *(ailliance, crétique, décrépété, déligence)*—perhaps because of gaps in our documentation—may well have been in use in popular French during the eighteenth century. If not, they are North American innovations that sprang from phonetic phenomena quite common in the history of French.

These results lead me to formulate several hypotheses relating to the French spoken in the Illinois Country. First, it may reasonably be presumed that the Parisian norm of pronunciation—real or imagined—was always valued there and that it was probably followed fairly closely by educated people, at least in formal situations. This dynamic did not prevent lags in relation to recent developments of good usage in France or the intrusion of traits associated with popular Parisian French, or even some North American innovations, but it seems to have left little room for traits more characteristic of, for example, the regional speech varieties of the French provinces. This situation does not appear to be very different from that which prevailed in the St. Lawrence valley at the same time (see Morin 2002). At St. Louis, in Truteau's time, maintaining reference to the Parisian norm was probably facilitated by the presence of many scholarly European emigrants (especially French) of upper-class social background in the administrative center of Upper Louisiana, by regular contacts with New Orleans, and by the circulation of literary and scientific works, as well as dictionaries (see McDermott 1938 and Vézina 2010: 148).

Next it seems likely that there was a noticeable variation in pronunciation according to social and situational position (diastratic and stylistic variation). In fact, one must not lose sight of the fact that the texts studied here were written with a degree of care by a trader who doubled as a teacher, with concern for conforming to the rules of French spelling (an objective imperfectly attained), and for readers in positions of authority. This written production ought not to obscure the sociolinguistic dimensions of the use of spoken French in the Pays d'en Haut. When Truteau's writings are compared with those of his

contemporaries, especially the texts written by traders who were manifestly less educated than he, it is clear that the linguistic situation in this region of America was fairly complex, as it was everywhere (see Vézina 2010: 144).

A letter written in 1796 by the trader Hyacinthe Lasselle serves to illustrate this comparison.[52] Lasselle was born in 1777 at a post located in Indian territory (within the present state of Indiana) of a Canadian mother (born in the region of Montréal in 1735, convent-educated) and a father, also a Canadian trader (born in 1735 in the region of Montréal, of Canadian parents [Lacelle]) (Au 1992: 14; Tanguay 1975, 1: 63). Although he knew how to write, Lasselle was clearly less educated than Truteau, and his rather phonetic writing reveals several aspects of pronunciation that may be taken to represent the French of the old Illinois Country.[53] The following are the most notable (from Vézina 2010: 144–46):

A. Consonant Peculiarities
1. Change of /s/ to /ʃ/ in various contexts: *chauvaje* [= *sauvage*], *je panché* [= *je pense*], *ché* [= *ce*], *marché* [= *mars*], *présfairanche* [= *préférence*].
a. Inverse phenomenon: *moustez* [= *moucheté*].
2. Change of /z/ to /ʒ/ in various contexts: *cariges* [= *cariset*], *chauje* [= *chose*]; *degartez* [= *déserté*], *figit* [= *fusil*], *magagent* [= *magasin*], *marchandije* [× 2] [= *marchandises*], *quenje* [= *quinze*], *traije* [= *treize*].
3. Pronunciation of final /t/: *paraporte qui* [= *par rapport qu'il*].
4. Elision of implosive /s/ before an unvoiced consonnant: *ils me rétte* [= *il me reste*].
5. Adding a final /r/ to the past participle by analogy with the infinitive ending in *-er: jai paiere a une autres chauvaje* [= *j'ai payé à un autre sauvage*].[54]
6. Elision of implosive /l/ in postvocalic non-final position: *peteris, petéris* [= *pelleteries*].
7. Palatalization of /d/ before the front vowel /ø/: *dieux* [× 3] [= *deux*].
8. Palatalization of final /l/: *pas maille* [= *pas mal*].
9. Possible pronunciation of final /n/ in the word *cent: sane livre* [= *cent livres*], *sane cienquand [= cent cinquante], sane clous* [= *cent clous*].
10. Voicing of final /t/: *cienquand* [= *cinquante*].

B. Vowel Peculiarities
11. Opening of /ɛ/ to /a/ before /r/ + consonant: *darniere* [= *dernière*].
a. Inverse phenomenon before /r/ not followed by a consonant: *taire* [=*tard*].
12. Elision of the *u* of *tu: toras* [= *tu auras*].
13. Pronunciation of final *e* (of whatever timbre) normally silent or nonexistent: *ancoré* [= *encore*], *autoné* [= *automne*], *damé* [= *dame*], *hommé*

[= *homme*], *marché* [= *mars*], *panché* [= *pense*], *pirogué* [= *pirogue*], *soifé* [= *soif*], *uné* [= *une*], *viené* [= *viennes*].

14. Change of /u/ to /o/ in the relative pronoun and adverb *où: aut, aux* [= *où*].

Several of these peculiarities correspond with traits, or at least belong to tendencies, that were already attested in Canadian French (notably nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, and 13; see Juneau 1972; Juneau and Poirier 1973; Poirier 1975) or in popular or regional speech varieties in France (no. 12; see Thurot 1966, 1: 279); some of them represent original developments from existing tendencies in Canadian French (nos. 7, 8, 10 et 14).[55] One trait (no. 9) appears as a completely astonishing innovation.[56] In comparison with good French usage at the very end of the eighteenth century, most of these peculiarities were doubtless considered to be déclassé by educated speakers.[57] Either they were too regional (that is, non-Parisian),[58] popular, archaic,[59] or they constituted innovations that did not conform to the accepted norm. One could say as much of several lexical and grammatical characteristics that also contravened the norm,[60] for example, the expression *mais que* 'when', which Lasselle wrote *més qué* [= *més que tu viené*], which was considered familiar or popular at the end of the seventeen century ("Ces mots . . . ne se disent qu'en parlant, & même ils ne sont guere que dans la bouche du petit peuple"; Richelet 1970, s.v. *mais)*, then obsolete and out of use in the eighteenth century (Féraud 1787–88).

Truteau was probably familiar with many of these peculiarities and used at least some of them that are not attested in his writings (notably no. 11, still in use in popular Québécois French). In contrast to Lasselle's, Truteau's writings—and those of his copyists—reveal relatively few déclassé pronunciation traits. In this regard, the contrast between the two bodies of writing is striking, as is the difference between the contexts in which the two men wrote. Lasselle, poorly educated, wrote to his brother, who was also a trader. Truteau, better educated and endowed with a degree of metalinguistic awareness, wrote to his superiors, all members of the St. Louis elite, to whom he had to explain himself. The two contexts are diametrically opposed. But had they written in the reverse situation (formal for Lasselle, informal for Truteau), would the comparison between the two bodies of text give very different results? It is doubtful. Lasselle would perhaps have modified his vocabulary to some small extent (for example, using *vous* instead of *tu*, as is shown in other documents), but, given his imperfect knowledge of the code of writing, he would have had difficulty masking his peculiarities of pronunciation, of which he must have been, in any case, largely unconscious. For his part, Truteau may also have modified his

vocabulary somewhat, and perhaps he would have been more negligent of his syntax, but nothing more (Vézina 2010: 147).

Beyond his superior mastery of the code of writing. which contributed to filtering out peculiar pronunciation traits, Truteau may have used a speaking style that could have been distinguished from the more popular speech of Lasselle, and that distinction might reflect not only his greater education but a greater sensibility to the accepted norms of the more cultivated society of his time. The difference must have been clear, for example, when he addressed his pupils in the classroom, but they would likely have been less sharp when he spoke with other voyageurs. Thus Truteau and Lasselle represent two distant poles of social variation of French usage among the voyageurs of the Illinois Country. For that reason, their texts constitute valuable testimony to the sociolinguistic variation of French usage in the Pays d'en Haut at the end of the eighteenth century.

TRUTEAU, THE NORTH AMERICAN

Readers attentive to lexical details will notice that Truteau uses numerous words and expressions that are distinctive of the French spoken in North America. For example, *être de valeur* 'to be regrettable, to be a pity' (perhaps in part of American Indian origin) is associated with Canadian French (current today in Québécois and Acadian French): "cétoit bien de valeur qu'un homme blanc qui étoient venu de si loin leur apporter leurs besoins péri a la porte de leur village" [it was very regrettable that a white man who had come from so far to bring them their necessities should perish at the outskirts of their village] (JQ: 123). Similarly, in using the word *épinette* to designate trees of the genus *Picea* (spruce), Truteau revealed his origin in the St. Lawrence valley; this tree, which does not grow in Lower Louisiana, was called *prusse* by the French speakers of Acadia (Canac-Marquis and Poirier 2005: 522–25) and was known in France under the name *épicéa* since the middle of the eighteenth century (TLFi, s.v. *épicéa;* Valmont-Bomare 1791, 5: 161). Geographical lexical variation among North American Francophones is also clearly illustrated by the opposition between *blé d'Inde,* the word used for corn or maize in the St. Lawrence valley and in Acadia, and *maïs,* the word used in Lower and Upper Louisiana. In the Seville version of the journal, intended for the officials in St. Louis, Truteau avoided using *blé d'Inde* (or *bled d'Inde*) in favor of *maïs* (which he wrote *maillis*). In the Washington version he used both forms once. In the Québec manuscripts he used both terms equally. It is likely that *blé d'Inde* was the form Truteau used spontaneously, since it was by far the more common term in Canada.[61] He must have added *maïs* (which he usually wrote *majÿs* in the Québec manuscripts) to his vocabulary after settling in the Illinois Country; there, as in Lower Louisiana, it

was the word *maïs* that was in general use, perhaps owing in part to the influence of Spanish speakers, who used *maíz*.[62]

Other lexical items also confer a North American character on Truteau's writings, such as *couverte* (blanket), *mouiller* (to rain), *renduit* (coating), and *volier* (flock of wild birds), the use of which by the same speaker recalls Canadian, Acadian, or Louisianan usage, even though those words are equally well attested in various regional speech forms in France. But the lexical traits specific to North American French that figure in Truteau's writings relate for the most part to New World fauna and flora. Some of those terms were current usage in French Canadian (*bête puante, chat sauvage, chevreuil, épinette, liard, porte épic [= porc-épic]*), others were especially characteristic of the French of the Pays d'en Haut (*boeuf sauvage, cabri, cèdre [Juniperus virginiana], féverole sauvage, petit chien de prairie, petit loup de prairie, pichou*). In relation to fauna, Truteau's writings constitute the oldest documents in French attesting to the names of certain animals of the upper Missouri, those that belonged specifically to the western or northwestern regions of the Great Plains.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN UNIVERSE

The vocabulary of the Pays d'en Haut included a rich terminology that took account of the American Indian universe. Truteau made use of a variety of terms and expressions relating to native culture, including social organization, diplomacy, and religion, as well as distinctive objects: *(aller, venir) en parole; (aller, venir) en calumet; cerne; chef à médaille; chichicoï; considéré; festin; loge; médecine; mauvaise médecine; mitasse; nation; pare-flèche; sac de médecine.* Truteau is, moreover, the first to attest to the term *homme de médecine*, which designates a shaman and is probably the source of the English term *medicine man*. Certain figurative expressions relating to travels in the Indian country, such as *s'ouvrir les mauvais chemins* 'open bad roads', *s'ouvrir un beau chemin* 'open a good road', *voler le(s) chemin(s)* 'steal the road(s)', may have been inspired by expressions used in Indian languages, although the precise origin of these expressions remains difficult to establish. To these may be added the ethnonyms of the tribes of the Missouri River: les Aricaras (or Ricaras), les Chaguiennes, les Gros Ventres, les Mahas, les Mandan(n)es, la Nation du Corbeau, les Otoctatas, les Panis, les Poncas, les Sioux (including les Hanctons and les Titons).

Even though these forms were part of the technolect of the voyageurs, they were not exclusively theirs. This terminology was used in a general way in the French of the Pays d'en Haut: the missionaries and the military men stationed in the posts were likely to have recourse to it. The settlers—for example, those at Detroit or in the Illinois Country—also made use of it to a certain extent, more so if they were themselves former voyageurs or military men who had been

in contact with Indians. The interpreters employed by the trading companies or by the colonial administration knew this vocabulary well. In fact, the latter themselves would have helped to introduce it into the usage of their compatriots (notably the representatives of the colonial authority during negotiations with the native tribes), especially calques of American Indian expressions concerning relations between nations (diplomacy, war); an example is *peau rouge*, a metaphorical term translated from an equivalent expression used in a variety of Indian languages spoken in the Illinois Country and in the surrounding territories (Miami-Illinois, Sauk-Meskwaki, Potawatomi, Osage, Omaha, Quapaw) that was later translated into English as *Redskin* (Goddard 2005: 5, 9, 11). This Indian borrowing was, of course, employed in opposition to *peau blanche* (JQ: 90), another calque of the same origin that designated persons of European origin, but that remained little used. *Peau rouge*, which was a generic designation for American Indians, was used in the Illinois Country before its expanded use in European French as a calque of *Redskin* by means of American literature translated in France, notably the novels of James Fenimore Cooper. Nowadays it is most frequently written *Peau-Rouge*.

FLORA

Unlike the nineteenth-century explorers of the upper Missouri, such as Lewis and Clark and Bradbury, Truteau did not give detailed information about the flora of the country. Nonetheless, he provides some insight into the botanical nomenclature—if one could call it such—in use among the voyageurs of the Missouri. One finds in his writings a number of denominations specific to North American French, including *cèdre* (*Juniperus virginiana)* (eastern red cedar), a conifer of the *Cupressaceae* family; *folle avoine* (*Zizania palustris* and *Zizania aquatica)* (wild rice), aquatic plants that provide very nourishing grain; *blé d'Inde* (often written *bled d'Inde* in old texts) and *maïs* (which Truteau usually wrote *maillis* and *maÿs*) (corn or maize), names given to an American plant (*Zea mays*) of the *Poaceae* family.

Truteau also mentions *pomme de raquette* (JQ: 43); *raquette* is the name that the French in America gave to different species of cactus of the genus *Opuntia* (*Cactaceae* family), because of the oval form of their flattened pads that evoke a racket. This name passed into general French concurrently with *oponce* and *opuntia* (TLFi, s.v. *oponce* and *raquette*). Cactus of the genus *Opuntia* originated in the New World, but certain species were introduced to Europe.[63] The name *raquette* was used in the French Antilles before diffusing to Louisiana; from there, the word was transmitted in the usage of the voyageurs throughout the American West. The name *pomme de raquette* given to the fruit of this cactus is constructed from the word *pomme* taken in its generic sense as "fruit." Truteau's

phrase is awkwardly constructed and gives the impression that he is referring to the cactus needles that studded the prairies where he traveled (probably *Opuntia polyacantha* or *Opuntia macrorhiza* [Kindscher 1987: 154]). In reality, Truteau probably applied the name *pommes de raquettes* to the fruits, which also have spines, much like the pads. It is also possible that he applied the name to the plants themselves by synecdoche (this usage is attested in the nineteenth century); the context is not sufficiently clear to decide.

Truteau's *féverole sauvage* (JS: 42) is the hog peanut or ground bean, the fruit of a plant of the same name belonging to the *Fabaceae* (Pea) family *(Amphicarpaea bracteata*, formerly *Falcata comosa)*. In 1838, J.-N. Nicollet observed this wild legume in the present territory of Minnesota: "*la féverole* of the French, a little bulb the size of a large pea which serves as winter food for prairie mice. The Sioux also make it a great item of nourishment in August and September. They call it Onmenitcha [*omníca*]" (Bray and Bray 1993: 51). The plant produces two edible fruits: small peas the size of lentils in above-ground pods between 1.5 and 4 cm in length, and a subterranean fruit the size of a lima bean, growing at a depth of one to two inches below the ground, like a peanut. Voles (*Microtus pennsylvanicus*) gather these fruits in large quantities and store them in holes that Indian women often pillaged, leaving offerings in return (Gilmore 1991: 43–44; Kindscher 1987: 38–41). The name *féverole sauvage* may have designated the underground fruit, the peas, or the entire plant. The Sioux called it *mak'átomnica* 'at-the-ground beans' or simply *omníca* 'beans' (Gilmore 1991: 43; Buechel 1970, s.v. *omníca*).[64]

FAUNA

In 1714, at the time of the first important attempt by the French to ascend the Missouri, Étienne Véniard de Bourgmont went at least as far as the mouth of the Platte River (Wood 2003: 16), possibly as far as the Niobrara River in Nebraska or, less probably, the Cheyenne River in South Dakota (Giraud 1957: 32n3). Although Bourgmont must have seen several animal species that were previously unknown to them, the memoir is not explicit in regard to the fauna of the upper Missouri. Nonetheless, Bourgmont lists the animals of the Illinois Country and of the region newly traversed that might be of interest to the traders:

> Voicy ce qui peut se tirer d[']Ouabache[,] du haut du Misouris[,] de la riviere des Islinois et du haut du Missicipi[,] sçavoir [:] peaux de beuf et peaux de vaches . . . peaux de cerfs[,] peaux de biches, peaux de chevreuils[,] peaux d[']ours, castors[,] loutres, martes, pichious, loup servier, louts [sic, loups] de bois, renards de toute espece[,] chats sauvages.

(Étienne Véniard de Bourgmont, "Exacte description de la Louisianne" [1714], BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C13C [Louisiane], vol. 1, f. 356.)

[Here is what can be extracted from the Wabash, the upper Missouri, the Illinois River, and the upper Mississippi: skins of buffaloes, bulls and cows . . . skins of elk, males and females, skins of deer, skins of bears, beavers, otters, martens, bobcats, lynx, grey wolves, foxes of every kind, raccoons.]

Truteau likewise did not linger over the description of the animals of the upper Missouri, but in the description he presents a fairly substantial inventory of animal names (DQ Ia: 33–34).

Unlike Véniard de Bourgmont, Truteau mentions names of certain animals unknown in eastern North America but that are found on the Great Plains: *cabri* (pronghorn antelope), *chevreuil à grosses cornes* (bighorn), *chevreuil à longues oreilles* (mule deer or black-tailed deer), *ours blanc et rougeâtre* or *ours blanc* (grizzly bear). In addition, he lists three mammals that are also found farther east (between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers) but that had not been mentioned by his predecessors: *petit renard* (swift fox), *petit chien de prairie* (prairie dog) and *petit loup de prairie* (coyote).

The majority of the names mentioned by Truteau designate animals that were already well known when he undertook his voyage, since they live not only on the upper Missouri but also in eastern North America. The names that Truteau used for them were current in the St. Lawrence colony and corresponded to those in use in France when an animal species was also found in Europe or was represented by species closely related to the genus or family. In those cases, most of the names were attested from the very beginning of French settlement in the New World: *belette* (weasel), *castor* (beaver), *cerf* and *biche* (elk or wapiti), *lapin* (rabbit), *loup-cervier* (lynx), *lièvre* (hare), and *loutre* (otter). Likewise, the designations that he uses for animals specific to America were, for the most part, already in use in Canadian French, in the French of the Pays d'en Haut, or that of Louisiana.

It may be taken as a given that Truteau sometimes applied to species in the regions he described the same names as those of animals that were closely related to them and that were present in the St. Lawrence valley. This is the case, for example, with *taupe*, a word that in Canada designates the burrowing animal called *mole* in English (*Talpidae* family). Several species of moles exist in America, of which the hairy-tailed mole *(Parascalops breweri)* and the star-nosed mole *(Condylura cristata)* were known to the Canadians. It is probable that Truteau meant by *taupe* only the species of mole present in certain areas of the upper Missouri, the eastern mole *(Scalopus aquaticus)*. The generic name

lièvre is a little more ambiguous since it could refer not only to species of hare specific to western North America and present in different regions of the Missouri, such as the Townsend hare (the white-tailed jack rabbit, *Lepus townsendii*) and the California hare (the black-tailed jack rabbit, *Lepus californicus*), but also, although less probably, the American hare (snowshoe hare, *Lepus americanus*), present throughout the area of present Canada, in the Rocky Mountains, and in some regions of the upper Missouri (especially in North Dakota). All species of hare, as well as rabbits, belong to the *Leporidae* family.

Sometimes one cannot be sure of the species that Truteau associates with a particular designation. This is the case with the name *aigle*, which was used in a broad and sometimes confusing manner in French during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Furetière 1970, s.v. *buse*; Valmont-Bomare 1791, 1: 151). *Aigle* could designate any large raptor present on the upper Missouri, not only eagles proper; thus when Truteau affirms that there are *"des aigles de plusieurs espèces,"* he could be alluding first to the golden eagle *(Aquila chrysaetos)* as well as to the bald eagle *(Haliaeetus leucocephalus)*, but equally to the hen harrier *(Circus cyaneus)*, osprey *(Pandion haliaetus)*, or red-tailed hawk *(Buteo jamaicensis)*, to name the most likely possibilities.

Certain animal designations result from lexical adjustment to account for new oppositions between species; this is the case with *gros loup de bois* (grey wolf, *Canis lupus*), simply called *loup* in Europe as well as in Canada in ordinary speech; this name was opposed to *petit loup de prairie*, which designated the coyote (*Canis latrans*). Among the voyageurs, one finds most often the variants without adjectives: *loup de bois* and *loup de prairie*. The same phenomenon explains the names *gros renard* (probably the red fox, *Vulpes vulpes*, but perhaps also the gray fox, *Urocyon cinereoargenteus*) and *petit renard* (probably the swift fox, *Vulpes velox*).[65] In France and in the St. Lawrence valley, only one species of fox is present, the red fox, so there is no need for a designation other than the generic *renard*, at least in ordinary language (specialists now call it *renard roux*). However, as far as we know, the distinction between *gros renard* and *petit renard* is only attested by Truteau.

In addition, on the basis of apparent resemblances between them, the names of some European or Asiatic mammals (sometimes domesticated) were applied to North American species that were not closely related. Among those that Truteau uses are *cabri* (pronghorn, *Antilocapra americana*); *chat sauvage* (raccoon, *Procyon lotor*); *chevreuil* (white-tailed deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*), which refers to the cervid that Truteau also called *chevreuil ordinaire* (to distinguish it from the *chevreuil à longues oreilles*); *porc-épic* (North American porcupine, *Erethizon dorsatum*), which Truteau wrote as *porte épic*, according to a variant pronunciation that was probably current in Canadian French of the time. To designate the

cougar *(Felis concolor,* or, more recently, *Puma concolor)*, Truteau used not only *tigre*, a designation reserved today for the great Asiatic feline (*Panthera tigris*), but equally *chat-tigre*, one of the names given to the cougar in Lower Louisiana (Read 1931: 25). It is probable that Truteau saw the spotted hides of young cougars and that he believed they were another species of feline.[66] From this came his use of *chat-tigre* (which he wrote *châtigre*), a name used in French to designate various wild felines with spotted or striped skins, notably the ocelot and the margay (which are found especially in Mexico) and the serval (which lives in Africa) (Valmont-Bomare 1791, 3: 303; TLFi, s.v. *chat-tigre*). It is even possible that the jaguar (*Panthera onca*), whose historical area of distribution may have included Lower Louisiana (Nowak 1973), was called *chat-tigre* by the Louisiana Francophones (according to Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, who went up the Mississippi in 1823; see Lottinville 1973: 139n19). If that were the case, Truteau might have already heard of this large spotted feline and assumed that the hide of a young cougar he had seen was in fact a jaguar.

In some cases, a North American animal received the name of a European animal of the same genus or the same family to which a specifier was added. Among the names of this sort Truteau uses *ramusqué* (= *rat musqué*) (muskrat, *Ondatra zibethicus*), *boeuf sauvage* and *vache sauvage* (bison or buffalo, *Bison bison*), and *ours blanc* (grizzly bear, *Ursus arctos*). Sometimes the semantic field of a name was modified in response to the need for a new designation; thus *bête puante* (skunk, *Mephitis mephitis*, or spotted skunk, *Spilogale putorius*), a generic name in France, became specialized in North America to designate more particularly the skunk, an animal unknown in Europe. Other typically North American innovations, such as *siffleur* (marmot, which refers to a small mammal of the genus *Marmota*, *Sciuridae* family), comprise a single word. Finally, some animal names were borrowed from American Indian languages, such as *pichou*, which originated in one of the Algonquian languages and which Truteau used to designate the bobcat *(Lynx rufus),* a feline living generally farther south than the *loup-cervier* (lynx, *Lynx canadensis*).

NEW DESIGNATIONS FOR FAUNA OF THE UPPER MISSOURI

The processes of lexical creation illustrated in Truteau's texts to name new animal species typical of the upper Missouri are varied: extension of meaning, composition, borrowing. For example, in Truteau's usage, the word *chevreuil* has two principal meanings: one as a specific designation for the white-tailed deer (which he also calls *chevreuil ordinaire*), the other a more general designation for various ruminants of small or medium size, of which the white-tailed deer was the archetype, namely, the mule deer (or black-tailed deer, *Odocoileus hemionus*, belonging to the same genus as the white-tailed deer), the pronghorn, and the

bighorn sheep.[67] These three species, unknown in the eastern part of the continent, Truteau calls more precisely *chevreuil à longues oreilles*, *cabri*, and *chevreuil à grosses cornes*. For the first of these names, Truteau gives the only known attestation. This lexical composition rests on a striking physiological trait: the ears of the mule deer, which are remarkably long compared to those of the white-tailed deer; this name seems to have been replaced rapidly by *chevreuil à queue noire*.[68] Even though the honor of producing the first fairly detailed description of this cervid goes to Lewis and Clark, Truteau must be credited as the first to mention it specifically. The same honor goes to Truteau in relation to the prairie dog and the coyote. The histories of *cabri* and *chevreuil à grosses cornes* are more complex. Finally, to designate the grizzly bear, another animal unknown east of the Mississippi, Truteau had recourse to the translation of an American Indian designation: *ours blanc*. The names for these animals are examined more closely pp. 461–70.

In addition, Truteau is among the first to give a glimpse of the remarkable productivity of the word *prairie* as a determinative in the language of the French speakers of the West (especially the Métis) over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This word entered into the formation of numerous lexical composites designating natural forms associated with the prairies, above all those situated west of the Mississippi, which in the eighteenth century was a new environment for the French. Among these numerous composites are *bois de prairie* (buffalo chips), *pomme de prairie* and *navet de prairie* (breadroot or prairie turnips), *boeuf* and *vache de prairie* (buffalo), *lièvre de prairie* (white-tailed jackrabbit, *Lepus Townsendii*), *poule de prairie* (prairie chicken, *Tympanuchus cupido*), *loup de prairie* (coyote), *renard de prairie* (probably swift fox), and *cheval de prairie* (wild horse). The determinant is sometimes used in the plural (for example, *bois des prairies*, *poule des prairies*); elsewhere in Truteau's writings one finds *Sioux des prairies*, a more frequent variant than *Sioux de prairie*. Certain of these uses are plausibly calques of American Indian words. For example, the ethnonym *Sioux des prairies* is a translation of the Algonquian name given to this group of Sioux.[69]

SOME SPECIFIC DESIGNATIONS

Cabri

When the French in America first observed pronghorns (*Antilocapra americana*) in the country west of the Mississippi during the early eighteenth century, they considered the ruminant, which was previously unknown to Europeans, to be a type of *chevreuil* (deer) (see, e.g., Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de La Vérendrye, 1739, in Burpee 1968: 342). Although the general appearance of the pronghorn can easily evoke a small cervide, such as the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*,

also called *chevreuil* by North American Francophones), the pronghorn is not a cervide but rather the sole representative of the *Antilocapridae* family. This use, unsatisfying since it does not distinguish the pronghorn from deer, did not last as a specific name. Nonetheless, for Truteau, as for many of the Missouri voyageurs, the pronghorn was considered a kind of small *chevreuil*.

Other names were also used by the voyageurs to designate this distinctively North American ruminant. *Cul blanc* (alluding to the whiteness of the pronghorn's hindquarters) was used especially at the trading posts located in present Saskatchewan, according to the trader Edward Umfreville, 1770–80, who wrote *cu blanc* (cited in Friederici 1947, s.v. *prong-buck*). Francophone specialists at the begnning of the nineteenth century called this animal *antilope*, from the English *antelope*; for example, one finds *antilope à cornes fourchues* as a translation of *Prong-horned Antelope* in Ord (1818: 148).

The lexical form that Truteau used is attested beginning in 1777 as *cabrite*, in its generic sense as 'pronghorn', but from 1768 it became *cabrit*, whether as a generic designation or as a specific one for juvenile pronghorn ("fawns") (the meaning is difficult to decide, for the context is not clear). Truteau is the first to provide attestations of the form *cabri* to designate the pronghorn, a use that rapidly spread in the speech of the voyageurs (one also finds *cabril*). This use constitutes a semantic innovation by analogy from the French *cabri*/*cabrite* taken in the sense of 'goat', a use found under the form of *cabrite sauvage* (feral goat) in the Antilles since the end of the sixteenth century (ca. 1592, *Histoire naturelle des Indes*: 262). The same usage was found with the pronunciation /kabri/ (generally spelled *cabri*) in Louisiana French (Robin 1807, 3: 28; Daigle 1984, s.v. *cabri*; Jeansonne 1938: 25; Hurst 1936: 18) and in Missouri (Dorrance 1935, s.v. *cabri*; Carrière 1937: 314). In France, the word *cabri* (*-l, -t, -te*) (borrowed historically from Provençal *cabrit*, which stems from the Vulgar Latin *capritus*), is above all attested as a regional word having the meaning 'kid' (*chevreau*) (FEW *capra* 21: 296b); its use as meaning 'goat' (*chèvre*), quite marginal in Europe, is above all attested in Louisiana French and in the Créoles based on French spoken in the Antilles, in Louisiana, and on the islands in the Indian Ocean (for more details, see Vézina 2010: 381–83).

The use of *cabri* (*-l, -t, -te*) to designate the pronghorn comes from a semantic extension that doubtless originated in Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, and that was spread throughout western North America by means of the voyageurs. The general appearance of the pronghorn sufficiently called to mind that of a goat to explain the use of the word *cabri*. The same phenomenon occurred in English with the names *goat* and *wild goat*, both attested since ca. 1767–69 in the writings of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) traders (DC, which erroneously gives 1754), and in Mexican Spanish (*cabras monteses*) (Friederici 1947, s.v. *berrendo*),

where the most common name of the pronghorn is nonetheless *berrendo* (DCECH; Santamaria 1974). Consequently, there is a possibility that *cabri* in the sense of 'pronghorn' might have resulted from the semantic influence of the Spanish word *cabra*, used in northern Mexico; *cabra* is still used in this sense in New Mexican Spanish (Cobos 1984). This influence might have come from the intermediary of Spanish-speaking colonists who settled in Louisiana after the territorial cession from France to Spain in 1762, as well as from contacts between French-speaking voyageurs and the Spanish-speaking populations of New Mexico.

Cabri meaning 'North American antelope' passed into English, notably in the forms *cabree* and *cabri* (see DA and DC). This use is not attested in any variety of North American French except during the first half of the nineteenth century in the area of St. Louis; this regional usage is recorded by Meriwether Lewis in 1805: "the Missouri antelope (called cabri by the inhabitants of the Illinois)" (DA, s.v. *cabree*; Lottinville 1973: 332). *Cabri* is, however, still in use in Mitchif, spoken in North Dakota (Laverdure and Allard 1983, s.v. *antelope*) and in western Canada (Fleury 2000: 11).

The multiplicity of French and English designations for the pronghorn (still in use or not)—including now-criticized terms with generic *antilope/antelope*—testify to the difficulty surrounding the naming of this unique ruminant. Having classified it in 1815 with the antelopes proper *(Antilope Americana)*, the naturalist Georges Ord estimated three years later that this quadruped "doit former un anneau intermédiaire dans l'échelle animale, réunissant les genres Antilope et Chèvre" [must form an intermediate link in the chain of animals, uniting the genera Antilope and Goat] (Ord 1818: 147), and proposed the name *Antilocapra americana*. Although other naturalists had long opted for the scientific name *Antilope furcifer*—for example, Richardson in 1829 (see Richardson 1974: 261)—Ord's proposition finally won out. Thus, even though the pronghorn, unlike the domestic goat, does not belong to the bovine family, the idea of 'goat' implied by the word *cabri* is nonetheless present in the scientific name of the animal.

Chevreuil à grosses cornes

Sketching the history of the name *chevreuil à grosses cornes* requires examination of its synonym *grosse corne* as well as of its English equivalent, *bighorn*. The plurality of names given to the bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*) between Truteau's time and that of Lewis and Clark illustrates the difficulty of designating previously unknown animal species.

The existence of the bighorn sheep was known to St. Louis traders before Truteau undertook his trip. A letter of March 10, 1795, includes information from Auguste Chouteau about animals to be found on the upper Missouri:

> at a great distance up that River, you will meet with some new animals—animals unknown in our Natural History: particularly one, of the size and nearly the colour of the elk. . . . He has two large horns which, issuing from behind the ears and turning backwards in a circle, terminate in two points projecting before the head, in a horizontal direction. (Nasatir 2002: 316–17)

Whether Chouteau had a name for this animal is unknown. Perhaps he considered the bighorn a kind of chevreuil.

Truteau may never have seen a live bighorn sheep in its natural habitat, whose historical eastern limit did not extend beyond the western part of the present states of North and South Dakota and Nebraska (Jones et al. 1983: 340–41). He likely obtained his knowledge of the bighorn sheep from men such as Ménard and Jacques d'Église, who had gone farther up the Missouri than he.

Truteau designated the animal *"le chevreuil a grosses cornes (ou daim)"* (DQ Ia: 33–34). However, the generic *chevreuil* was not used to any great extent for the bighorn sheep. Nor was the word *daim*, which designates the fallow deer (*Dama dama*), a cervid of medium size living in Asia and in Europe; this name was to some extent in use at the same time as *chevreuil* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a designation for the white-tailed deer, but it was not incorporated into Canadian usage (see DHFQ, s.v. *daim*). For Truteau, the name *daim* would have corresponded to a more literary usage, since it may be assumed that he learned the word by reading historical relations.

Other observers also recognized the similarity in appearance between the bighorn sheep and deer. John Ordway, for example, wrote on March 25, 1805: "Capt. Clark . . . killed a female *Ibex* or big hornd animel . . . this animel is of a blackish colour or dark duskey colour over the body. they have great resemblance of the deer kind, especially the leggs, but the head & huffs resemble a Sheep" (L&C, 9: 154–55). Additionally, the quick movements of a bighorn also evoke those of a deer.[70]

Although Truteau gives the only known attestation of *chevreuil à grosses cornes*, it may have been used more widely in the fur trade, since the equivalent English form (possibly a calque) is found in the memoirs of the surveyor and trader David Thompson: "Big Horn Deer (Mountain Sheep)" (Glover 1962: 247). His narrative was written between 1846 and 1850 (Wood and Thiessen 1985: 94), but referred to his experiences between 1795 and 1812.

Sometime after Truteau's voyage, the voyageurs applied a more exact designation, *mouton* (sheep), a term that first designated the domestic animal (*Ovis aries*). The exact moment of this terminological change is unknown, but it was already in effect in 1804, as confirmed by William Clark in his journal (entry

of December 22): "we precured two horns of the animale the french Call the rock mountain Sheep" (L&C, 3: 260). Similarly, Patrick Gass wrote in his journal on May 25, 1805:

> some of the party killed three of what the French and natives call mountain sheep; but they very little resemble sheep, except in the head, horns and feet. . . . Captain Clarke calls them the Ibex, and says they resemble that animal more than any other. (L&C, 10: 92)

In French, the name must have been *mouton des montagnes de Roches* or, more simply, *mouton des montagnes*, the latter attested by De Smet (1844: 42).

A few sources from the early nineteenth century confirm the generic usage of *mouton* to designate the bighorn sheep. In 1808 W. F. Wentzel, a North West Company (NWC) trader at a trading post along the northern part of the Mackenzie River, wrote in his journal that an Indian tribe had as its symbol "an Animal of the Rocky Moun resembling in its furr & size a Sheep—which induces me to call them Gens de mouten [*sic*]" (Keith 2001: 333). The same year, Simon Fraser and John Stuart, also of the NWC, used the word as a gallicism: "by the signs he [the Indian] made we understood that our Guide and interpreter were at the tents, and that he himself had killed some mouton and would return to us again with the meat" (Stuart, cited in Fraser's journal [Lamb 1966: 154]).

The adoption of the generic *mouton* even led to the creation of the more specific term *mouton gris* (gray sheep), used by the French-speaking voyageurs of the Hudson's Bay Company in the 1820s, perhaps even earlier.[71] This name echoes the composite form *grey sheep*, designating bighorn sheep, that is found in 1811 in the journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, a NWC trader (Gough 1992, 2: 502–6). It may be inferred that *mouton gris* was already in use at this time in the speech of the NWC employees. Thus it is well established that between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the designation of *Ovis canadensis* included some variation in the speech of the voyageurs. The same phenomenon is observed among the English-speaking explorers and traders who used, among other terms, *mountain sheep, grey sheep, big horn deer, ibex* (which is, in fact, the name of the species of wild goats living in Europe and in Asia, of the genus *Capra*), *argali* (Hartley 2004, s.v. *argali* and *ibex*), *sheep, wild sheep* (Belyea 1998: 99, 132, 133), as well as *bighorn*.

Even though the generic *chevreuil* was abandoned as a designation for the bighorn sheep, this was not the case for the modifier *grosses cornes*, which may have given rise to the autonomous form lexicalized as *grosse corne* (also written *grosse-corne*). This form apparently originated among the voyageurs of the upper Missouri and spread during the nineteenth century. Its use is attested by Bradbury (1817: 159), who wrote "of the animal called by the French *gros corne*."

It is not certain that this is a lexical creation deriving from *chevreuil à grosses cornes*. The first occurrence of *grosse corne* used as an autonomous lexicalized form dates to 1809, in the name of a trading post, the Fort of the Grosse Corne, apparently situated near the Bighorn River.[72] It may have been another name given to Fort Raymond, which was established in 1807 at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Bighorn Rivers (Wishart 1992: 42). That the name of this post derives from that of the river seems entirely plausible, especially since it had been called Grosse Corne since the end of the eighteenth century, as is evidenced by the description that the Crow Indians gave to David Thompson in 1798 through the trader and interpreter Ménard: "The River of large Corn [is] abt 4 Days South of the Yellow River & runs east & north to the Yellow Stone River" (Wood and Thiessen 1985: 114). It is clear that *large Corn* is a bad translation of *Grosse Corne*.

Ménard may very likely have chosen the appellation *Grosse Corne* by translating the name given to the river by the Mandans (and doubtless other tribes), among whom he had resided for several years before Thompson met him. A few years later Meriweather Lewis noted the Mandan name for this river: "Ar-sar-ta, or big-horn" (L&C, 3: 365). William Clark remarked that the same word referred to the bighorn sheep ("The mandans Indians Call this Sheep *Ar-Sar-ta*" [L&C, 3: 260]).

The historical study of the use of the name *grosse corne* to designate *Ovis canadensis* cannot be completed without taking into account the English counterpart, *bighorn*. In fact, the two designations appear closely linked:

> The names of bighorn and grosse corne, given to this animal by the English and French, are properly taken from the large thick horns of the ram, which often weigh forty pounds the two, and make the animal's head appear quite small. (Maximilian, Prince of Wied 1843, in Maximilian 1906, 2: 68)

Nonetheless, given the lack of available data, it is uncertain whether *grosse corne* is the source of *bighorn*, whether *bighorn* is the source of *grosse corne*, or whether the two designations were created independently.

The first attestations of *bighorn* / *big horn* are found in the various journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition; for example, Clark recorded in his journal (entry of April 3, 1805) that a "large trunk" sent to President Jefferson contained specifically "4 Horns of the Mountain Ram or big horn" (L&C, 3: 331). Likewise, on July 18, 1805, Lewis wrote: "we saw several herds of the Bighorn but they were all out of our reach on inacessable clifts" (L&C, 4: 399). In addition, in an undated document (but that must have been written between autumn 1804 and the end of winter 1805), Clark reported that certain American Indian tribes could furnish different peltries, such as "Big horn Skins" (L&C, 3: 423, also 425, 426).

The information contained in this document was very likely obtained "from traders and Indians in St. Louis and on up the Missouri" (L&C, 3: 386). One of these traders may have been Jean Vallée, a bilingual Créole who probably was born in Ste. Geneviève (L&C, 3: 133, 135, 136n3). This leaves open the possibility that *big horn* is a calque of *grosse corne* that Lewis and Clark learned from French-speaking traders (Criswell 1940: 14, s.v. *big horn*). Alternatively, the name could be a calque of the Mandan name for the animal, but no attestation of *grosse corne* prior to 1805 has been found. Besides, *big horn* as a designation for *Ovis canadensis* occurred several months after *big(-)horn(ed) animal*. Clark used it for the first time on September 26, 1804: "a spoon of the Big Horn animal" (L&C, 3: 117); he repeated it several times afterward (e.g., 4: 86). Lewis spoke of the *big-horned anamals* on April 29, 1805 (4: 85, 193). John Ordway wrote on March 25, 1805: "Capt. Clark . . . killed a female *Ibex* or big hornd animel" (9: 154). Patrick Gass, who favored the name *mountain sheep*, nonetheless used *big-horned animal* on April 25, 1806 (10: 215) and *large horned animals* on July 31 of the same year (10: 261). *Large horned animal* is found also in the journal of François-Antoine Larocque, a bilingual Canadian trader of the NWC, who met the members of the Lewis and Clark expedition at the end of 1804 (Wood and Thiessen 1985: 178), which suggests than an equivalent French designation may have been current in the speech of the French-speaking voyageurs accompanying his expedition.

In the light of the earlier use of *big(-)horn(ed) animal*, it is possible that *bighorn* as a specific designation for *Ovis canadensis* is only an elliptical variant of *bighorn animal* and not a direct calque of the Mandan name nor a calque of *grosse corne*, the name hypothetically already in use among the voyageurs of the upper Missouri. Given the paucity of data, it may never be possible to clarify precisely the origin of the names *bighorn* and *grosse corne*.

Ours blanc

The first attestation of the name *ours blanc* 'white bear' in reference to the grizzly bear *(Ursus arctos)* is in English by the interpreter and trader John Long (1791: 95): "The large white bear, commonly called the grisly bear." *Ours blanc* as a designation for the grizzly bear first appeared in French in the translation of Long (1792); the name had been used previously in France to designate the polar bear (TLFi, s.v. *ours*). For the grizzly, Truteau uses *ours blancs* (DQ Ia: 40–41) as well as *ours blanc et rougeâtre* 'white and reddish bear' (DQ Ia: 33). Although the latter name is more descriptive, Truteau's is the only known attestation. *Ours blanc* was the form in general use by the voyageurs.[73]

The use of this name is documented in writings of members of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Patrick Gass wrote in his journal (April 29, 1805): "Captain Lewis . . . killed a white bear.—The natives call them white, but they are more

of a brown grey" (L&C, 10: 84). A similar remark was made by Joseph Whitehouse: "This Bear was of a Yellow brownish colour, and had prodigious large Claws, and <are> is what is called the White Bear by the Natives" (L&C, 11: 141). John Ordway wrote: "5th May 1805: Capt. Clark and Several more of the party killed a verry large bair which the natives and the french trадors call white but all of the kind that we have seen is of a light brown only owing to the climate as we suppose" (L&C, 9: 143),

It is likely that the French-speaking voyageurs borrowed from one or more native languages, by means of a calque, the designation *ours blanc*. For example, in the Assiniboine language, still spoken in Saskatchewan, three designations for the grizzly have been recorded: *waö'äksicaskana* 'white bear', *wachúwiska* 'white sided', and *makhúska* 'white chest' (Parks and Jones 1978–83).

Surprising at first glance, the name may be explained by the fact that the grizzly's coat has white-tipped guard hairs. In addition, the color of the coat is variable, even though most grizzlies have fur that ranges from dark to yellowish brown, with reddish highlights, some individual animals are completely black, while others are almost white (Fisher, Pattie, and Hartson 2000: 126–27). The use of *ours blanc* to designate the grizzly bear clearly contrasts with *ours noir* 'black bear' *(Ursus americanus)*, the designation of a species of smaller bear found in eastern North America but that was also found in some areas of the West. In addition to *ours blanc,* during the nineteenth century the grizzly was also called *ours gris* 'gray bear' by traders and missionaries on the upper Missouri and in the Rocky Mountains. (For example, see the letter of Joseph Rolette to Pierre Chouteau Jr., June 12, 1828, MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 12, frame 622.) *Ours gris* is likely a calque of *grizzly bear* or of *gray bear*, or perhaps of an American Indian name, such as Dakota *mat'ó ööta* 'bear gray', designating the grizzly (Riggs 1968: 309; Williamson 1992; Buechel 1970, s.v. *bear* and *gray*).

Even though the name *grizzly bear* rapidly supplanted *white bear* in the nineteenth century, as late as the 1970s a bilingual speaker of the Kansa language still used *white bear* to designate the grizzly when he spoke in English (p.c. Robert L. Rankin, June 8, 2006).

Petit loup de prairie

The designation *petit loup de prairie* 'small wolf of the prairie' is transparent: the coyote (*Canis latrans*) resembles a small wolf. The name also occurred, but less frequently, without the adjective *petit*: *loup de prairie*, *loup de prairies,* and *loup des prairies*. It is possible that *petit loup de prairie* and its variants were first used among the Créoles in Illinois, who must have been familiar with this animal since the beginning of French settlement in the region; by 1715, it was already spoken of as a *"loup d*[']*une basse taille* [wolf of small size]."[74] Nineteenth-century sources

document the transmission of the name by voyageurs to French-speaking explorers and travelers. For example, J.-N. Nicollet wrote: "Les Sauvages disent que le petit loup de prairie est le plus alerte et le plus vif des animaux qu'ils connaissent" [The Indians say that the little prairie wolf is the most alert and the liveliest of the animals with which they are acquainted] (Nicollet 1838: [22]); see also Eugène de Girardin (1864: 54) and Eugène Duflot de Mofras (1844, 2: 354).

The designation *prairie wolf* was in vogue in the United States during the nineteenth century, popularized by the writings of Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery. On August 12, 1804, Clark and Ordway noted in their respective journals the designation *Prarie wolf* (which Ordway spelled *prarie woolf* [L&C, 2: 471, 9: 38]), which constitute the first attestations of this borrowing by calque designating the coyote. The designation was repeated several times in the various journals of the expedition without a single diarist indicating that it had been borrowed from the French. Nonetheless, Truteau's use of this designation in 1796 leaves little doubt that *prairie wolf* is a borrowing by calque from the speech of the voyageurs.

Petit chien de prairie

The name *petit chien de prairie* 'little dog of the prairie' designates a rodent of western North America of which there are two species, *Cynomys ludovicianus* and *Cynomys leucurus* (*Sciuridae* family). Related to squirrels and resembling a small marmot, prairie dogs (especially *C. ludovicianus*) live in extensive colonies. When they perceive danger, they produce an alert signal that is a sort of yelp of two syllables. It is this yelp, which resembles that of a small dog, that must have inspired the animal's name. The adjective *de prairie* takes into account the habitat of this animal, which is only found in the short-grass prairies and the more arid plains of western North America. In 1804 William Clark wrote that the simpler name, "Pitite Chien," was used by "the french," referring to the French-speaking engagés who were members of the Corps of Discovery and the traders they met along their route (L&C, 3: 53).

In addition to *petit chien de prairie* and *petit chien*, the animal was also called *chien de prairie* (more rarely *chien des prairies*), the variant that was finally standardized in French; it is also attested in North Dakota speech (Laverdure and Allard 1983: , s.v. *prairie dog*). The accounts of western explorers written in French, like those of Giacomo Costantino Beltrami (1824: 164), doubtless favored its spread in the general language. The English equivalent *prairie dog* also played a role in the spread of *chien de prairie* in French beyond the area of influence of the voyageurs.

Although *Petit chien de prairie* seems to have been an innovation in the speech of French-speaking voyageurs, it is possible that the French designation may

have had an Algonquian origin. For example, in twentieth-century Plains Cree the name is *puskw w timosis* (Anderson 1971, s.v. *prairie*), and *paskwâw acimosis* in the closely related Michif spoken in Saskatchewan (Ahenakew 1997, s.v. *prairie dog*); these forms translate literally 'it is prairie; it is barren of trees, it is a plain' + 'little dog' (Faries 1938, s.v. *dog* and *puskwa'w*), and 'no tree growth; a prairie' + 'puppy; a little dog' (Anderson 1971, s.v. *pus' kw w* and *puppy*; Ahenakew 1997, s.v. *puppy*). Thus the question may be raised whether *petit chien de prairie* might have been a calque of a Cree designation. However, this hypothesis squares poorly with the locality of the first attestations of *petit chien de prairie*, which point toward a more southerly origin for the term. The voyageurs of the Missouri valley had very few if any contacts with the Crees in Truteau's time, nor is there any testimony from that period indicating an Alonquian origin for the name. Moreover, nineteenth-century Cree dictionaries (Watkins 1865; Lacombe 1874) lack a term for prairie dogs. It seems likely that the twentieth-century Cree forms are, in reality, recent calques of English *prairie dog* or nineteenth-century calques of the French term spread by the voyageurs and the Red River Métis.

The English *prairie dog* is first attested in 1804 in Clark's journal (entry of July 30): "this anamale [the badger] Burrows in the Ground and feeds on Flesh, (Prarie Dogs)" (L&C, 2: 430). A little more than a month later, having arrived in the area of present Nebraska, Clark specifies (entry of September 7): "we discovered a Village of an annamale the french Call the Prarie Dog" (L&C, 3: 52). It therefore appears that *prarie* [*sic*] *dog* is a loan translation of *chien de prairie*.[75]

THE VOYAGEURISMS OF TRUTEAU

With his "twenty-six years and more" of experience, it is natural that Truteau's writings reveal usages typical of the French-speaking voyageurs of the late eighteenth century. Comparison of Truteau's texts with those written by others in the Pays d'en Haut and the Mississippi valley shows continued use of several lexical items. It also permits us to understand the dynamic character of the voyageurs' vocabulary, which continued to evolve after 1796.

Truteau's fur trade vocabulary reflects usages that developed in French North America during the ancien régime. Thus he uses the personal designations *coureur de bois, engagé, traiteur, voyageur,* and *marchand voyageur,* as well as words like *crédit, équipement, s'équiper, traite,* and *traiter*, according to the well-established terminology of eighteenth-century Canada, which he undoubtedly learned at the beginning of his career as a fur trader from the merchants based in Montréal. It is clear that the readers for whom he intended his journal and description also understood those words, even if slight differences of use are perceptible. The Canadian origin of a large portion of the inhabitants of the Illinois Country as well as the close ties between the merchants of the Illinois Country and

those of Canada before, and even after, the fall of New France, meant that the terminology of the trade in use in Canada was in large part diffused to the Illinois Country. It was maintained there, with some slight variations, throughout the Spanish regime.

Another linguistic characteristic, the scarcely perceptible influence of English in his vocabulary, identifies Truteau with the traders of the ancien régime. The most convincing case for borrowing, about which there is still some uncertainty, is that of *trappe de fer*, which could have come from *iron trap* or *steel trap* or, at the very least, could have undergone a semantic attraction to the English term *trap* (see the glossary for more details). As noted earlier, the influence of English on the speech of the voyageurs is especially noticeable in the nineteenth century and that in a very variable fashion by regions and individuals as well as by sectors or domains of vocabulary. For example, it was those things that related to trade merchandise that received the first Anglicisms, at the end of the eighteenth century, especially the vocabulary for alcoholic beverages: *rhum, shrub, whiskey,* etc.

However, in Truteau's time, continuing nearly up to the 1850s, the greatest influence on fur trade vocabulary came from American Indian languages, both by calque and by direct borrowing. Among the most notable forms used by Truteau are *chichicoï, homme de médecine, mauvaise médecine, mitasse, ours blanc, peau blanche, peau rouge, pichou,* and probably *voler le(s) chemin(s)*.

Since the terminology of the voyageurs included a variety of domains, it is not possible in this study to examine the totality of this specialized vocabulary. By taking into account only those terms of which Truteau himself made use we are led to pay particular attention to the terminology relating to the organization of the fur trade as well as to the various titles and functions of the people who were directly involved in it. Next, the trade merchandise, the types of peltries, the watercraft used by the voyageurs, and river navigation also form the subjects of in-depth examination. As for the words and expressions relating to other spheres of activity or experience, such as hunting and trapping (*le cerne* 'the surround', *trappe de fer* 'iron trap', *travailler un trou à castor* 'to catch beaver around a beaver bank den', *pêcher [des castors]* 'to fish beaver', *parc* 'enclosed field into which game animals are driven', and the equipment of the voyageurs [*prélat* 'tarpaulin']), they are treated in detail in the glossary.[76] The same treatment has been given to certain terms belonging to several thematic domains at once, such as *hivernement* and *cache*, and to less specialized terms that relate to the common language in use outside the fur trade, that is, in the standard French of the time or in a regional variant. To a large extent the terms referring to topography and hydrography of the areas traveled through (*chenail* 'channel', *côte* 'hill', *détour* 'river bend', *écore* 'steep river bank, bluff', *pointe de bois* 'wooded

point', *prairie* 'prairie, plains') are classed in this category, although certain of them are discussed pp. 492–99.

THE FUR TRADE IN FRENCH AMERICA

It is true that the French traders traveled all across North America in search of furs, and in doing so, they explored a great expanse of the continent. However, this undertaking did not start at the very beginning of New France. For a long time the trade was practiced primarily in the few French settlements and posts founded in the colonies of Acadia and of the St. Lawrence River (Tadoussac, Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Montréal). Trade voyages only began after the French lost the Hurons as their principal intermediaries with the western tribes that furnished the peltries and after the conclusion of peace with the Iroquois in 1653. A number of French traders started to go to the western tribes in search of furs to resell for a profit in the colony.

Beginning in 1654, a *congé* (license) from the authorities was required to trade with the Indians. The route to the interior of the continent became safer after the end of another war with the Iroquois (1656–67), and trade voyages increased. However, the increased distribution of intoxicating beverages to the Indians, which, with the exception of certain periods, had been prohibited since the beginning of the colony, resulted in some degree of anarchy at the trading places in the Indian territory. Attempting to restore order, the colonial authorities reiterated several times the obligation to obtain a congé (available only in limited numbers) before leaving on a trading expedition. They imposed severe penalties for offenders, whom they characterized as *vagabonds*, *libertins*, and above all, *coureurs de bois* 'woods runners'.

Each congé guaranteed the monopoly on commerce in a region generally centered around a trading post. Thus each of the posts covered a territory where certain Indian bands or tribes lived; the trade was practiced there on an exclusive basis. Some posts were rented for a predetermined period to companies or partnerships of voyageurs and merchants (*fermiers*), in which the officer in charge of the post sometimes participated. In light of the considerable costs of maintaining a post in the Pays d'en Haut, competition from traders belonging to other posts was forbidden, as was that from traders lacking a congé; those who did so without a license were considered *coureurs de bois* (Vézina 2010: 32).

THE COUREURS DE BOIS AND THE VOYAGEURS

Although they were both involved in the fur trade, the coureurs de bois and the voyageurs ought not to be confused. To put it simply, the coureurs de bois were considered outlaws by the colonial authorities, while the voyageurs were regarded as legitimate traders. The coureurs de bois have been reproached for

practicing unfair competition by intercepting the Indians and their furs upriver from Montréal, thereby preventing some of the settlers and merchants of the colony from recovering their credits. They did not respect the monopolies given to the holders of congés and to the *fermiers* of the posts. They often played the role of smugglers in diverting a portion of the peltries to the English colonies, especially to Albany, where they also bought merchandise; they brought about a considerable decline in government revenues as a result of the nonpayment of fees on beaver and moose. For the colonial elite, they represented the descent to savagery *(ensauvagement)* of the French, civil disobedience, and one of the principal causes of the slow pace of clearing the land; they were seen as dangerous intermediaries in French relations with the Indians because they were uncontrollable. Despite everything, the coureurs de bois could count on many accomplices in all classes of society: settlers, merchants, and colonial administrators cooperated with them to profit from their lucrative commerce (Vézina 2010: 34).

Before the beginning of trade voyages into the interior of the continent, the expressions *courir les bois* and *courir dans les bois* were primarily attested in speaking of Indians. To call a white man *coureur de bois* was to attribute to him a mode of life essentially Indian. The very close ties established between the designation *coureur de bois* and the American Indian world were still alive in the Illinois Country in Truteau's time, as is shown by this extract from a plan for regulating the fur trade submitted to local authorities around 1795 by the St. Louis merchants (original in French):

> Sixth [rule]. The said traders, if necessary will be able to have as agents [*comis*] only whites whom they will have brought with them. . . . This is done in order to prevent vagabonds, who are on the river or who live with the savages, even the said *chasseurs*, eluding or evading the precautions of the government for the prosperity of each individual merchant. The reason for this is that these same vagabonds and *coureurs de bois* are pernicious to the whites, on account of their continual sojourn with the savages to whom they give knowledge prejudicial to the interests of the traders. (Nasatir 2002: 313)

Clearly, the coureurs de bois were not viewed as "white." Many of them were, in fact, métis, but that does not explain everything: the coureurs de bois were seen as constituting a social group on the margins of colonial civilization.

Certain coureurs de bois who wanted to integrate fully into colonial society decided to legitimize their situation by obtaining congés. Those men, for whom trade in the Indian country became their principal occupation, gave themselves the title of *voyageurs*. Their expertise in trade voyages favored the creation of a true profession gaining a certain social recognition. In legal contracts they

identify themselves as *voyageurs* or, sometimes, *marchands voyageurs*. Some, doubtless more experienced, gave themselves the title *maître voyageur* 'master voyageur', even though no guild or corporate body of voyageurs had ever been created.

The voyageur preserved his status by respecting several conditions. Thus if he refused to return to the colony at the end of his contract (if he had one), he was considered a deserter and a coureur de bois; likewise, if he transgressed certain rules of conduct, if he traded outside the limits prescribed in his congé or in other reserved territories, he was again considered a coureur de bois. Even though the term *coureur de bois* had become fairly neutral in Canadian French by the end of the seventeenth century,[77] it always remained rather pejorative in the context of the fur trade.[78] It is therefore understandable why Truteau characterized *coureurs de bois* as men come "from the north" to trade with the Mandans and Gros Ventres (Hidatsas). He considered them intruders who encroached on the trade territory of the Spanish subjects of Upper Louisiana (JQ: 158).

THE FUR TRADE AFTER THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

The takeover of control of Canada and the French possessions east of the Mississippi by the British did not bring about fundamental changes in the fur trade. After 1763 the system was taken over by Scottish and English merchants who came and settled in Montréal and Québec. The same situation prevailed in Louisiana, the territory ceded to the Spanish Crown. During the Spanish regime, which may be said to have begun with the arrival of the Spanish governor in New Orleans in 1766,[79] the trade permits valid for different territories were given by the authorities to the voyageurs as well as to the merchants who were at the same time traders and outfitters, such as the Chouteau brothers (Nasatir 2002: 65–66, 186–94). In Upper Louisiana, St. Louis (founded in 1764) rapidly became an important trading post. From there, several voyageurs went to trade among the tribes for which their permits had been given. The traders or their agents would winter among the tribes living along the lower Missouri or its tributaries (especially the Platte River). Favoritism of the authorities toward certain merchants, particularly in relation to the assignment of permits, was a source of ongoing complaint (Foley and Rice 1983: 40–41).

THE DECLINE OF THE VOYAGEURS

Since the end of the seventeenth century, the dynamic of the fur trade, with the nonnegligible risks that it entailed as well as the greater and greater capital that it required, involved a process of proletarianization of the personnel in the field and the emergence of wealthy merchants, often joined together in powerful companies. This phenomenon attained a higher development after

the fall of New France. Operating in the regions farther and farther distant, and often in several posts at a time, those companies augmented their manpower of canoeists and engaged clerks or agents to represent them in the places of trade.

In this context, many voyageurs could no longer carry on commerce profitably and joined the ranks of the engagés without renouncing their title of *voyageur*. This occasional change in status contributed to the progressive extension of the designation *voyageur* to the engagés. The work of the voyageurs and the engagés was in every way similar: both participated in the trade voyage. Thus it was natural that, beginning at the end of the seventeenth century, the engagés gradually appropriated the professional title of *voyageur*. In the course of the last decades of the French regime, the number of engagés finally surpassed that of the voyageurs, and the use of *voyageur,* in the sense of *engagé voyageur*, diffused widely; it even supplanted the older meaning without causing it to disappear completely. The equivocal character of the title *voyageur* doubtless contributed to the spread of the more specific term *marchands voyageurs* as the designation for the voyageurs who carried out the trade (Vézina 2010: 40–41).

TRUTEAU, THE VOYAGEUR

The original meaning of the designation *voyageur* is always alive in Truteau's writings. For him, the voyageur is above all a merchant, a trader. We can deduce that, after having participated in trade voyages as an engagé in the service of Canadian voyageurs, Truteau himself became a voyageur; it was in that capacity that he had made his living in the Illinois Country. When he speaks of his men, he characterizes them most often as engagés. In the course of the voyage on the upper Missouri, he was himself only an agent engaged by the company directed by Clamorgan and Reyhle (as indicated by the title of his journal: *Journal de l'agen[t] de la Compagnie du haut Missouri*). Nevertheless, he gave himself the title of *voyageur* in the description, which he dedicated to Lt. Gov. Zenon Trudeau, an indication that this title was more prestigious than that of *agent* or *engagé*. Subsequently, when he uses the term *voyageur* in a more general fashion, it is usually when he is alluding to experiences shared by all the members of the trade expeditions: "but I protest that all voyageurs who undertake to reach the tribes of the upper Missouri would do very well to avoid meeting them [the Sioux]" (JQ: 23); "our feet always full of thorns that the voyageurs call *pommes de raquettes* [prickly pear cactus]" (JQ: 43).

By his choice of words Truteau seems to reveal to the reader his nostalgia for the relative independence of the voyageurs at the beginning of the eighteenth century. We understand that at the time of his voyage, and up to the end of the Spanish regime, the position of the merchant voyageurs in the Illinois Country was very precarious. It was difficult to make a profit by buying merchandise

at high prices from the outfitters in St. Louis, as well as leasing from them the trading posts, which were assigned by the governor. In such a situation, some voyageurs, such as Truteau, were obliged to abandon their status as independent merchants and engage themselves to the outfitters. Truteau's bitterness is palpable in certain passages in his journal where he strongly criticizes the stranglehold that the outfitters had on the fur trade in Upper Louisiana, merchants whom he compared bluntly to pirates, paraphrasing Lahontan (see JQ: 76; Lahontan 1990, 1: 609). It is relevant to note that these passages are only included in the Québec version, a convincing indication that it was not intended to be read by the directors of the Company of the Upper Missouri.

TRADE MERCHANDISE

Truteau's vocabulary not only provides information about the personnel and operation of the fur trade in Upper Louisiana but also allows insight into the world of the voyageurs. That world included such specialized knowledge as the fauna and flora of the region, the Indians, the methods of riverine navigation, and the material realities of the trade. Among those material realities, trade merchandise occupied a special place.

The terminology that Truteau employs relating to trade merchandise corresponds to that used in the fur trade in Canada, if not throughout all of French-speaking America. Certain words were of very old usage in French; this is the case with *chaudière*, which was adopted in preference to *chaudron* or *marmite* to designate a metal receptacle (often of copper or tin), of various dimensions, used to heat, cook, or boil food, grease, maple syrup, etc.: "les fusils, la poudre, les balles, les chaudierres, et autres marchandises qu'ils se font donner de nous a crédit" [the fusils, powder, balls, kettles, and other merchandise that they make us give on credit] (JQ: 60).

The word *couverte*, which designates a covering or blanket, generally of wool, is equally of ancient origin and universal usage in the fur trade. Blankets constituted a type of merchandise much appreciated by American Indians, who quickly adopted them both as bedding and as an article of clothing to be worn wrapped around the body: "Jai couvert ce grand chef caminanbiche d'une couverte blanche" [I covered this great Caminanbiche chief with a white blanket] (JQ: 153).

The use of certain terms goes back to the first exchanges between the French and the Natives of America at the dawn of the sixteenth century. This is the case with *rassade*, which designates the small glass or enamel beads that were used to ornament clothing. The largest proportion of these trade beads came from Italy; they were produced in the Murano glass factories in Venice.[80] It would not be surprising if the term *rassade* was of Italian origin. There were many

types of beads of various colors.[81] Truteau mentions as well an "espêce de rassade bleuë, noire, blanche de la grosseur d'un oeuf de pigeon" [a type of glass blue, black, and white bead the size of a pigeon's egg] (DQ Ia: 33). This type of oval bead evoking a pigeon's egg, which Truteau seems to be the first to mention, was simply called *oeuf de pigeon* 'by traders in the American West during the nineteenth century.[82]

In addition to kettles, blankets, beads, various articles of shell, objects of silver *(argenterie* or *argenterie sauvage)*, powder, and munitions, tobacco constituted a very important item of trade marchandise. In fact, some tobacco was often given to Indians by traders to facilitate the trade, since it was used in diplomatic and religious rituals. Thus every trader had to carry with him a quantity of tobacco.

Throughout the colonial period, several ways of drying tobacco were adopted. The tobacco leaves could be laid out and then rolled along a stick, in the Spanish manner (called *roll tobacco* in English); they could also be wrapped together to form a rope that was then twisted firmly (called *twist tobacco*) (Hanson 1988: 3–6). Truteau mentions another type, the *carotte de tabac* 'carrot of tobacco'. This method was adopted by the French in America during the first half of the eighteenth century (when the first attestations of *carotte de tabac* are found in North American texts), possibly earlier. According to Hanson (1988: 6), the method was borrowed from the Indians, as several contemporary accounts seem to suggest (for example, see Tabeau ca. 1815: 39). The carrot of tobacco consisted of a number of tobacco leaves stacked together, with the central leaf pulled up; the tobacco was then bound up very tightly with a piece of cloth; the bundle had the form of a carrot, tapering at both ends. There were different sizes and different weights, for example, two, one and one-half, or one *livre*. Convenient and easy to produce, the tobacco carrot rapidly became a trade item of choice. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase, the production of tobacco carrots represented an important industry in Upper Louisiana; producers were also found in Lower Canada since the eighteenth century.

Another lexical usage relating to trade merchandise that merits explication is the word *menuité*, which Truteau uses several times (written *menuitée*): "J'ai payé leur présent sur le pied de la traitte et quelques bagatelles de plus en tabac et autres menuitées que jai données au deux principeaux chefs de ces deux bandes" [I paid for their presents at the rate of the trade and some trinkets, tobacco, and other small items that I gave to the two leading chiefs of these two bands] (JQ: 152). In historical North American sources written in French, *menuité* (and its variants *minuité* and *menuté*) was used in the plural by traders up through the first third of the nineteenth century to designate trade merchandise of lesser value, often small articles that could be traded at low prices or sometimes simply distributed as presents.

Hair Pipes

A trade item that seems specific to North America is the *noyau de porcelaine*, sometimes simply called *noyau:* "coquilles et noyaux de porcelaines ou d[']os" (DQ Ia: 33). For example, in an 1805 document:

> 18 P[ai]r[es] pendant d'oreilles [=] 2½ [plus][/] 7 noyeaux [=] 2 [plus] . . . (Malhiot 1804–5b: 6).
>
> [18 pairs pendant earrings [=] 2½ [plews][/] 7 hairpipes [=] 2 [plews] . . .

A *noyau de porcelaine* is a kind of tube that is made from a shell, originally the columella (axis of the shell) of a gastropod, such as the marine conch (Ewers 1957: 37). These tubes, which vary in length from around one and one-half to six inches, were used to make necklaces, ear pendants, or hair ornaments (from which comes the English *hair pipe*). Hair pipes were also made of bone, as Truteau indicates, as well as of silver:

> Cy joint l'etat de l'argenterie que j'ay laissé a M. Chapoton . . . [:] . . . 3 noyaux d'argent. (1788, letter of Adhemar St. Martin, Miamis, to Paul Gamelin, Vincennes, in Coleman 1909: 153)
>
> [Attached is the account of silverwork that I left with M. Chapoton . . . [:] . . . 3 silver hair pipes.]

The origin of *noyaux de porcelaine* is ancient. When Europeans arrived, shell tubes had been in use among American Indians for thousands of years; by the paths of intertribal trade, the tribes of the interior of the continent obtained them from tribes living near the Atlantic. They were made from shells gathered on the Atlantic Coast, notably on Long Island, at Narragansett Bay (Rhode Island), and on the Virginia coast. Some species of conch (of the genus *Busycon*), for example, could be used to produce small cylinders or the beads used in the making of wampum belts (Lainey 2004: 12). From the beginning of the seventeenth century, doubtless inspired by these small tubes, which were highly prized by the Natives (as well as others made of bird bones or rolled sheets of copper [Ewers 1957: 37–38]), the French began to trade them small tubes of glass manufactured in Europe, specifically called *canons (de verre)*[83] or *tuyaux de verre*:

> ils [les Hurons] traittent, ils vendent, ils acheptent, ils troquent leurs pelleteries & leur petun contre des couuertures, des haches, des chaudieres, des capots, des fers de flêches, des petits canons de verre. (1634, JR 5: 262–64)

[they negotiate, they sell, they buy, they trade their peltries and their tobacco for blankets, hachets, kettles, capotes, iron arrow points, small cylinders of glass.]

Vn chacun doit estre pourueu d'vne demi-grosse d'alesnes, de deux ou trois douzaines de petits cousteaux . . . auec quelques canons & rassades. (1637 [1638], JR 12: 120)

[Each one should be provided with a half gross of awls, two or three dozen small knives . . . with some glass cylinders and beads.]

La mõnoye dõt ils acheteront leurs viures, leur bois . . . & autres necessités, sont des petits canons ou tuiaux de verre, des couteaux, des alesnes. (1634 [1635], JR 7: 222)

[The money with which they buy their food supplies, their wood . . . and other necessities is with small cylinders or tubes of glass, knives, awls.]

At the same time, they also traded cylinders made of shell, sometimes called *canons de porcelaine:*

Au lieu de perles, & de diamans, ils portent des grains de porcelaine diuersement enfilez, des grains de chappelets, de petits tuiaux ou canons de verre, ou de coquillage. (1659, JR 44: 290)

[Instead of pearls and diamonds they wear shell beads variously strung, strings of beads, small tubes or cylinders of glass or of shell.]

Canons de pourceleine. *Einsta*. [/] Canons grands & gros de pourceleine *Ondosa*. (Sagard 1632, *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne*, in Warwick 1998: 399)

[Shell cylinders. *Einsta*. [/] Large and thick cylinders of shell *Ondosa*.]

quelques canons de porcelaine, et quelques pièces d'argent qui y furent mises. (1675, JR 60: 40)

[some cylinders of shells and some pieces of silver that were put in the dish.]

des canons de porcelaine, qui sont faits comme des tuyaux de pipe de Hollande. (Lafitau 1724, 3: 53)

[cylinders of shell that are made like the stems of Holland pipes.]

The French obtained these shell cylinders from Indians on the Atlantic Coast or through intermediaries, such as the Iroquois (Lainey 2004: 24); however, it is also known that some were purchased from merchants in New England. For example:

> le nomme Perré ayant pris la resolu[ti]on de courir les bois, estoit allé à Orange po[ur] s'aboucher avec les Anglois & pour y port[er] son castor, afin d'avoir des canons de porcelaine pour retourner traitter aux Outaouacs. (1679, BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A, vol. 5, fol. 41v)
>
> [the man named Perré, having decided to be a coureur de bois, went to Orange to confer with the English and to take his beaver there in order to get shell cylinders to return and trade with the Ottawas.]

Today the word *porcelaine* designates various species of gastropod shells of the genus *Cypraea* (*Cypraeidae* family), the shells of which are glossy and polished and the opening of which is in the form of a narrow slit; *porcelaine* also designates the shell itself (TLFi, s.v. *porcelaine*).[84] However, in the seventeenth century, the word had a wider extension and was used to designate a variety of glossy shells, specifically the conchs (*Melongenidae* family) (Richelet 1970; Corneille 1968, s.v. *porcelaine*) and clams, such as the quahog (*Mercenaria mercenaria*, *Veneridae* family). The conch shells were used to produce white beads, and those of the quahog to create purple ones (Lainey 2004: 12). These beads (small pierced cylinders) were used for making wampum belts, called in French *colliers de porcelaine*.

Tubes made of shell were called *noyaux de porcelaine* in the eighteenth century (attested in 1724):

> Ses oreilles [au jeune Iroquois] sont percées d'ordinaire en trois endroits. Les trous en sont fort grands & garnis de noyaux de porcelaine de la grosseur d'un poulce, enfilez dans des rubans qui pendent sur la poîtrine. (Lafitau 1724, 3: 49)
>
> [His ears (of a young Iroquois) were ordinarily pierced in three places. The holes were quite big and decorated with *noyaux de porcelaine* as thick as a thumb, strung on ribbons that hang down on the chest.]

In all likelihood, *noyau de porcelaine* has the same meaning as *canon de porcelaine*, although for some the two designations may have referred to tubes of slightly different form or dimension; it is difficult to determine this with certainty. It is perhaps the case in this example from 1741:

> 104 noÿeaux ronds de porceline (BAnQ-M, Fonds Jean-Alexis Lemoine dit Monière, P218, Livre de comptes de Jean-Alexis Lemoine dit Monière, p. 274)
>
> [104 round *noyaux de porcelaine*]

In any case, during Truteau's time, *noyau (de porcelaine)* in Canadian French was the equivalent of English *hair pipe*, as is verified by these extracts from a

law adopted in 1793 regulating the importation of wampum into Lower Canada and drawn up in English and French:

> HEREAS, the Article of *Wampum* in the form of Beeds, Moons or shells and hair pipes, is indispensably necessary in the Indian Trade carried on from this Province to the western Country
>
> L'ARTICLE de Porcelaine ou Wampum en forme de rassades, coquilles ou noyaux étant indispensablement nécessaire dans le commerce des Sauvages (Lower Canada 1794: 3, 4)

This new designation seems to be motivated by the fact that certain of these tubes were made from the columella of gastropod shells, such as the genus *Busycon* (knobbed conch, perverse whelk, channeled whelk, etc.); the columella would have been called *noyau* because they correspond to the compact part found in the center of the shell.[85] In the nineteenth century, the shells of queen conch *(Strobus gigas)* gathered on the more southerly coasts of the United States and in the Antilles were primarily used in the production of hair pipes by American artisans (Ewers 1957: 42). A large portion of hair pipes were manufactured near New York from the end of the eighteenth century:

> Shell hair pipes were manufactured in lengths ranging from 1–2 inches to 6 inches. They are characteristically barrel shaped, with center diameters about ⅜ inch, tapering to end diameters of less than ¼ inch. The longitudinal hole is about ⅛ inch in diameter. (Ewers 1957: 45)

Because queen conch shells are large and thick, in addition to the columella a "portion of the thickened lip of the shell" could be "broken out for making into a hair pipe" (Ewers 1957: 45).

Peltries

Truteau's writings illustrate a number of basic terms relating to the various ways of preparing hides and describing their quality.

Green Hides

In the terminology of French-speaking tanners today, a *peau verte* 'green hide' is a hide that has just been removed from the carcass of an animal and that still has its fur; it is also called *peau fraîche* 'fresh hide' (Jullien and Gavend 1974: 4; Labelle 1974: 70; Aten, Innes, and Knew 1955: 29). In the context of the fur trade in Truteau's time, the adjective *vert* 'green', applied to the word *peau* 'hide' or to the name of an animal, must have designated not only a hide freshly removed (which did not easily constitute an article of trade) but also an unprepared hide

(neither tanned nor softened by dressing) that had nonetheless received minimal treatment to ensure its preservation. If a hide was not going to be tanned within a very short period, it had to be treated to prevent it from rotting. After the flesh side was cleaned hastily (to remove the dirt, blood, and residues of flesh and fat), the hide was staked to the ground or tied to a vertical frame and left to dry (DeMallie 2001 in HNAI 13, 1: 6). The dried hide could be rehydrated and tanned later. Thus the adjective *vert* is synonymous with *cru*[86] and *brut*[87] (both meaning 'raw').

Parchment Hides

A parchment hide *(peau en parchemin)* was one that had been carefully cleaned, stretched, dehaired, scraped, and then dried, but not tanned. The work of dehairing was done with the aid of a stone or metal blade, and scraping was done with a bone (from the leg of a buffalo, for example), one end of which was well sharpened. Dehairing served not only to remove the fur but also to remove the epidermis and to thin the hide. Scraping removed the subcutaneous tissue that contained the fat cells and muscles (Jullien and Gavend 1974: 12). A parchment hide was generally smooth if the epidermis had been well scraped, and if it was not tanned it generally preserved a degree of transparency (more important for thinner hides, such as deer). In Truteau's time parchment hides were used as window panes, for example, in trading posts; they were also used to make hide canoes, drumheads, and containers for keeping meat.

Summer Beaver Skins and Deerskins

An animal was qualified as *d'été* 'from summer' when it was killed during the period from late spring to early fall. Such hides were of relatively little value in comparison with those of animals killed in winter, when the fur is longer and denser. For example, beaver provided the best fur from about the middle to the end of winter (called *castor d'hiver* 'winter beaver'). Its hide becomes thicker and its fur begins to lose its density and become finer in the spring; then its fur loses much of its commercial value (Francis and Morantz 1984: 34; Innis 1999: 64). One speaks then about *castor d'été* 'summer beaver'. The traders made the distinction between skins obtained during the warm season and those obtained in winter, and sometimes those obtained in autumn, particularly for beaver. Although the distinction was sometimes made for other fur-bearing animals, such as the otter, bear, and lynx, it seems to have been uncommon for cervine species, such as deer.

Buffalo Robes

A buffalo robe was made of a good quality hide, retaining its hair, generally obtained during the winter, the flesh side of which has been carefully tanned and softened (Wishart 1992: 96; DeMallie 2001 in HNAI 13: 6). A buffalo robe served either as clothing (worn by wrapping oneself up, as with a blanket), as a carpet, or as bedding. Robes were most frequently made from the hide of a buffalo cow (*vache*, sometimes *vache de prairie* or *vache sauvage*) rather than from the hide of a male buffalo (*boeuf*, sometimes *boeuf sauvage*, *taureau sauvage*, *boeuf illinois*, or *boeuf de prairie*), unless the latter was young (Wishart 1992: 96). In the composite *robe de boeuf*, the word *boeuf* should be understood as the generic name of the species (*Bos bison*), without regard to the sex of the animal. For Truteau, as for the traders who would come after him, the word *robe* ordinarily referred to a buffalo robe. In the seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth, especially for the traders in more northerly regions, the word *robe* was most often associated with the word *castor* 'beaver', as in the form *robe de castor.*

The composite *robe de castor* is formed from the word *robe*, used in New France to designate a long garment made by American Indians from prepared skins, fur side either in or out, generally without sleeves, and worn by both men and women in many ways. The robe could be belted either above or below the stomach, worn on the shoulders and held in place by leather laces like a cape, or wrapped around the body (Laberge 1999: 92–97). It reached the knees (93) or the heels (Bacqueville de La Potherie 1722, 1: 267–68). *Robe de castor* designated such a garment made of several beaver skins sewn together (generally five or six, but sometimes as many as twelve or as few as two). This use of the word *robe* represents an extension of meaning in comparison with the signification that the word had in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "vestement qui couvre tout le corps" [garment that covers the entire body] (Furetière) or "sorte de vêtement long, ayant des manches, qui est différent selon les personnes qui le portent" [type of long garment, having sleeves, that differs according to the persons who wear it] (Académie 1694) (also see TLFi, s.v. *robe*). *Robe de peaux* appears in 1603 in a text by Champlain ("Des Sauvages," in Giguère 1973, 1: 75); as early as 1604 *robe* clearly referred to an Indian garment made of beaver or otter skins: "La premiere sorte qui sont les grandes peaux neufves marchandes, tant de castors que loutres, creues que aprestées, en robe ou autrement se reduiront peau pour peau" [The first sort, which are the large new trade robes, whether of beaver or otter, raw or dressed, in robes or otherwise, skin for skin] (Le Blant and Baudry 1967: 84). *Robe de castor* is attested since 1613, also by Champlain (in Giguère 1973, 1: 456).

Even though beaver robes were most frequently mentioned during the early period, they were progressively supplanted by buffalo robes as the beaver population diminished and the fur trade was intensified in the western country, rich in buffalo. Buffalo robes were adopted by the whites for winter use, particularly as sleigh robes.

NAVIGATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE MISSOURI

For the voyageurs, navigating the rivers that cross the vast prairies of the American Midwest and West was little different from navigating the rivers and lakes of the Great Lakes basin and the Canadian Shield, where the bark canoe had long been the preeminent means of transportation. On the prairies and plains, birchbark and pine resin were not always available, making it necessary to procure them in advance and carry them while traveling. As that precaution was not always possible, one can appreciate the difficulty of repairing a bark canoe in case of damage or the impossibility of making another on the spot. In addition, the sun had an unfortunate effect on the watertightness of the canoes. Moreover, the two most important water courses, the Mississippi and the Missouri, were not ideal for canoeing:

> it is necessary to use great caution in sailing on the Mississippi. People do not chuse to venture themselves in canoes of bark, by reason that the river constantly carries down with the current a number of trees, or else receives them from other rivers which fall into it; and many of these trees stopping on some point of land or on some shoal, there is danger every moment of running foul of a branch or a root under water, which would be sufficient to break these frail vehicles to pieces, especially when in order to avoid an enemy or for some other reason you are obliged to travel by night, or to set out before day.
>
> They must therefore substitute pirogues in room of canoes of bark, that is to say, trunks of trees hollowed, which are not subject to these inconveniencies, but are bad going vessels, and not so easily managed. (Charlevoix 1761, 2: 237–38)

To these difficulties may be added the winding course and instability of the channels (*chenaux*, plural of *chenail*), whose configuration changed constantly, thus increasing the risk of running aground and wrecking the canoe. Consequently, other watercraft were preferred over bark canoes for traveling through those regions.

Pirogues

Since Truteau's voyage took place on the Missouri, the pirogue was the type of watercraft chosen for his expedition. Made of a hollowed-out tree trunk—often cottonwood or cypress—the pirogue was sufficiently solid not to crack open at the first shock or to be torn open when it was dragged over a sandbank. When Truteau refers to his boat as a *voiture* 'vehicle' (JQ: 1), it may seem disconcerting to modern readers because in contemporary French the word designates a wheeled vehicle, specifically an automobile. However, the word *voiture* goes back to the Middle Ages and had the meaning "mode of transport" (TLFi), a meaning that remained current into the nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic.[88] In Truteau's time, use of the word *voiture* as a designation for a boat was entirely usual among French speakers in Louisiana as well as in the Illinois Country (Ekberg 1996: 164). For example:

> L'on est tellement accoutumé à voyager dans ce pays [Louisiane] par eau, que le mot générique de *voiture* s'applique toujours à un bateau ou nacelle. Quand un habitant dit, *J'ai amené ma voiture, je vous offre une place dans ma voiture*, il faut supposer qu'il parle de sa pirogue ou de sa barque, comme le Parisien, en disant le même mot, désigne son carrosse. (Robin 1807, 2: 207)
>
> [One is so accustomed to traveling in this country (Louisiana) by water that the generic word *voiture* always refers to a boat or skiff. When a settler says, "I brought my *voiture*, I offer you a place in my *voiture*," it must be assumed that he speaks of his pirogue or his boat, as a Parisian, speaking the same word, designates his carriage.]

Barges

Besides the pirogue, voyageurs traveling on the Mississippi and the Missouri made use of several other types of watercraft that differed from those used farther north. Truteau suggested that for navigating on the Missouri, "Small flatboats, or barges [*petits batteaux plats, ou berges*], would be most suitable" (DQ Ia: 10). The word *berge* is a generic term that refers to open boats with flat or sometimes slightly rounded bottoms, used for fishing or for transporting freight. The length could vary from twelve to eighty or more feet (Hanson 1993: 2–3). It was a solid watercraft, usually narrow and made of boards, propelled by oars and often equipped with several sails, according to models. It also was called *barge*, a phonetic variant of *berge*. It was sometimes referred to as a *bateau* (or *batteau*), especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but not in all contexts; for example, in 1757 the commissioner of war posted at Québec described the English barges (*berges*) on Lake George as being *"grands batteaux"*

(RAPQ 25: 101), which shows that *bateau* could preserve a more generic semantic value in relation to *berge*. For Truteau, the word *berge* meant a "small flatboat."

According to region, community, and time period, the words *berge* and *barge* referred to specific watercraft. For most Acadians in the Maritimes, a barge was a watercraft with a rounded hull serving for coastal fishing, "à deux mâts, avec quille et beaupré, plus grande qu'un bateau de pêche, mais moins grande qu'une goélette" [with two masts, with a keel and bowsprit, larger than a fishing boat but smaller than a schooner] (Poirier, cited in Mass: 323, no. 552; Cormier 1999, s.v. *barge*1). For the nineteenth-century raftsmen of the Mauricie (in Québec), a barge was a long rowboat about twenty-five feet long (called *pointer, pointer boat, driveboat,* etc., in Canadian English; see DC), with ends pointed and sharply upturned, of shallow draft, used in logging for drive operations (Auger 1973: 382). Outside North America, in the area of Nantes (France), a barge was a small shallop (launch or longboat) used for transport (FEW *barca* 1: 251a), while in Saint-Domingue (Haiti), it was a pirogue reinforced and armed for war (JalNaut, s.v. *barge*).

In the context of the voyageurs, *berge* (and its variant *barge*) preserved nearly the general sense that it had during French settlement and designated an open wooden watercraft, flat bottomed and of varying dimensions, that served essentially for transporting merchandise and peltries. It was used in preference to the fragile bark canoe in places where navigation was risky (such as rapids, ice, rocks) and it could transport a larger cargo; on the other hand, it was difficult to carry over portages. The missionary Émile Petitot described a barge used in the 1860s by the HBC voyageurs on the network of streams and large lakes in Northwest Canada:

> Les barges sont de petits bateaux lourds, pointus par les deux bouts, et jaugeant de 8 à 9 tonnes, ce qui leur donne une capacité de 4 à 5,000 kilos. Elles mesurent ordinairement de 30 à 36 pieds de quille, vont à la rame comme à la voile et se gouvernent avec un long aviron appelé *sweep* (balai), aussi bien qu'avec un gouvernail ordinaire ou *rudder*. L'équipage d'une barge se compose de neuf à dix hommes. (Petitot 1887: 204)
>
> [The barges are small, heavy boats, pointed at both ends, gauged from eight to nine tons, which gives them a capacity of four to five thousand kilos. They ordinarily measure from thirty to thirty-six feet of keel, go by oar or by sail and are steered with a long oar called a sweep, as well as with an ordinary rudder. The crew of a barge comprises nine or ten men.]

These HBC barges were sometimes called inland boats (Robinson 1879: 115) or York boats and were modeled in part on those used on the Albany-Oswego

route and on the upper Saint Lawrence (Innis 1999: 159–60). This type of watercraft would have been equally inspired by a boat used in the Orkney Islands (Scotland), a location from which came many "servants" of the HBC (Wheeler 1985: 33). The barge to which Truteau referred was probably not very different from the barge of the HBC voyageurs. In fact, it must have resembled the *berge de Makina,*[89] or Mackinaw boat,[90] a flat-bottomed watercraft that was "pointed at both ends, and peculiarly adapted to the Indian trade" (William Snelling, cited in Hanson 1993: 2). Some were eight by thirty-six feet; others were ten by forty feet; the largest one known measured ten by sixty feet (Hanson 1993: 3–4). It was furnished with a long rudder and was sometimes equipped with a sail.[91] In the nineteenth century, Mackinaw boats were constructed on the upper Missouri in the woodyards near trading posts and served to carry the cargos of peltries to St. Louis. The usual crew of five or six men could thus profit from the downriver current to travel more rapidly and with less effort. The boat was often taken apart when it reached its destination. However, other types of barges were also used to ascend the Missouri; for example, Brackenridge ascended that river in a barge plied by twenty men (Brackenridge 1814: 200). Certain barges were towed upstream by steamboats. The barge remained one of the principal means of transport used by the trading companies, even after the introduction of steamboats (Wishart 1992: 84–85). In short, Truteau's recommendation ("Les petits batteaux plats, ou berges, seroient les plus convenables pour y naviguer") proved to be judicious.

Small Craft

The terminology for small freshwater boats generally used on shallow rivers (the Platte River and other tributaries of the Missouri, for instance) was relatively well developed: *canot de chasse*, *canot de peau (de boeuf)*, and *boucaut (de peau de boeuf)* are North American lexical innovations that seem to have been specially used by the voyageurs.

Cajeu, which designates a simple floating platform usually made of logs tied together, was a word of more general usage, attested throughout the French peopling of North America as the equivalent of *radeau* 'raft'. In his journal Truteau used both terms, although *cajeu*, which appears only once, is used in a metonymic sense, *cajeu de pelteries* 'raft-load of peltries' (JS: 45). The word *cajeu* (also written *cageux,* among other variants) appears often in narratives of western travel in which voyageurs or French-speaking guides participated; the account of Comte Francesco Arese (1837–38) provides a good example:

> Now I must explain what a *cageux,* the sort of raft we made, is. It is put together of four pieces of wood formed into a square with their ends

> overlapping, fastened with ropes or stalks of creepers. Over this one ties a buffalo robe, and on that are placed the baggage and the hydrophobes, which is to say, those who do not know how to swim. The whole contraption is floated and a man or two men swim and push it, or else they tow it by a rope between their teeth; and thus the *cageux* crosses the river [Omaha Creek, Iowa]. (Arese 1975: 80, translated from the original French)

Canot de chasse 'hunting canoe' seems to have been first recorded by Truteau. Although the term is relatively little attested subsequently, it is nonetheless found three-quarters of a century later in one of the most important Québécois literary works devoted to the voyageurs, Joseph-Charles Taché's *Forestiers et voyageurs* (1863: 52–53). Often called *petit canot de chasse*, such small bark canoes were constructed to navigate the shallow tributaries of the larger rivers traversed by the voyageurs. Hunters and trappers in search of game ascended the tributary rivers using small canoes that could only accommodate two paddlers (Collot 1826, 1: 380). Such canoes were light and therefore easy to portage. They were also used for small fishing expeditions and were sometimes called *canot de pêche* (fishing canoe).[92] Although voyageurs generally procured this type of canoe from Indians, some of them were capable of making canoes themselves on site, if the materials were available. This is the case with the hunting canoe made by Truteau's engagés in November 1794 (JQ: 52).

Many American Indians used this type of bark canoe, including the Micmacs and the Malecites in the East; the hunting canoe of the Micmacs usually measured between nine and fourteen feet (Adney and Chapelle 1964: 58, 70).

Canot de peau(x) 'skin canoe' is a generic term that designates a boat that could resemble a bark canoe, but the covering of the hull was made of animal skins. Although it was less common than bark canoes among the Indian groups living in the area of the paper birch (*Betula papyrifera*), skin canoes were used by Indians living elsewhere: "All the Indians who dwell on the prairies make use of skin boats on account of the scarcity of wood" (Kurz 1937: 100). The voyageurs rapidly adopted it. The name that they gave it in French could be more specific and indicate the type of animal whose skin served in its manufacture, especially *boeuf* (buffalo), *cerf* (elk), and *orignal* or *élan* (moose):

> Il pût enfin de son bateau de peau faire comme les patrons de Lyon, lesquels[,] arrivant à Avignon ou à Beaucaire ou plus bas le long du celebre fleuve du Rone [=Rhône][,] vendent leurs bateaux au terme de leur voyages; et nos Sauvages faizant la même chose, aprés un uzage qui leur a été utile[,] vendant leurs canots de peau d[']elan[,] ils en tirent des bonnes danrées des Francois[,] qui ne tardent gueres a demonter ces bateaux pour replier

> les peaux, les faire secher pour les porter au magazin des marchands qui leur en donnent ce qu'elles valent. (Nicolas, ca. 1685: 106)
>
> [He was able finally to use his skin boat like the boat masters of Lyon who, arriving at Avignon or Beaucaire or farther down the celebrated Rhône River, sell their boats at the conclusion of their trip; and our Indians doing the same thing after making good use of them, sell their moose hide canoes, obtaining good provisions from the French, who scarcely delay disassembling the boats to fold up the skins and dry them to carry to the store of the traders, who give them what they are worth.]

Those of which Truteau spoke were very common on the plains of the West and were most often made with buffalo hides, from which comes the term *canot de peaux de boeuf* (or *beuf*) that he used several times (e.g., JS: 6). He also used the generic *canot de peau* (JS: 46) with the same meaning.

The same usage is attested in the writings of the first French explorers who traveled west of the Mississippi and continued until the nineteenth century, particularly among the traders based in St. Louis. They used skin canoes made of two or more buffalo hides. Generally they were from buffalo bulls, with the hair side toward the interior (Laycock 1996: 233); on occasion, hides with the hair removed were also used. The hides were attached to a framework made of willow rods tied together with rawhide thongs or sinew. The number of hides composing the covering of the boat sometimes served as an indication of its carrying capacity:

> Vous ne ferez assavoir combien que je p[eux] mêtre [=mettre] de paquet dans un canot de dix peau pour décendre la grande rivierre, pour moi jai jamais décendue cette rivierre la. (1837, letter of Joseph Halcrow, Grand River, South Dakota, to Pierre Didier Papin, Fort Pierre, Dec. 16, MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 25, frame 243)
>
> [You can inform me how many packs I can put into a canoe of ten hides to descend the Grand River, for I myself have never descended that river.]

Since the seventeenth century, skins prepared and shaped by Indians to make skin canoes were sometimes recycled as trade items (see the citation of Nicolas, ca. 1685, above); the appearance of the composite term *peau de canot* (canoe skin) in the nineteenth century (as well as its elliptical variant *peau canot*[93] in the terminology of traders in the prairies and plains of the West) indicates that buffalo hides themselves used in the fabrication of canoes also were a product that could be traded, given that traders often had to resort to skin canoes to

take the peltries for which they traded downriver in the autumn or winter to various storehouses:

> Jai traitée 20 peau canos quil mon [sic, qui m'ont] coutée le méme prie des robe[;] je ne peut point vous dire combien ce quil man faut ra [sic, m'en faudra]. (1837, letter of Joseph Halcrow, Grand River, to Pierre Didier Papin, Fort Pierre, Dec. 16, MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 25, frame 243.)
>
> [I traded twenty canoe skins that cost me the same price as robes; I cannot tell you how many I will need.]

The other parts of skin canoes derived from the buffalo were also often obtained from Indians:

> Javais trétée boucou de suif et boucou de corde et nerf pour les canots et voyent [sic, voyant] que je fait point de canots je suis boucou enbarassée. . . . Jai ausi 40 peau de canots que je me trove [sic, trouve] enbarassée avec. (1838, letter of Joseph Halcrow [Grand River] to Pierre Didier Papin [March 20], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 25, frame 545)
>
> [I traded for much tallow and much cord and sinew for the canoes and seeing that I did not make any canoes I am much encumbered. . . . I also have forty canoe skins with which I find myself encumbered.]

Different models of various capacities were used according to the purpose for which they were intended—transporting merchandise or people, crossing water, etc. One may take as an example the moose hide boats used to transport pelteries and provisions by the Canadian trader Jean-Baptiste Perrault in 1793 in the area southwest of Lake Superior:

> Le vieux Nez Cassé passa le printems près de nous; je le louai pour me faire trois canots de peaux d'orignal de 2 peaux chaque, qui formoit chaque canot de 17 pieds de long sur 3 pieds de large. (Cormier 1978: 92)
>
> [Old Broken Nose passed the spring near us; I hired him to make three moose hide canoes of two hides each, which made each canoe seventeen feet long by three feet wide.]

Skin canoes were also found in the more northern regions. The Inuit made sealskin kayaks, which received the generic name *canot*, used together with the designations *peau(x) de loup(s)-marin(s)* or *peau(x) de phoque(s)*, as is shown in an extract from Lahontan's *Mémoires de l'Amerique septentrionale* (dated 1702):

> Voici comment elle [la traite au Labrador] se fait, dès que ces Barques [de Québec] ont moüillé l'ancre. . . . [Les Eskimaux] viennent à bord dans

> de petits Canots de peaux de Loups marins cousuës ensemble, qui sont faits à peu près comme des navettes de tisseran, au milieu desquels on voit un trou en forme de celui d'une bourse où ils se renferment assis sur les talons avec des cordes. Ils rament de cette maniére avec de petites palétes [= *palettes*], tantôt à droit & tantôt à gauche, sans pancher le corps, crainte de renverser. (Lahontan 1990: 1: 534)
>
> [This is how it (the Labrador trade) is done, after the boats (from Québec) have cast anchor. . . . (The Eskimos) come alongside in small canoes of sealskin sewn together, which are shaped much like a weaver's shuttle, in the middle of which one sees a hole in the shape of that of a purse where, seated on their heels, they close themselves up with cords. They row in this manner with small paddles, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, without bending the body, for fear of overturning.]

To designate the kayak, the lexicalized form *canot de peau* was sometimes used, as well as the name *canot esquimau*.

Boats made with animal skins were also used elsewhere (including South America and Europe) and in different historical epochs (see Lafitau 1724, 3: 186–89). Catlin (1841, 2: 138, 261), moreover, drew a connection between the Mandan skin canoe (bull boat) and the Welsh coracle.

Boucaut de peau de boeuf or, more simply, *boucaut* 'cask' designates the smallest hide canoes, which were usually made with a single buffalo hide and had the form of a tub or large bowl. They were used by Indians of the prairies and upper Missouri, including the Kansas, Hidatsas, Mandans, Arikaras, and Assiniboines. These boats were maneuvered, though with some difficulty, by two or three individuals using paddles; they could transport heavy loads and were used especially to cross rivers (Stewart 2001: 339; Wood and Irwin 2001: 353; Bailey and Young 2001: 467; DeMallie and Miller 2001: 577).

Truteau's writings (e.g., JQ: 85) furnish the oldest attestations of this voyageurism, which derives by analogy from the wooden cask called *boucaut* (described as a "middle-sized cask" in *l'Encyclopédie*) used to pack merchandise or provisions (e.g., fish). The use of *boucaut* to designate a type of skin canoe was perpetuated at least until the middle of the nineteenth century; see Tixier (1844: 233).

The term *boucaut* (sometimes written *boucaud*) was also used in the primary sense of 'cask' in the context of the fur trade in the Mississippi valley, the peltries frequently being shipped to Europe in casks:

> Nous avons toujours en magazin le dernier envoy que vous nous avez fait, nous l'avons fait mettre dans des boucauds imbibées de liqueur spiritueuse

afin de la [* pelleterie +] garantir de la mitte [= mite] . . . (1809, letter of Cavelier et Fils, New Orleans, to Mr. Robidoux, St. Louis, Feb. 20, MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 6, frame 490)

[We still have in the warehouse the last shipment that you sent us; we had it put into casks seasoned with spiritous liquors in order to protect it (the peltries) from fur mites.]

THE PERILS OF THE MISSOURI

Ascending the lower course of the Missouri River was a daunting task in Truteau's time.[94] It required combating a strong and changing current, the intensity of which varied according to the rises caused by rain and melting snow in the mountains upstream; confronting the frequent heavy winds that blew from the west in the river valley; eluding the traps created by sand bars that cropped out on the surface of the water, over which it was sometimes necessary to drag the pirogues; tacking from one bank to the other in search of less rapid water or of countercurrents; avoiding a variety of obstacles that were strewn in the watercourse; and enduring the swarms of mosquitoes or *moucherons* (gnats or biting flies) that never ceased to harass the voyageurs during the warm season.

Doubtlessly assuming that his readers knew the perils of navigating the Missouri, Truteau was not particularly voluble when he described the days given over to ascending and descending the river. Nonetheless, his journal and description illustrate the vocabulary of the voyageurs relating to the difficult and dangerous navigation of the Missouri, vocabulary which resembles that used by navigators on the Mississippi.

Embarras

In one of the rare metalinguistic passages in his writings, Truteau mentions "ces amas de bois de dérive que l'on nomme embaras, tel qu'il sen trouve communément dans le bas de cette rivierre et que l'on ne franchit qu'avec risque et peines" [those accumulations of driftwood called *embarras*, such as are commonly found downstream in this river and that can only be cleared with risk and trouble] (DQ Ia: 10). This use of the term *embarras* derives from the sense of "obstacle to passage resulting from an accumulation," attested in French since the mid-sixteenth century; in America, *embarras* has been attested in this general sense since the seventeenth century, especially to designate a mass of branches and fallen trees that impede passage in a forest. The same term was applied to the type of mass that, in wooded areas, blocked streams and small rivers and, in Lower Louisiana, bayous. When a narrow watercourse was overhung with tree branches on both sides and obstructed by fallen trees, it was

also called *embarras* (*embarras d'arbres* or *embarras de bois*), referring to a stretch that was impracticable for small boats.

In parallel fashion, in the vocabulary of the voyageurs on the Mississippi and the Missouri, *embarras* (and its rarer variants, *embarras de bois* and *embarras d'arbres*) became specialized as the designation for the masses of uprooted trees and branches carried by the current that often ended up stranded on a bank or sandbar. This use was first attested in 1701 in the Jesuit Gravier's journal of his travels from the Illinois Country to the mouth of the Mississippi; he recounted how the canoe of one of his brothers overturned and came aground just in front of a village of Arkansas Indians, "ou le Pere trouua Son Canot qui s'estoit arresté a des Embarras de bois" [where the Father found his canoe, which had stopped on a mass of wood] (JR 65: 154). In 1719 the explorer Du Tisné declared that "le Missoury est une eau fort trouble et pleine d'embarras de bois et de grandes battures, avec de forts courants" [the Missouri is a very troublesome stream and full of masses of wood and large sand bars, with strong currents] (Margry 1875–86, 6: 309).

Several years later (1727) Father du Poisson, a Jesuit missionary, testified to the diffusion of this usage among the voyageurs on the Mississippi in a letter in which he describes his journey between New Orleans and his mission in the area of present Arkansas:

> We are much more to be pitied when we find no camping-ground; then we fasten the pirogue to a tree, and if we find an embarras of trees [*embarras d'arbres*] we prepare our meal on it. . . . By the way, what we call an *embarras* is a mass of floating trees which the river has uprooted, and which the current drags onward continually. If these be stopped by a tongue of land, the trees become heaped upon one another, and form enormous piles. (JR 67: 289)

The term was even used in American English at the start of the nineteenth century (see, among others, DA, s.v. *embarras*). It was used concurrently with the word *raft*, as is illustrated in the following passage taken from Brackenridge's journal of his trip up the Missouri in 1811:

> Having made about fourteen miles, we put to shore, after passing a very difficult *embarras*. This word needs some explanation. Independent of the current of that vast volume of water rolling with great impetuosity, the navigation is obstructed by various other impediments. At the distance of every mile or two, and frequently at less distant intervals, there are *embarras*, or rafts, formed by the collection of trees closely matted, and extending from twenty to thirty yards. The current vexed by these interruptions,

rushes round them with great violence and force. We may now judge what a boat encounters in grappling round these rafts. (Brackenridge 1814: 205)

Chicot

In returning downriver the voyageurs tried to avoid the numerous tree trunks and branches mired in the mud, whose submerged and often sharp upper ends were capable of piercing a boat or of suddenly immobilizing it, at the risk of causing it to turn perpendicularly to the current, thus endangering it to overturning. These potential "pikes" of wood, particularly numerous near the banks, were called *chicots* by the voyageurs, a word that was found in common French with the meaning of "reste du tronc ou d'une branche d'un arbre coupé ou arraché" [remainder of a trunk or a branch of a tree cut or uprooted] (TLFi).

The journal of the Jesuit Paul du Ru (1700) furnishes the first allusion to the danger represented by the *chicots* on the Mississippi: "Nos petits bâtiments sont fragiles comme le verre; quand quelque chicot ou autre chose les fait crever, sitôt que cela arrive, il faut débarquer et mettre une pièce, sans quoi on emplirait en moins d'un quart d'heure" [Our little boats are as fragile as glass; when some chicot or other thing punctures them, as soon as that happens it is necessary to debark and patch it; otherwise it will be filled up in less than a quarter hour] (De Villiers 1925: 127). In Gravier's journal (1701) one finds a similar attestation "un de nos Canots ouuert par un chicot caché dans l'eau" [one of our Canoes was split by a snag hidden in the water] (JR 65: 104–5).

Although Truteau did not speak of snags a great deal ("A l'abrie de quelques chicots et des écorres je descendis a terre" ["In the shelter of some tree stumps and the river bluffs I went ashore]" [JQ: 49]), several later travelers mentioned them:

> Nous arrivons se jour a bélvu [=Bellevue] avec baucoup de trouble[.] Nous avions un bon capitaine . . . mais ille n[']avoit jamais montez le Missoury a l'aux basse[;] la cantitez [=quantité] [de] chico et l'eaux basse le demontaix [=démontaient]. (1840, letter from A. L. Papin to Pierre Chouteau Jr. & Co., August 20, MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 27, frame 394)

> [We arrived today at Bellevue with much trouble. We had a good captain . . . but he had never ascended the Missouri during low water; the quantity of snags and the low water was disconcerting.]

> De Saint-Louis, nous avions mis sept jours pour faire en bateau à vapeur ce trajet de cinq cents milles [jusqu'à West-Port]; ce qui peut donner la mesure des difficultés que présente la navigation sur le Missouri au sortir de l'hiver; alors, il est vrai, les glaces sont fondues; mais l'eau est encore si basse, les

> bancs de sable si rapprochés, les chicots si nombreux, que les bateaux ne peuvent avancer qu'avec les plus grandes précautions. (De Smet 1844: 87)
>
> [From Saint Louis we had taken seven days to go by steamboat the distance of five hundred miles (as far as West Port), which can provide a measure of the difficulties presented by navigation on the Missouri at the close of winter; it is true indeed that the ice has melted but the water is still so low, the sandbars so near to one another, the snags so numerous, that boats cannot advance except with the greatest precaution.]

Batture

The voyageurs on the Missouri and the Mississippi constantly faced the obstacle of sandbars. In standard French as spoken in Paris in Truteau's time, *batture* was a seafaring term that designated a "fond rocheux à fleur d'eau, sur lequel la mer se brise" [rocky shoal at water level on which the sea breaks] (TLFi). In America, the term developed a larger semantic range. For example, the settlers on the banks of the St. Lawrence estuary used the word *batture* to designate the "partie du rivage asséchant à marée basse" [part of the shore becoming dry at low tide] (GPFC), a usage attested since 1631 (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 77). From the seventeenth century on, *batture* preserved a general sense that was very close to that used by French sailors, evoking a reef that was an obstacle to navigation.

In Lower Louisiana and in the Illinois Country, *battures* were the bands, large and flat, of sand or alluvium that bordered a watercourse, especially in the bends (Read 1931: 5; Dorrance 1935: 58). Even though they were above water level much of the year, these sandbars were generally submerged when the river was in flood. In some cases a sandbar that began as a simple elevation of the bed under the surface of the water could emerge as an island through the accumulation of sand and alluvium carried along by the current. However, for French speakers in the Mississippi valley, a treeless island or one covered only with short vegetation preserved the name *batture*, especially if it was attached to a bank during periods of low water (Duke of Württemberg, in Lottinville 1973: 242). Thus the expanses of sand or alluvium that were strewn throughout the beds of the Mississippi and the Missouri—and which the voyageurs were able to navigate over or cross by dragging their boats—were known by the name *batture*.

According to the circumstance, the term might designate a high bottom or a chain of rocks extending under the water (Bossu 1768, 1: 87n1) or even a bank of sand or alluvium at the surface of the water or rising above it,[95] more or less mobile, whose form is constantly fashioned by the current.[96] Although it was customary throughout French-speaking America to characterize *battures*

in terms of their composition—for example, *batture de vase* (mud), *batture de sable* (sand), *batture de roches* (rocks)—it seems that in the usage of the boatmen and the voyageurs of the Mississippi and the Missouri, the lexical field of *batture* was somewhat more specialized or technical. For example, Truteau's writings furnish the oldest attestations of *batture coupée* (JQ: 11, DQ Ia: 10), a term that may have been used exclusively by navigators on the Missouri and whose precise meaning is uncertain. Besides Truteau's journal, only that of Joseph A. Sire (pilot of the steamboat *Omega*, belonging to Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Co.) gives an occurrence of it:

> Mardi 23 [mai] Pris le même chemin que l'année d[ernièr]re[,] passé à droite de l'ile aux Chicots. . . . Bien passé les 3 iles, mais vis à vis les buttes à Bijoux[,] à l'ile Desiré[,] me fourre dans les batures coupées et bientot nous sommes en travers. (1843, MHS, Fur Trade Collection, "Logbook of Capt. Joseph A. Sire," 67)
>
> [Tuesday 23 (May) Took the same route as last year, passed to the right of Chicot Island. . . . Passed the three islands without difficulty, but across from the Bijoux Hills, at Desiré Island, hit cut sandbars and soon we were crosswise.]

In all probability, *batture coupée* referred to a bank of sand or alluvium crossed by a channel barely deep enough to allow a pirogue to enter, but not sufficient for it to pass through without running aground.

Rapicage

The voyageurs on the Missouri not only feared becoming stranded but equally feared capsizing and thus losing their merchandise, their peltries, and, too often, their lives. The danger of seeing their boat overturn was particularly great during the operation called *rapicage*, another term for which Truteau gives the first known attestation:

> On n'y trouve en aucun endroit de ces amas de bois de dérive que l'on nomme embaras, . . . ni aucune batture dangéreuse soit coupée, soit mauvais rapicage. (DQ Ia: 10)
>
> [Nowhere does one find those accumulations of driftwood called *embarras*, . . . nor any dangerous sandbars, either cut sandbars or *mauvais rapicage*.]

The meaning of this term would be obscure if another voyageur on the Missouri, Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, had not also made use of it in a revised version of the journal of his voyage along the upper Missouri in 1803–5:

> Le plus grand risque qu'ils aient a courir est d'embarder ["provoquer un mouvement de rotation prononcé de l'embarcation, hors de la direction de sa route"] sur les batures sous l'eau, particulierement au rapicage, ou la voiture derivant en travers touche tout a coup & peut capoter ou être ensablée dans un instant. (ca. 1815, Tabeau, ACAM, "Voiage de P^re^ Ant^ne^ Tabeaux," 5)
>
> [The greatest risk they have to run is to lurch [*embarder* 'to provoke a pronounced rotating movement of the boat outside the direction of its route'] on the sandbars under the water, especially when the *rapicage* is made, in which the boat, drifting crosswise, suddenly touches the bottom and can capsize or be stranded in an instant.]

Rapicage (written *rapiquage* in DN: 3; also see Abel 1921: 159–60) is clearly derived from the verb *rapiquer* (variant of *repiquer*), attested in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a term used in reference to sailing ships, meaning "diriger le navire au plus près du vent, après qu'il s'en est écarté" [steer the vessel close to the wind, after having strayed from it] (Bescherelle 1856).[97] Its use by the voyageurs of the Missouri implies that the verb *rapiquer* was extended to river navigation. Following Tabeau, the moving force with which the voyageurs had to contend in this instance was not wind but the current. Thus *rapicage*/*rapiquage* may have referred to the maneuver that consists of steering the boat back in the direction of a channel after the combined action of the current and the course acquired turned it aside.[98]

The importance of performing this maneuver successfully each time the channel deviates and follows the windings of the watercourse is obvious. As it tacked, the boat risked turning sideways and colliding with a sandbar; since the boat's equilibrium became precarious in this position, the force of the current could overturn it. Thus a *mauvais rapicage* is either a *rapicage* maneuver poorly executed or a place where the *rapicage* maneuver is risky because of the presence of one or more *battures* toward which the boat might be diverted and run aground while perpendicular to the current. Given the ambiguity of the context, it is difficult to determine for certain which of these two Truteau means. The second interpretation implies the existence of the term *rapicage* in a metonymical sense of "place along a watercourse where *rapicage* is necessary," that is to say, a place where the channel changes direction suddenly. This usage may have been current in the speech of the voyageurs during Truteau's voyage; in any case, it is more clearly attested three decades later:

> La barge des Sioux est a une journée en arriere de nous [sur le Missouri] quoiqu'elle marche mieux, mais les desertions l'ont beaucoup affaiblie. . . .

> Avant hier encore j'ai envoyé a m^{r}. Lemonte 3 hommes pour l'aider & le prevenir du danger qu'il y aurait de se jeter au rapicage au dessus de la prairie du Feu ou nous mêmes avons failly perir. (1827, letter of J.-P. Cabanné to Pierre Chouteau Junior, [Sept. 8], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 13, frame 731)
>
> [The barge of the Sioux is a day behind us (on the Missouri) although it goes faster, the desertions have much weakened it. . . . Late yesterday I sent three men to M. Lemonte to help him and to warn him of the danger that there would be of rushing into the *rapicage* above Fire Prairie where we ourselves almost perished.]

Montage d'eau

The danger represented by the *battures* was less during periods of rise, that is, when the waters were high. Nonetheless, although the rises facilitated the task of the steamboat pilots who traveled the Missouri beginning in the 1830s by lessening the risk of being stranded, they made life more difficult for the oarsmen of Truteau's time. Fed by the numerous watercourses that have their sources in the Rocky Mountains, the Missouri was subject to numerous rises that started in mid-March or early April and lasted until the end of June (Wishart 1992: 83). This phenomenon Truteau called *montage d'eau* 'rising of water'; some others after him said *montage*. This use, which appears to have been peculiar to North American French, is attested for the first time by Truteau. In the nineteenth century *montage* is found in the writings of traders working for the companies based in St. Louis as the term designating any rise in the level of a watercourse (especially of the Missouri) that might hinder or help navigation:

> Le montage nous donne sur le nez & ralentit n[otre] marche. Il ne vient pourtant pas d'en haut. Il faut que ce soit de la r[ivière] des Cancés & de la Platte. (1835, letter of J.-P. Cabanné to Ms. Pratte, Chouteau & Co. [May 26], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 24, frame 102; written on the Missouri, six miles below the Kansas River)
>
> [The rise struck the boat on the bow and slowed our progress. It did not come, however, from above. It must have been the Kansas River and the Platte.]
>
> À moins d'un montage, qui je crois se fera attendre longtems[,] je ne vois pas comment nous pourrons passer bien des mauvaises places que je connais par expérience. (1841, MHS, Fur Trade Collection, "Logbook of Capt. Joseph A. Sire," 23)

[Unless there is a rise, which I think will keep us waiting for a long while, I do not see how we might successfully pass the bad places that I know from experience.]

The term was also used to mean 'flood':

J[']ai perdu par un montage qui a eu lieu en sept[embre] aux moins 15 a 1600 minots de mays. (1826, letter of Auguste Pierre Chouteau [written near the Verdigris River] to B. Pratte & Co. [Dec. 17], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 13, frames 214–15)

[I lost by a flood that took place in September at least 15–1600 *minots* of corn.]

LEXICAL VARIATION IN THE USAGE OF THE VOYAGEURS

The terminology of the voyageurs seems to have been the same from one region to another throughout North America, excluding Acadia. This relative uniformity reflects the fact that the voyageurs came from the colony in the St. Lawrence valley and the settlements in the interior (such as Detroit and the Illinois Country) that sprang up during the eighteenth century, a time after which much of their terminology was already established (e.g., *canot, engagé, chaudière, coureur de bois, paquet, portage, rassade, traite, voyageur*). The mobility of the personnel of the Indian trade, as well as the complementary role played by explorers, military men, and missionaries, contributed to the diffusion of terms throughout the various regions.

However, some lexical domains were subject to variation in relation to the use or frequency of use of particular terms and variation in their meaning. Such variation is evident in Truteau's lexicon, which contributes to its originality. Certain terms are associated with natural and cultural realities specific to the Missouri region (e.g., *boucaut, boeuf sauvage* and *vache sauvage, cabri, chevreuil à longues oreilles, petit chien de prairie, petit loup de prairie*). Other terms, commonly found in texts relating to travels in regions farther north or east are absent or appear only infrequently. For example, the nouns *rapide(s)* 'part of a river where the current accelerates' and *portage* 'the carrying of watercrafts and goods overland from one navigable water to another' appear only one and three times, respectively, in the Québec version of the journal and description,[99] whereas they appear some 400 and 270 times, respectively, in the journal of Joseph Laurent Normandin describing his 1732 voyage in the present region of Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean (Québec).[100] Normandin traveled by bark canoe through rough terrain and navigated several rivers (requiring frequent portages), whereas Truteau's voyage took place on the Missouri.

In examining a large corpus of historical texts such as those of Truteau, one can definitely perceive a certain lexical variation in the usage of the voyageurs, but it is necessary to guard against drawing conclusions too hastily, given the limitations imposed by the relative richness and the uncertain representativeness of each of these documents in regard to lexical usage. For example, in light of the available documentation, it is tempting to consider the term *rapicage*/*rapiquage* as a lexical item specific to the voyageurs of the Missouri valley. In the same way, everything leads to the belief that *peau rouge* was an ethnonym originating in the Illinois Country that the interpreters of Indian languages and, to a lesser extent, the voyageurs and traders of that region were the first to spread (see pp. 454–56). Nonetheless, new information could invalidate these hypotheses.

The same caution is necessary when interpreting the nonuse of specific terms in the writings of a voyageur. Although specific lexical terms belonging to the vocabulary of the fur trade are present in Truteau's writings, others are remarkable for their absence, for example: *apichimon*,[101] *apola* (or *apala*),[102] *drouine* (or *derouine*),[103] *plu* (or *plus*).[104] From their absence we cannot conclude that Truteau was unfamiliar with these terms. It is evident that Truteau's texts cannot in themselves illustrate the entire vocabulary of the voyageurs; other texts documenting the lexical uses of the voyageurs of the Missouri allow the deduction that Truteau knew the terms *apichimon*, *apola*, and *plu*. In the case of *plu*, it may be supposed that he saw it as a term belonging to the jargon of the traders, of the spoken language, having no place in his journal, which was intended for the directors of the Company of the Upper Missouri. Likewise, the type of trade that Truteau was able to carry out did not lend itself to the *drouine*, which was practiced primarily in the context of competition between traders. On the contrary, Truteau's voyage was strongly influenced by the requirement of establishing diplomatic relations and meeting with the various Indian tribes, the result of which is a remarkably high frequency of expressions constructed from the phrases *en calumet* and *en parole* (e.g., *aller en calumet*, *venir en calumet*, *aller en parole*, *venir en parole*), which are generally absent from the writings of other traders.

In addition, the terminology of the voyageurs varied over time, being constantly transformed by processes of lexical innovation and disuse; it continued to develop as the territory traveled over and the number of Indian tribes visited increased. It is therefore likely that certain voyageurisms prevalent in the nineteenth century were not yet used in Truteau's time.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE VOCABULARY OF THE VOYAGEURS: THE CASE OF THE WORD *PARE-FLÈCHE*

The use that Truteau made of certain terms provides information about the evolution of the trade vocabulary. For example, the restricted extension that he gives to *pare-flèche* may indicate that, at the end of the eighteenth century, this word had not yet undergone the semantic transformation by which it changed from meaning 'shield' to designating 'rawhide', the material from which the Indians made shields, as well as other objects.

From the end of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *pare-flèche* is attested (concurrently with the word *bouclier*) in North American French to designate the shields that Indians carried into battle to protect themselves from arrows; the name derived from this function: *pare* 'fend, ward off' and *flèche* 'arrow'.[105]

The word is first attested in Tonty's 1693 memoir; unfortunately, the context does not make its meaning obvious:

> Un de mes gens se trouvant beaucoup incommodé d'un morceau de pare-flèche que nous avions mangé le soir. (in Margry 1861: 422)
>
> [One of my men was greatly indisposed on account of a piece of parfleche that we had eaten the night before.]

The first really clear attestation of the meaning 'shield' dates to about 1724:

> Ces nations élèvent de très beaux chevaux qu'ils estiment beaucoup. . . . Ils leur façonnent des selles et des brides à la manière espagnole, et ils les caparaçonnent de la même peau, qui suffit pour les garantir des flèches; ils se servent aussi de pare-flèches, espèce de bouclier, et de vestes de même cuir apprêté, qui leur sont d'une grande défense. (Bénard de la Harpe [or Chevalier de Beaurain] 1831: 214)
>
> [These tribes raise very beautiful horses that they value highly. . . . They make saddles and bridles for them in the Spanish manner, and they caparison them with the same hide, which suffices to protect them from arrows; they also make use of *pare-flèches*, a type of shield, and coats of the same dressed hide, which are a great defense for them.]

This shield, round in form, was used by all the tribes of the plains and prairies. It is usually described as being between eighteen and thirty inches in diameter and was most often made from thick buffalo bull, elk, or moose hide, well scraped and dehaired (Joutel in Margry 1875–86, 3: 277; Bradbury 1817: 93n75; Domenech 1862: 480; Ross 2000: 104). Among the western tribes, the skin from

the neck of a buffalo bull was preferred because it produced the thickest and strongest hide. The method of preparing the hide varied. Among the tribes of the upper Missouri, the hide was smeared with glue made from buffalo hooves, and it was shrunk to half its size over a fire, which made it up to twice as thick and strong.[106] Some performed the operation of shrinking and thickening by heat after having tanned the hide with a mixture of brains, liver, animal fat, and vegetable material (HAINM 2: 592–93; Domenech 1862: 480). Some tribes made shields by folding a piece of buffalo hide in such a way as to create three or four thickness, then letting it dry and harden in the sun (Bradbury 1817: 93n).

Capable of effectively stopping an enemy arrow or a blow from a knife or a tomahawk, the shield constituted an important defensive weapon. It is solely for designating such an object that Truteau used the word *pare-flèche* (e.g., DQ III: 30). In the eighteenth century, the use of shields was still prevalent among the tribes of the upper Missouri, who did not use firearms (a ball from a fusil could ordinarily go through the shield). That was the case, for example, among the Gens du Serpent (Eastern Shoshones) (Parks 2001 in HNAI 13, 2: 967), who lived in the area of present Wyoming. La Vérendrye wrote in 1743:

> Voyant qu'ils [Gens du Serpent] se mettoient en devoir de nous attaquer, je jugeai bon de leur décocher quelques coups de fusil, ce qui les obligea de se retirer promptement, cette arme étant très respectable parmi toutes ces nations qui n'en ont pas l'usage, et leur pare-flèches ne pouvant pas les garantir de la balle. (Chevalier de LaVérendrye [1742–43] in Burpee 1968: 422)
>
> [Seeing that they (the Shoshones) were setting about to attack us, I judged it well to discharge several fusil shots, which compelled them to retreat promptly, this weapon being very respected among all the tribes who do not have the use of them, and their *pare-flèches* being unable to protect them from a ball.]

Despite the introduction of firearms, the shield remained in use at least until the middle of the nineteenth century, being very useful in close combat with traditional weapons.[107] Moreover, the sacred power believed to inhere in the shield because of the paint and decorations that represented a vision experience made the shield of much more than practical importance in warfare.

By synecdoche, the word *pare-flèche* underwent a semantic evolution and began to designate the material used to make *pare-flèches* (shields). This meaning is attested in the French of traders who were active west of the Mississippi after 1824. For example, at the end of an inventory of peltries loaded on barges at

Fort Kiowa, on the Missouri River in present-day South Dakota, is the notation "Pareflêches p[ou]r les [pelleteries] couvrir" [Pareflêches for covering the (peltries)].[108] Pare-flèche was generally buffalo bull hide scraped, dehaired, stretched, and dried; it is probable that the hide from the neck or back was particularly designated by this name.[109] However, it is also possible that the word *pare-flèche* was applied equally to hides that were whole, especially those of buffalo bulls, which were not generally used to make robes and did not constitute an object of trade as important as the hides of buffalo cows.[110] The hide from the neck and back of buffalo cows doubtless may also have been used for *pare-flèche*; this part, which was thicker and more difficult to tan, was often cut from a hide when preparing it as a robe, and the two separate pieces were then stitched together (Kurz 1937: 261). It is possible that sometimes a *pare-flèche* may have undergone some amount of tanning, since Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J., characterized it as "a carefully prepared hide" (letter of January 26, 1852, in De Smet 1875: 124); however, the French-language sources do not provide a precise description. The English-language sources, on the contrary, often describe *pare-flèche* (English *parfleche*) as rawhide, that is, raw (unprocessed) hide, which excludes any tanning (HAINM 2: 203; also DC and DAW, s.v. *parfleche*).

In any case, once stripped of flesh, dehaired, stretched, and dried, these buffalo hides, whole or not, were used to make such items as containers, quivers, and moccasin soles.[111] Box-shaped parfleche containers were made by cutting the hide and stretching it over a kind of form; after it dried, the hardened hide kept the desired shape (Dodge 1882: 254).

Parfleches were prepared by Indian women and could be exchanged with traders for merchandise. For example, the trader Joseph Picotte recorded that the trading expedition of one Lachapelle in 1836 on the Terbleue had reported "46 robes[,] 22 pies [= pièces] de viande [et] 5 parfleche" (MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 24, frame 359).[112]

In the context of the trade, parfleches were above all used to transport merchandise, peltries, and food. They were also used as coverings to protect the peltry packs. When used for this purpose, they preserved the name *pare-flèche*.[113] It is difficult to determine whether they were simply hides that had been prepared as parfleche or they were fashioned in some manner, for example, in the form of a bag, to make them better suited for this use. The French-language sources do not allow us to discover with certainty a second process of synecdoche by which the word *pare-flèche* came to designate not only a hide but also the objects made from it. (On this point the English-language sources prove to be useful.)

An exception to this generalization in regard to French-language sources is a reference to a hide prepared as parfleche on which various designs were

painted and that was used ceremonially. Such a hide is mentioned by De Smet in a letter dated January 26, 1852:

> J'ai été témoin pour la première fois d'une singulière coutume, à laquelle les Sheyennes semblent attribuer autant d'importance que les peuples asiatiques en attachent à la circoncision; c'est "la coupure ou section qui se fait aux oreilles des enfants." Parmi les Sheyennes, la mère choisit elle-même l'opérateur et lui remet le couteau entre les mains. Elle étend son enfant sur une peau soigneusement préparée et peinturée, que les Canadiens appellent "pare-flèche." Tandis qu'un des parents ou des amis tient le petit patient dans une position immobile, l'opérateur fait cinq incisions dans le bord de chaque oreille; ces incisions sont destinées à recevoir plus tard des ornements. (De Smet 1875: 123–24)
>
> [I witnessed for the first time a singular custom to which the Cheyennes seem to attribute as much importance as the Asiatic peoples attach to circumcision; it is "the cutting or opening that is done to the ears of infants." Among the Cheyennes, the mother herself chooses the operator and places the knife between his hands. She lays her infant down on a hide carefully prepared and painted that the Canadians call "pare-flèche." While the parents or friends hold the small patient in an immobile position, the operator makes five incisions in the edge of each ear; these incisions are destined later to receive ornaments.]

During the nineteenth century, the voyageurs' *pare-flèche* passed into North American English in the form *parfleche*.[114] The oldest attestation mentioned in the historical dictionaries of English is attested from 1827 (DC and OED, s.v. *parfleche*), but the term actually appears in the 1823 account of Maj. Stephen H. Long's expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains:

> These traders offered various articles, such as coarse cloths, beads, vermillion, kettles, knives, guns, power, lead, &c. in exchange for horses and mules, bison-robes, and parchment or parfleche. (James 1905, 3: 207)

The gallicism did not designate a shield but rather a raw hide, dehaired, stretched, and dried, generally that of a buffalo (DA; DC; OED; WW). The lexical borrowing first occurred in the context of the fur trade west of the Mississippi, extending to the Columbia valley in the Northwest. In parallel fashion, through the medium of the French-speaking engagés, guides, and interpreters who took part in the western exploring expeditions, *pare-flèche* was borrowed by English speakers, and the appearance of the word *parfleche* or one of its variants in published travel accounts no doubt contributed to its diffusion.

At first, the term referred not only to a buffalo hide that had received a certain preparation, sometimes painted to fulfill ceremonial or symbolic functions,[115] but also to a hide used to transport merchandise and peltries (as the French-language sources indicate). For example, in 1829, when he was in charge of Fort Vancouver, Washington, John McLoughlin wrote:

> Copy of Requisition forwarded to Mr J Work for outfit 1830[:] 15 Lodges[,][116] 80 Apichimons[,][117] 60 Par fleches[,] 40 Pack Saddles[,] 300 fm Pack cords[.] (Barker 1948: 44; this passage is cited in part in DC, s.v. *parfleche*)

B. Brown Barker (1948: 353n1 to letter 2), the editor of McLoughlin's letters, interpreted *par fleche* to mean 'saddle bag'.[118] Although plausible, in this context *par fleche* may have referred only to a hide used to cover or protect the packs and not to an actual saddle bag made expressly for transport on horseback. The same uncertainty characterizes the 1826 journal of John Work, a Hudson Bay Company trader in the Plateau area, which may be the oldest attestation of the word in the sense of *container*: "Two parrefliches & a little meat which the men left in cache is stolen by the Indians" (Elliott 1914: 265).

Recognizing the uncertainty, the importance of parfleches in the outfitting of voyageurs in the West makes it likely that the hides underwent at least minimal transformation to give them the form of a bag; for example, holes might be cut along the edges so that a cord could be passed through and tightened to enclose peltries and merchandise. Other, more specialized parfleches, were intended for the transport and preservation of provisions (especially buffalo meat and pemmican). Parfleches of any kind must have been designed for transport by horses or mules. Alexander C. Anderson, former chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, affirmed that when he was in charge of Fort Colville, Washington, between 1848 and 1851:

> The main trade for exportation was of course in furs; there were other trades which had local applications; I allude particularly to the trade of the Flatheads in "par-flêches" and "appichemous" [*sic*]; these are buffalo skins dressed in a particular way for the purpose of horse transport, and they were indispensable to the operations of the [Hudson's Bay] Company, for the purpose of carrying on their transport from Okanagan to the more northerly posts. ("British and American Joint Commission for the Final Settlement of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies," ca. 1868: 36)

Finally, in 1888, *parfleche* is clearly attested as the designation of a type of saddle bag that can be hung on a pack saddle:

> A real parflêche is merely a hide, with holes punched all round its edges, into which all your small oddments are bundled, and laced up by a thong through the holes, making a square kind of leather bag, which is then hung by loops on to the horns of the pack-saddle. (Lees and Clutterbuck 1888: 299–300; this passage is cited in part in DC, s.v. *parfleche*)

In English, the word *parfleche* generally refers to a folding rectangular bag of dehaired rawhide resembling a large envelope, painted with geometrical designs in bright colors (see Torrence 1994). In another context, cowboys in the western United States adopted the gallicism *parfleche* to designate their "warbag," that is, a bag containing their personal belongings (WW, s.v. *parfleche*).

Since the material it designated was often used to make moccasin soles, *parfleche* is attested in the nineteenth century in the speech of the mountain men as a designation for this type of sole:

> The snow was about fifty foot deep, and the bufler lay dead on the ground like bees after a beein'; not whar we was tho', for *thar* was no bufler, and no meat, and me and my band had been livin' on our moccasins (leastwise the parflesh) [note by Ruxton: Soles made of buffalo hide], for six weeks (Ruxton 1959: 17)[119]

The term *parfleche* was also associated with the transport and preservation of food; it designated different types of containers for preserving buffalo meat and specifically pemmican. This semantic evolution appeared much later; it is clearly attested in 1882 by Richard Irving Dodge, an American army officer who spent years on the western frontier:

> These boxes are of various shapes and sizes, some made like huge pocket-books, others like trunks. All are called "parfleche." . . . As soon as these parfleches or trunks are ready for use, the now thoroughly dry meat is pounded to powder between two stones. About two inches of this powdered meat is placed in the bottom of a parfleche, and melted tallow is poured over it. Then another layer of meat is served in the same way, and so until the trunk is full. It is kept hot until the whole mass is thoroughly saturated. When cold, the parfleches are closed and tightly tied up. The content, so prepared, will keep in good condition for several years. (Dodge 1882: 254–55)

Relying on Dodge's testimony, toward the end of the nineteenth century *parfleche* had become an English generic term for anything that was made of rawhide: "Among almost all the Plains tribes, the common name for a skin so prepared is 'parfleche', and almost everything made of it is also 'parfleche'"

(Dodge 1882: 254, cited in DA).[120] Although the French-language sources do not attest to the use of the term *pare-flèche* with the same semantic value attributed to it by Dodge, it is plausible that it had been in use by some French-speaking traders with as great an extension during the second half of the nineteenth century or even earlier. In any case, it seems fairly certain that Truteau would have found this signification quite surprising.

Appendix 2

A Glossary of Voyageur French

ROBERT VÉZINA

This glossary defines and discusses the history of a number of French words and expressions relating to the fur trade that appear in Truteau's writings. These lexical items were selected because they might be puzzling to readers unfamiliar with the vocabulary employed by the voyageurs. Some of them were also chosen because of their importance or interest for the history of the French language as spoken in North America.

For each entry, the definitions are given immediately after the grammatical information and only according to the meaning or meanings the lexical item has in Truteau's texts: the Seville version of the *Journal* (JS, 1795), Washington version (JW, 1795), and Québec version (JQ, 1796) and the Québec version of *Description abrégée du haut Missouri* (DQ, 1796). In some cases this creates what appear to be inconsistencies, since not all meanings of each word or expression in the glossary are found in Truteau's writings. For example, under *loup cervier*, two meanings are given ('Canada lynx' and 'hide of this animal'), whereas under *pichou* there is only one ('bobcat'); this is because Truteau's texts do not include use of the latter term to mean 'the hide of the bobcat'.

For some words, other meanings from the writings of various authors are also recorded in the discussion following the definition. Variants, synonyms, quotations from additional historical sources, and English equivalents are given as appropriate. The partial and absolute synonyms introduced by SYN are found in Truteau's texts.

An English translation of a French quotation introduced by Transl. is taken from the same source as the French. English translations in square brackets following a French quotation are mine.

Argenterie f. n. (also used in pl.) 'silver items of various kinds, especially jewelry and accessories (armbands, bracelets, brooches, crosses, gorgets, etc.), intended for native people and made especially for the fur trade'. Collective noun equivalent to *silver works* as used by English-speaking traders.

This specialized use, peculiar to the fur trade, derives from *argenterie* in the general sense of '*vaisselle & autres meubles d'argent*' [silver pots and plates, and other silver household goods] (Académie 1762), but with a

slight extension of meaning, since the word referred essentially, in common usage, to the *'vaisselle ou utenciles d'argent'* [silver pots and plates or utensils] (Furetière) (since 1611) and to the silver instruments or utensils (cross, vase, stoup, candleholder, etc.) used for liturgical ceremonies (since 1562; FEW *argentum* 25: 192b). The first attestation is found in the 1751 account by François Picquet, a French missionary, of his journey on Lake Ontario:

> l'on a voulu imiter les Anglois dans les bagatelles qu'ils vendent aux sauvages comme bracelets d'argent et autres, etc; les sauvages ont confronté les uns et les autres et les ont pesés à ce que m'a assuré le garde magazin de Niagara et il s'est trouvé que les bracelets de Choneguen [=Choueguen 'fort Oswego'] étoient aussi pesant[,] d'un argent plus pure et d'un meilleur goût et qu'il ne leurs coutoît que deux castors, tandis que l'on vouloit les vendre dans les postes du Roy dix castors, au lieu de nous accréditer nous nous sommes ainsy discrédités cette année parmi les nations de sorte que cette **argenterie** vat rester en pure perte dans le magazin du Roy. (Picquet 1996: 46)
>
> [some people wanted to reproduce the trinkets that the English trade to the Indians, like silver bracelets and other things, etc.; the Indians compared them with the others, and they weighed them, as the fort Niagara quartermaster assured me. It happened that the bracelets from fort Oswego were as heavy, made of a purer silver, of a better taste, and that they cost them only two beavers, whereas they were traded for ten beavers in the (French) king's posts. Thus, rather than gaining credit, we discredited ourselves among the Indian nations, so that these silver works will remain in the king's store, at a complete loss.]

The use of the word in the plural (the nonspecialized meaning) is attested in Canada and France (TLFi, and GPFC, s.v. *argenteries*).

SYN. ARGENTRIE [ARGENTERIE] SAUVAGE f. n. (also used in the plural)

Truteau (JS: 32) provides the first known attestation of *argenterie sauvage*. The adjective *sauvage* means 'intended for American Indians'.

Assassin m. n. 'assassination'.

This use is attested from the middle French period (since 1560) (FEW *hasis* 19: 69) but was not accepted as correct usage in Truteau's time: "Ceux qui disent, *il a commis un assassin*, pour dire, *un assassinat*, parlent très-mal" [Those who say *he commited an assassin*, meaning *a murder*, speak very badly] (Féraud, 1787–1788, s.v. *assassin*).

Batture f. n. 'sandbar in a river; shoal'. See appendix (1: 492–99).
The term usually refers to a sandbar below the surface of the river or one that is exposed at low water (so as to form an island, for instance); it also can refer to a stretch of river beach.

Batture coupée f. n. 'shoal or sandbar crossed by a channel just deep enough for a vessel with a shallow draft to pass over'. See appendix (1: 492–99).
This definition of *batture coupée* ('cut sand bar') is conjectural.

Belette f. n. 'weasel'.
Truteau probably referred to the long-tailed weasel (*Mustela frenata*), a species found only in the New World.

Berceau de nuit m. n. 'covered outdoor bed providing protection against mosquitoes and other stinging insects'.
The compound word *berceau de nuit* ('night cradle') appears only in Truteau's journal; however, *berceau* is attested with the same meaning as early as 1702 in Lahontan's *Nouveaux voyages*:

> On fait des **berceaux** toutes les nuits pour s'en garantir. C'est-à-dire qu'on plante en terre de petites branches d'arbres en demi cercle, de distance à autre, élevées de deux pieds, après quoi on étend dessous un petit matelats fort étroit, avec des draps & la couverture. Ensuite on couvre ce berceau (qu'on fait si long & si large qu'on veut) d'un grand linceul qui trainant à terre de tous côtez empêche ces insectes d'entrer. (Lahontan 1990, 1: 295)
>
> [*Berceaux* are made every night for protection. That is to say that small tree branches, about two feet high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle at a certain distance from one another, after which a small mattress, very narrow, is spread out with sheets and a blanket. Next, the *berceau* (which is made as long and as wide as one wishes) is covered with a large sheet that reaches to the ground on all sides to prevent these insects from entering.]

Berceau is a derivative of *ber*, both meaning 'cradle'. *Ber* is attested as early as the Old French period (twelfth century) and comes from vulgar Latin **bertium*, which has probably a Gaulish origin (TLFi); *ber* was already out of use in the standard language during Truteau's time, replaced during the seventeenth century by *berceau* (attested from 1472), but it was still used in some regional French varieties as well as in Canadian and Acadian French (it was still heard in the west, northwest, and center of France at the turn of the twentieth century, and it is still used in Québec, mostly by older speakers) (FEW **bertiare* 1: 337; Blais 1998: 161).

Other observers also wrote good descriptions of the berceau, or *ber* (also written *baire, berre*), such as that by Father du Poisson, missionary among the Arkansas (Quapaw), in 1727:

> we begin by making a bed of boughs so that the mattress may not sink into the mud; then we spread upon it a skin, — or a mattress and sheets, if we have them. We bend three or four canes in semicircles, the two ends of which we fix in the ground, and separate them from one another according to the length of the mattress; across these we fasten three others; then we spread over this frail structure our *baire*, — that is to say a large canvass [*sic*], the ends of which we carefully fold beneath the mattress. In these tombs, stifling with heat, we are compelled to sleep. The first thing that we do on landing is to make our *baires* with all possible haste; otherwise, the mosquitoes would not permit us to use them. [JR 67: 287–89 (translated from the French)]

Dumont's *Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane* (1753) provides another good description:

> They began by raising some cabins for the soldiers, who till then had slept under tents, or under "**berre,**" a kind of bed, made on the ground, and covered by means of a ring above, with a large tent-cloth eighteen ells long and five or six wide. Without this precaution it would be impossible to close an eye all night on account of the trouble given by the musquitoes and gnats. [French 1853: 17 (translated from the French)]

From these two passages, it appears that *ber* was used to refer broadly to the entire shelter (the bed itself, the structure above it and the protective covering) and, more specifically, to the mosquito netting (cloth, canvas, gauze). Truteau wrote *berceaux de nuit* in referring to the shelter as a whole (JQ: 13), but he may have called the mosquito netting itself *berceau* (or *ber*). How a word originally meaning "cradle" came to designate both a night shelter used by travelers in the wild and, more specifically, a mosquito net is somewhat puzzling.

It might be tempting to explain this semantic extension by influence from words like *baire, bar,* and *bârra,* regional variants of the word *barre* ('cross-bar') found in eastern France (Alsace and Franche-Comté) at the end of the nineteenth century that refer to an enclosure or a hedge, sometimes made of posts and branches intertwined, or to a mobile barrier (FEW **barra* 1: 255b, 258b). However, this hypothesis is highly unlikely, since very few colonists came to Louisiana from those regions. Actually, the

hypothesis of a close connection or a direct affiliation between *ber* and the word *barre* and its variants, as proposed by Read (1931: 3), DARE, and RHWUD (s.v. *bar*), should be rejected for semantic reasons and morphological ones (e.g., *barre*, *baire*, etc., are feminine, whereas *ber* is masculine). It is much more plausible that *ber* and *berceau* came to refer to the type of covered night shelter of the voyageurs because it resembled a cradleboard put on the ground (which was also called *berceau* or *ber*). Many types of cradleboards have at least one wood bow or hoop "protruding out in front of the baby's head" (Minor and Minor 1978: 192), which can be seen to resemble the structure of the voyageurs' *berceau*. An even more likely explanation is that this type of shelter may have been called *berceau* because it looks like a little archway; indeed, since the sixteenth century, by analogy with the shape of a cradle, the word *berceau* also means an arbor or a trellis archway covered with greenery (TLFi, Richelet, Furetière, Académie, Littré). By analogy, the name *berceau* was given to the covered outdoor bed of the voyageurs.

In Truteau's time, many Canadian speakers were more likely to use the variant *ber* instead of *berceau*, which explains why *ber* seems to have become rapidly more established than *berceau* in the speech of the voyageurs. However, *berceau* was also in use in Canada and may have been considered more correct or refined, which could explain why Truteau chose to use it.

Finally, the meaning of *ber* as 'mosquito netting' developed through metonymy, since such a netting was an important part of this type of night shelter. From the speech of voyageurs, missionaries, and soldiers, this meaning was adopted into Louisiana French usage. For example, a mosquito netting made of a large piece of gauze used over a bed is called a *ber* (Ditchy 1932: 48).

The term *ber* was adopted into English by the end of the eighteenth century (DA) with various spellings (*baire*, *bear*, *bier*, etc.), the most common being *bar* (DARE, RHWUD); it is now used in the compound *mosquito bar*. This French loanword appears a number of times in the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition (Hartley 2004, s.v. *bar*[2]).

Berge f. n. 'undecked boat of varying size used for inland navigation, built of planks, with a generally flat or slightly rounded bottom'.

Truteau used *berge* to designate a small flatboat (DQ Ia: 10). See p. 485–87.

Bête puante f. n. 'striped skunk (*Mephitis mephitis*)' or 'spotted skunk (*Spilogale putorius*)'. See pp. 455, 460.

In referring to the striped skunk, the name *bête puante* (literally, 'stinking beast') is attested from 1664, in a book written by a French colonist who came to Canada in 1634:

> Il y a d'autres animaux que l'on appelle Beste puante. Cét animal ne court pas viste: quand il se void poursuiuy, il vrine: mais cette vrine est si puante, qu'elle infecte tout le voisinage. (Boucher 1664: 60)
>
> [There are other animals that are called Beste puante. This animal doesn't run fast: when it's being chased, it urinates, but this urine is so stinky as to contaminate the entire area.]

In France, the same word was used in hunting terminology since the fourteenth century to refer to a set of wild animals having a strong and unpleasant odor, including the polecat, badger, stone marten, and fox; this set did not include the skunk because, as an animal indigenous to America, it was unknown to the French prior to coming to the New World (see FEW *pūtiscĕre* 9: 624b; TLF, s.v. *puant, -ante*). *Bête puante* is still heard in popular usage in Québec, Acadia, and Louisiana (Blais 1983: 21).

In Canada the name *bête puante* refers to the striped skunk, but on the upper Missouri it is possible that it also referred to the spotted skunk, which is found only south of the Canadian border.

Biche f. n. 'cow elk (*Cervus canadensis*)'. See pp. 457–58.

In French, the word *biche* refers generally to a female deer, being an equivalent of English *hind* and *doe*. In North America, it was rapidly applied to the female elk (also called *wapiti*; see the entry *cerf*). In fact, as the name given to the North American elk, *biche* is probably attested from 1544, in the manuscript of Captain Jean Alfonse (*la Cosmographie . . .*):

> Et y a en la terre [of Anticosti Island] forces bestes saulvaiges comme hours, porcs espiz, cerf, **biches** et dains. (in Bideaux 1986: 216)
>
> [And there is on the land (of Anticosti Island) an abundance of wild beasts such as the bear, porcupine, stags, elk, and fallow deer.]

The eastern elk (*Cervus canadensis canadiensis*) is the subspecies (if it was really a subspecies) that the French first saw in eastern New France; it is now extinct. The animal Truteau refers to is the American elk that is still found in western United States and Canada. Until recently, the American elk was considered to belong to the same species as the European red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), to which it bears a close similarity. It is easy to distinguish the cow elk from the bull elk, since only the male has antlers; moreover, the cows and their calves live separately from the males during the

summer months (Banfield 1974: 399). In the voyageurs' terminology, *biche* was sometimes used as a collective name of the species, as was the feminine noun *vache* ('cow') for the buffalo. But this was probably more motivated when they were referring to a herd of elks composed primarily of cows and calves, with some young bulls mixed in.

Blanc See *peau blanche*.

Blé d'inde m. n. 'corn, maize'. See p. 456.

Also written *blé d'Inde(s)* and *bled d(')Inde(s)* and *blee d'Inde*. *Blé d'Inde* (literally 'corn of India') is attested in France as early as 1578. The first attestation in New France is by Samuel de Champlain in 1603 (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 79). Although it fell out of use in France around the beginning of the nineteenth century, *blé d'Inde* is still current in the French spoken in Canada.

Boeuf (sauvage) m. n. 1. 'American buffalo (*Bison bison*)'. 2. 'meat of the buffalo'. See p. 460.

Boeuf sauvage ('wild ox') is attested from 1670 in René Bréhant de Galinée's narrative of his voyage of exploration in the Great Lakes: "un pays si abondant en chevreuils et boeufs sauvages, qu'ils y estoient aussy espais que le bois" [a country so abundant in deer and buffalo that they were there as thick as a forest] (Margry 1: 116). The buffalo was also called *bœuf*, first attested in 1660, "*nation du bœuf*" (JR 45: 160).

Boucaut (de peau de bœuf) m. n. 'bullboat'. Variant form: *boucot de peau de bœuf* (JQ: 185). See appendix (3.5.4.1).

Brossaille f. n. (generally plural) 'brushwood, brush'.

First attested ca. 1160 under the spelling *broçaille* (*brossaille* since 1580) (TLFi, and RH, s.v. *broussaille*), the word derives from *brosse* 'brush, bush'. Brossailles was the standard form during the seventeenth (see Richelet) and most of the eighteenth century, even though it was already challenged by the form *broussaille* (first attestation in 1564; TLFi). Treated by the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* as an equal variant of *brossaille* in 1694, *broussaille* became the preferred form in 1762 and the only accepted form in 1878 and subsequent editions (Thurot, 1: 253). Nevertheless, *brossaille* was still used to some extant in France and in Canada during the nineteenth century.

Cabri m. n. 'pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*)'. See appendix (3.4.2).

Attested from 1768 under the form *cabrit*, although it is unclear whether it is used as the generic name of the species or as the specific name of the pronghorn fawn. The first clear attestation of the word as a generic name dates to 1777, under the form *cabrite* (see Bolton 1914, 2: 95n91). Truteau is the first to give the form *cabri*, which became the most frequent

designation. It corresponds to the spelling of the word in standard French that means 'kid (of a goat)'.

Cache f. n. 'cache'.

Cache appeared in French during the sixteenth century (TLFi). In North America, the word referred to all types of hiding places (in the ground, on an enclosed platform, on a tree, etc.) where food, furs, trade goods, weapons, or pieces of equipment were stored for periods of time; it was also used sometimes to refer to the place of concealment and its content or, less frequently, to the content itself. *Cache* could also mean 'a secret place where a person or a group can hide', hence the specialized meaning of 'hunting blind', still attested in hunters' speech in Québec (PPQ, quest. 1464). In North America, the word is first attested in 1632 by Champlain: "ils bruslent vne cache de bleds qui estoient aux Peres Iesuites à Gaspey" [they burned a cache of corn belonging to the Jesuit Fathers at Gaspey] (Giguère 1973, 3: 1192). As it is illustrated in Truteau's journal, *cache* was often used in the expressions *faire cache* ('make a cache') and *en cache*, as in "mettre (quelque chose) en cache" ['put something in cache, cache something].

Cache was borrowed into English at the end of the eighteenth century (DC). It appears, for instance, in the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition (variously spelled: *cash*, *carsh*, etc.) (Hartley 2004: 31).

Cajeu m. n. 'raft-load'. This is a metonymic sense; the primary meaning of *cajeu* is 'raft made generally of logs or planks fastened together'. See p. 487.

The word is attested from 1641 in New France under the form *caieux* (JR 18: 192). The word was spelled variously throughout the colonial period. *Caieul* and *cayeux* are both found in the *Jesuit Relations* (see Blais 1998: 173; Auger 1973: 400), but the variants *cageux* and *cajeu(x)* are the most frequent; the former is attested from 1671 (FEW *cavea* 2: 553b), the latter from 1685 (Margry 1: 566). The word is probably derived from *cage* 'cage' (< Latin *cavea* 'cavity; cage'), a French word that has referred throughout history to several types of openwork objects or structures. *Cajeu*/*cageux* referred not only to a small makeshift raft but also to a timber raft, a larger assemblage of pieces of timber tied or pinned together for use in water transport.

In Truteau's time, *cajeu* (and its spelling variants) was not accepted as a standard French word (it was absent from the dictionaries), but it was still part of common usage in Canadian French. However, the standard equivalent, *radeau*, was also in use, probably as a more formal variant. The gallicism *cajeu* appears in the writings of members of the Lewis and Clark expedition (Hartley 2004: 32).

Calumet (aller en, venir en) comp. v. 'to go, to come visit someone (often members of another nation) in order to smoke the pipe of peace as a sign of friendship or reconciliation'.

These expressions reflect the use of the calumet as a symbol of peace or friendship. A delegation would go meet members of another nation, holding a *calumet de paix* 'pipe of peace'; then both groups would smoke the pipe together. *Venir en calumet* is attested at least from 1724, in the narrative of a voyage west of the Mississippi undertaken by Véniard de Bourgmont and his men:

> Il y a longtemps que nous [the Padoucas or Plains Apaches] désirons faire la paix avec les François, et dorénavant nous irons voir les François . . . et nous voulons bien faire la paix avec toutes les nations, que tu viens de nous nommer. Nous en sommes bien contents, et, ainsi qu'ils en sont témoins, je suis bien aise qu'ils l'entendent et qu'ils le voyent. Ainsy ils peuvent venir nous voir; nous **irons** aussi chez eux **en calumet**, et cela sera fort bon. [Margry 6: 436]
>
> [We have been wanting to make peace with the French for a long time, and from now on we will go see the French . . . and we agree to make peace with all the nations that you just mentioned to us. We are happy about it and, as they witness it, I am delighted that they hear and see it. Thus they can come to see us; we will go to them *en calumet*, and this will be very good.]

Canot de chasse m. n. 'canoe of modest dimensions used on small streams, as on a hunting expedition'. See p. 487.

Canot de peau(x) m. n. 'skin boat'. See p. 487.

The first attestation is from ca. 1685, in the form *canot de peau d*[']*elan* (moose skin boat). An early attestation of *canot de peau(x)* is from 1724:

> Le 1er Novembre. — Nous sommes partis à cinq heures, nous sommes arrivés sur le bord de la rivière de Missoury. . . . A midy, nous avons passé les chevaux à la nage, et M. de Bourgmont a fait faire des **canots de peaux** pour embarquer une partie du monde et les Sauvages Missoury pour descendre au fort d'Orléans. Le 2, M. de Bourgmont s'est embarqué dans un canot, six François avec luy, et les Sauvages dans les **canots de peau** avec quatre François avec eux. ("Relation du voyage du Sieur de Bourgmont," in Margry 6: 447–48)
>
> [November 1. We left at 5 o'clock, we arrived on the bank of the Missouri River At noon, we got the horses to swim across, and M. de Bourgmont

> had some skin boats made in order to embark a portion of our people and the Missouri Indians to go down to Fort Orleans. On the 2nd, M. de Bourgmont embarked in a canoe, six Frenchmen with him, and the Indians in the skin boats with four Frenchmen with them.]

For Truteau, *canot de peau* generally referred to a skin boat made with buffalo hides; to refer to such a craft, he also used the more specific term *canot de peaux de boeuf(s)* (e.g., JW: 17–18).

Carotte de tabac f. n. 'carrot-shaped bundle of tobacco that is wrapped in cloth and twine'. See p. 477.

Carotte de tabac is attested from 1723 (TLFi); in Canadian French, it is attested from 1734 (FTLFQ).

Castor m. n. 1. 'beaver (*Castor canadensis*)'. 2. 'fur of the beaver'. 3. 'a region where beavers abound; beaver country'.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the noun *castor* (a borrowing from classical Latin) replaced *bièvre* (sometimes written *byevre* during the sixteenth century) of Gaulish origin, which was used, for instance, by Jacques Cartier in the accounts of his voyages of exploration to North America. Since the twelfth century, *castor* has been used in French to refer to the species of beaver living in Europe and Asia (*Castor fiber*) (TLFi). The earliest use of the term to designate the North American species is by Champlain in 1603: "ils sont habillez de bonnes fourrures, comme d'orignac, loutre, castors" [they are clothed in good furs, such as moose, otter, beaver] (Giguère 1973, 1: 82–83).

The third sense, 'a region where beavers abound', seems to be unique to Truteau (JQ: 155), although it was likely part of the Missouri fur traders' usage. Normally, however, this concept was expressed by coupling *castor* with a word like *région*, as in the French version (1785) of a memoir written by the American fur trader Peter Pond:

> La plus grande partie de la Region a l'Est des grandes Plaines . . . est très remplis de Marais, Morasses, Terres Noyées, Lacs, Rivieres et montagnes. . . . Cette region peut veritablement etre appellée La Region des Castors. (Davidson 1967: 259)

> [The largest part of the region east of the Great Plains . . . is very full of marshes, swamps, wetlands, lakes, rivers, and mountains. . . . This region can truly be called the region of the beaver.]

Cèdre m. n. 'eastern red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*)'.

In New France, the eastern red cedar (a conifer of the *Cupressaceae* family) was called *cèdre rouge*, *cèdre rouge et blanc*, *cèdre blanc et rouge*, and simply

cèdre. The variant *cèdre rouge* is the oldest, attested as early as 1683 by Hennepin (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 88). The first probable attestation of *cèdre* with this meaning dates from 1697:

> Il y a [in Louisiana] abondance de bois de **cèdre**, et d'autres bois de diverses couleurs propres aux ouvrages de marqueterie. (Sieur Argoud to the Minister of the Marine, in Margry 4: 24)
>
> [There are (in Louisiana) an abundance of cedar and other woods of diverse colors suitable for works of marquetry.]

Following Truteau, other travelers on the Missouri noticed red cedar. For example, in the writings of Pierre-Antoine Tabeau (the Montreal version, ca. 1815):

> ce sont les deux isles des poncas, l'isle a bonhomme, l'isle aux basques, & les deux isles aux cédres, ces deux derniéres . . . sont couvertes des plus beaux **cédres** rouges qu'on puisse désirer. (Abel 1939: 67n24)
>
> [these are the two Ponca Islands, Bonhomme Island, Basques Island, and the two Cedar Islands, the last two . . . are covered with the most beautiful cedars that one could desire.]

In North America *cèdre* also refers to the white cedar (*Thuja occidentalis*). Attested since the sixteenth century, this meaning is still in use in Canadian French (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 88–89).

Cerf m. n. 'American elk (*Cervus canadensis*)'.
Attested from ca. 1538 (under the spelling *serf*) by Jacques Cartier (Bideaux 1986: 152). The American elk (or *wapiti*) was called *cerf* by the French owing to its very close resemblance to the European red deer (*Cervus elaphus*); until recently, they were still considered to belong to the same species (*elaphus*). The eastern elk (*Cervus canadensis canadiensis*) is the subspecies (if it really was a subspecies) that the French first saw in eastern New France; it is now extinct. The animal Truteau refers to is the American elk, which is still found in the western United States and Canada.

Cerne m. n. 'method of hunting wild animals, especially buffalo, by surrounding and pursuing them toward the interior of the encircled area, where the hunters can approach and kill them more easily; the hunt itself'. Corresponds to the English word *surround* (GMVF, s.v. *cerne*).

Pierre-Antoine Tabeau wrote a detailed description of a cerne in 1805 performed by Indians of the upper Missouri:

> This hunt is made in partnership and this is how it is undertaken: —As great a number as is possible advance within a certain distance from the animals and to a place designated by the soldiers. The best archers, runners, and horsemen have their places assigned. The old men begin the ceremony. . . . The partisan of the circle [*partisant du cerne*] (for there is one for it as for war) then speaks thus to the herd. . . . After this bit of eloquence, he gives the signal to the others, who leave him and advance in a way to surround the herd that is to be attacked. The circle closes in gradually, until the soldiers, being very near, send some young men windward to spear the animals. As soon as the scent comes to them, the herd takes to flight and, seeing themselves surrounded, do no more than turn and get in one another's way. The horses and the runner, much more quickly, everywhere close the way for them and bring them back to the center where the arrow and the gun kill sometimes as many as two or three hundred of them. (Abel 1939: 198, translated from French)

In a cerne, sometimes as many as two or three hundred buffalos could be killed, according to Tabeau; however, later observers gave lower figures:

> ils flèchent la vache à grand coup[;] ils en tusent jusqu'à 100 d'un **cerne.** (1836, Jean-Baptiste Defond to Honoré Picotte [Dec. 17], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 24, frame 943)
>
> [they kill buffalo cows with arrows a great deal; they kill up to a hundred of them in one surround.]

Tixier provides another good description of a cerne (Tixier 1844: 166–74; McDermott 1940: 189–95). He also described another type of cerne:

> Le **cerne** des peuplades du nord diffère de celui des Osages; ces Sauvages cernent, à proprement parler, les animaux et les forcent à courir en se serrant les uns contres les autres, entre deux lignes de chasseurs qui n'entrent point au milieu du troupeau comme nos Ouachâchêhs. (Tixier 1844: 172)
>
> The hunting of the northern tribes differs from that of the Osage; the former literally surround the animals and force them to run pressed against one another between two lines of hunters, who never ride into the midst of the herd like our Ouachachêhs. (McDermott 1940: 194)

The voyageurs' use of the word *cerne* derives from French hunting terminology (Furetière, s.v. *cerne*: "les enceintes qu'on fait à la chasse" [the

enclosures made for hunting]; the word referred not only to a physical enclosure but could be said of dogs or hunters posted around an area where the hunting was taking place (Furetière, s.v. *enceinte*). A Miami-Illinois-French dictionary (ca. 1714) uses the word in the sense of an enclosure made not by hunters but by the surrounding environment: *"8eki8i nacacanto miteg8aki8i, 8eki8i nacaca8i a8essa* [=] *poursuis la beste doucement qu elle ne sorte du cerne*" [Pursue the animal quietly so that it might not leave the circle (i.e., the surrounding forest to corner it)] (Masthay 2002: 188).

In North America the word *cerne* was used especially in the plains and prairies west of the Mississippi, where Indians employed this method for hunting big game (buffalo, elk, deer). The expression *faire le (un, les, etc.) cerne(s)* is attested from ca. 1714: *"n*[ou]*s faisons un cerne et approchons peu a peu les beu*γ [= beufx? boeufs]" [we are making a *cerne* and are approaching the buffalo little by little] (Masthay 2002: 66). Truteau used this expression (DQ, Ia: 64), and it was still in use during the nineteenth century: "lorsqu'il a expédié ses engagés pour ici la vache arrivait en abondance & les sauvages avaient fait plusieurs cernes" [when he sent his engagés here, the cows (buffalo) were arriving in great numbers, and the Indians had made several surrounds] (1831, J.-P. Cabanné to Pierre Chouteau Jr. [Feb. 2], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 17, frame 549).

Another expression conveying the same meaning was *aller au cerne:* "tous ensemble sont arrivés au village des grands Ossages, dans le tems qu'une partië de leurs gens étoïent allés au Cerne pour tuer des betes" [they all arrived together at the village of the Great Osage when part of their people had gone to the cerne to kill animals] (1751, Pease and Jenison 1940: 358). "Les animeaux sont encore loin de nous autres, il découche une nuit pour àllér au sèrne [= cerne]" [The animals (buffalo) are still away from us; they (the Indians) spend one night away from here to go to the surround] (1836, Frédérick Laboue to P.D. Papin [Oct. 23], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 24, frame 810).

The action of hunting by surrounding the game could also be expressed by the verb *cerner,* attested with this sense from ca. 1714: "ni8itchirechihan je vas apres joindre les chasseurs p[our] cerner le chevr[euil], les boeufs s il y en a b[eaucou]p" [I go after joining the hunters to "surround" deer, buffalo, if there are enough of them] (Masthay 2002: 240). The verb could function in an intransitive mode: "Décotot est venut a bout de rencontré soisentes loges des Ogalas avec les quelles il a trétés 150 robes . . . il sernes [= ils cernent] tot les deux jours" [Descoteaux finally got to meet sixty lodges of Oglala Sioux with whom he traded 150 robes . . . they 'surround'

every two days] (1837, Joseph Picotte to P. D. Papin [Dec. 17], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 25, frame 248). The verbe *cerner* was borrowed by some English-speaking traders, as is shown in the journal of Francis A. Chardon written at Fort Clark, North Dakota (entry of Nov. 23, 1834): "The Mandans crossed the river to go to *Cérne* buffaloe" (Abel 1997: 15).

Chat see *chat sauvage*.

Chat sauvage m. n. 'common raccoon (*Procyon lotor*)'.

The name *chat sauvage* 'wild cat' is attested in North America from ca. 1536 by Jacques Cartier, but the context is not clear enough to determine if it refers to the raccoon or the lynx (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 90). A less ambiguous attestation is found in Boucher (1664: 59):

> Il y a d'autres Animaux que l'on appelle des **Chats sauuages**, quoy qu'ils ne ressemblent gueres aux autres Chats; mais c'est à cause qu'ils grimpent aux arbres: ils sont plus gros beaucoup que les nostres . . . les Sauuages se seruent de la peau pour en faire des robes
>
> [There are other animals that are called chats sauvages, but they scarcely resemble our cats, but that is because they climb about in the trees: they are much larger than ours . . . the Indians use the skin for making robes.]

The name derived in part from the resemblance of the raccoon's ringed tail to that of the European wild cat (*Felis silvestris*), also called *chat sauvage*.

SYN. CHAT m. n.: Truteau (JQ: 9) used *chat* to refer to the fur of this animal.

[**Chat-tigre**] **Châtigre** n. m. See p. 460.

There can be no certainty as to what Truteau meant by *châtigre*. The most likely hypothesis is that he gave this name to what he thought was a species of spotted feline that lived in the upper Missouri region. If so, he may have been misled by seeing young cougars (*Felis concolor*), whose skin is spotted. The noun *chat-tigre*, attested from 1688, was given to various wild felines having a spotted or striped coat (TLFi). In Louisiana it is one of the names given to the cougar (Read 1931: 25). To refer to the cougar, Truteau used *tigre*.

Chaudière f. n. (more often written *chaudierre* or *chaudiere* by Truteau) 'large metal container used to cook food or to boil liquids; a kettle'.

An important trade item with Native Americans. In the sense of 'large metal container in which to heat up or boil something', *chaudière* is attested from the twelfth century. The more specific meaning of 'metal container in which to cook food' is attested in North America from 1603,

in the first book written by Champlain (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 90). This usage may be attributed to the influence of sailors, since the word with this meaning is attested from the fourteenth century in nautical terminology (JalNaut and TLFi, s.v. *chaudière*).

The word became very common in the French terminology of the fur trade.

Chef à médaille m. n. 'Indian chief who received a medal from colonial authorities as a sign of alliance and as a reward for his merit and his attachment to their interests'.

Corresponds to English *medal chief*, which is attested from 1765 (CRNC, 7:111); *medal chief* is likely a calque of *chef à médaille*, which is attested at least from 1740: "Le chef des Castachas[,] chef a médaille . . . est arrivé le 7 de ce mois" [The chief of the Castachas, medal chief . . . arrived on the seventh of this month] (1740, Delalande to Salmon [Dec. 14], BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C13A, vol. 28, f. 122)

The practice of giving medals to certain Indian chiefs was instituted by the French around the beginning of the eighteenth century (Havard 2003: 412). In Louisiana and the Pays d'en Haut, a dozen were given every year at the beginning of the reign of Louis XV (1715). The distribution of medals was one of the ways taken by the colonial authorities to increase the prestige of the chiefs who were most favorable to them and thus to strengthen the influence these men had over their people. The medal, which always bore the figure of the king on one side, was considered not only a sign of alliance with the French but also a symbol of bravery bestowed on the chief. Some privileges were associated with the possession of such a medal: the *chef à médaille* was the one to whom the French sent most of the presents they gave to his nation, so that he could redistribute them among his people. He himself received many special gifts, such as articles of clothing and guns (Balvay 2006: 247–48). The presentation of medals to chiefs was practiced by the Spanish, British, and American governments as well.

Chemin m. n. 'road; passage'; figuratively, 'communication, relationship'.

Since the seventeenth century, the word *chemin* 'road' is found in metaphorical expressions used in Indian discourse translated into French and in speeches given by French officials and traders to Native peoples. Phrases like *ouvrir les mauvais chemins* [to open up bad roads], *faire, ouvrir un (beau) chemin* [to open up a (good) road], *aplanir les chemins* [to smooth or level the roads], and *déboucher les chemins* [to unblock the roads] convey the idea of establishing a good relationship, communication, or sometimes concord or alliance between peoples or tribes or reestablishing it after it

was disrupted by a conflict or a war. In some expressions, the meaning of *chemin* is closely related to the idea of 'safe passage between two places (regions, villages . . .)'. They might be translations of Indian expressions, but in some cases a French origin seems more plausible (e.g., *aplanir le chemin*; TLFi, s.v. *chemin*).

> Le chef des Sioux . . . dit que toutes les nations avoient un père, qui leur donnoit sa protection et qui avoit le fer, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui est nécessaire, mais que luy estoit un bastard qui cherche un père, qu'il est venu pour le voir et le prie d'avoir pitié de luy. Il estala ensuite sur cette robe vingt-deux flesches, et sur chaque flesche il nomma un village de sa nation qui demandoit la protection d'Onontio et de vouloir les regarder comme ses enfans, le suppliant qu'on luy ouvrist un **chemin** pour pouvoir venir icy, comme les autres. (ca. 1695, Margry, 6:56–57)
>
> [The Sioux chief . . . says that all the tribes had a father, who protected them and who possessed the iron, that is, all that is necessary, but that he himself was just a bastard looking for a father, that he came in order to see him and beg him to take pity on him. Next he spread on this robe twenty-two arrows, and on each arrow he named a village of his tribe that was asking for the protection of the governor of New France, who shall see them as his children, begging him to open a road to him so he could come here like the others.]

Truteau makes use of many of these expressions: "les intentions de leur père espagnol étoit d'avoir un beau chemin pour tous ses enfants" [the intention of their Spanish Father was to have a good road for all his children] (JQ: 78); "tenir le chemin beau plutot que de se vanger" [to keep the road good rather than to avenge themselves] (JQ: 94); "maintenir la paix et les beaux chemins chez les nations du haut Missouris" [maintenance of peace and of good roads to the nations of the upper Missouri] (JQ: 128). See also the entry *voler le(s) chemin(s)*.

chenail m. n. 'channel; the navigable part of a waterway'.

A morphological variant of *chenal* 'channel' (suffix *-ail* instead of *-al*), *chenail* is attested in New France from 1695 and as early as 1641 under the form *senail* (Blais 1983: 32). Of common use among the voyageurs.

Chevreuil m. n. 1. 'white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*)'. 2. 'meat of the white-tailed deer'. See p. 460.

Chevreuil is the name given by the French to various middle-sized American deer, but more particularly to the white-tailed deer. It is a broadening of the meaning that the word *chevreuil* has in France (attested from the

twelfth century, first under the forms *chevrol* and *chevruel*), where it refers to a cervid of another genus living in the forests of Eurasia, the roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*). This European cervid looks somewhat like the white-tailed deer, but it is smaller and its antlers are less ramified (FEW *capreolus* 2: 304a, and TLFi, s.v. *chevreuil*). In the sources related to North America, *chevreuil* is attested from 1586 to designate a cervid in Florida, probably the white-tailed deer; in Canada, the word appears in 1613 under the plural form *chevreuls* and from 1666 under the modern form *chevreuil* (DHFQ, s.v. *chevreuil*). It was also used to designate the other North American deer of the genus *Odocoileus*, the mule deer or black-tailed deer.

SYN. CHEVREUIL ORDINAIRE m. n. Truteau also uses *chevreuil ordinaire* to refer to the white-tailed deer as opposed to the mule deer.

Chevreuil à longues oreilles m. n. 'mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*)'. See pp. 460–61.

Truteau gives the only known attestation of this compound name *chevreuil à longues oreilles* ('long-eared deer') (DQ Ia: 34).

Chevreuil à grosses cornes m. n. 'bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*)'. See p. 460–61.

Chichicois n. m. 'ceremonial rattle'.

Truteau described the *chichicois* as a small gourd "containing little stones that they shake to beat time" (DQ II: 13).

Also written *chichicoï* by Truteau (DQ Ia: 44); variants in other French documents include *chichicoi*, *chichicoüa*, *chichicoué*, *chichicouet*, *chichicoy*, *chichicoya*, *chichigoué*, *chichikoé*, *chichikoi*, *chichikoua*, *chichikoué*, *chichikoüé*, *chichiqueois*, *chichiquoi* and *chichiquoy*. Nearly all the variants show the two principal ending pronunciations, /wE/ and /wA/, which echo the variation surrounding the pronunciation of the digraph *oi* in French during the eighteenth century. Although the first two syllables are consistently pronounced *she-she*, Beltrami (1824: 128) and Perrin du Lac (1805: 271), respectively, noted the diverging variants *cicikoïes* and *chichakois*.

Chichicois is attested from 1666 (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 92). It is probably a borrowing from a pidginized variety of an Algonquian language. The word is clearly connected to the form *chichigoué* "a bottle" noted in Lahontan's French-Algonquin dictionary (Lahontan 1990, 1:739). Although the corresponding Ojibwe form normally refers to a rattlesnake (cf. *chichig8e* [Du Jaunay], *jishigwe* [Baraga], *cicikwe* [Cuoq], *zhiishiigwe* [Nichols and Nyholm 1995]), the Ojibwe name for a ceremonial rattle has the same stem as the word for rattlesnake, but ends with the suffix *-an* (*jishigwan* 'gourd-bottle for Indian ceremonies' [Baraga], *cicikwan* [Cuoq], *zhiishiigwan* [Nichols and Nyholm 1995]). *Chichicois* and its variants never

entered the common French language, although the word was used by such writers as Charlevoix, Lafitau, and Le Page du Pratz); it was mainly used in the Great Lakes region and along the Mississippi valley by explorers, traders, and missionaries until the nineteenth century. The word was sometimes used by non-French-speaking explorers (see GMVF, s.v. *chichakois*).

Chicot m. n. 'tree stump; snag'. See p. 494.

In the language of the voyageurs, *chicot* most often refers to a snag, that is, a tree stump or a tree branch stuck in the river bed and forming an impediment or hazard to navigation.

Considéré m. n. 'a leading man of an American Indian tribe, but of a rank lower than that of a great chief'.

Attested from 1719:

> A dix heures, le chef de guerre des Nassonites et six **considérés** qui l'accompagnoient, arrivèrent au-devant de nous avec des chevaux. (Bénard de la Harpe, in Margry, 6:260)
>
> [At ten o'clock, the war chief of the Nassonites and six principal men who accompanied him arrived with horses where we were.]

As a nominalized use of the adjective *considéré* 'esteemed, respected', *considéré* was used as an equivalent to *considérable*, which is attested earlier (since 1670 according to Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 94). As Perrin du Lac (1805: 201) put it, *considéré* was employed in Upper Louisiana to refer to men who "sans avoir un pouvoir réel, en ont cependant un d'opinion" [without having real power, have nevertheless the power of opinion] (quoted in GMVF, s.v. *considérés*)

The word was still used by the traders of the Missouri river region in the nineteenth century:

> Les Ricaras . . . a l'instigation d'un de leurs **considerés** (La Langue de Biche) ont resolu de piller la premiere barge qui monterait, abandonner leur village & gagner le large. (1827, J. P. Cabanné to Pierre Chouteau Jr. [Sep. 8], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 13, frame 731)
>
> [The Arikaras . . . at the instigation of one of their leading men (The Elk's Tongue) resolved to pillage the first barge that comes upriver, abandon their village, and get out into the prairie.]

Côte f. n. 'hill'.

Also written *cote*. In standard French *côte* refers generally to a slope, hillside, or coast; the meaning 'hill' seems to result from metonymy. It is

attested from 1701, in a text pertaining to the Mississippi valley (JR 65:156, 158; quoted in Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 94–95). This meaning of *côte* seems to have been used mostly in the Missouri basin (see, e.g., Tabeau ca. 1815: 5).

The voyageurs used *Côtes Noires* to designate the Black Hills of South Dakota and Wyoming and extended the name, as Thwaites (1906: 23:244n204) put it, "to the entire body of the highlands in Nebraska, and in South and North Dakota. The limitation of the term Black Hills to the particular chain now thus named in South Dakota is of recent use." The name appears in 1804 in the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition under the forms *Coat Nur*, *Court Noir*, and *Court new* (Hartley 2004: 49).

Coupeau m. n. (often used in plural) 'wood chip, wood shaving'.

A phonetic variant of *copeau* (now the only standard form), *coupeau* is attested from 1564 (FEW *cŭspis* 2^2: 1594a). It was considered old-fashioned by the Académie française at the end of the seventeenth century: "On disoit autrefois Coupeau" [*Coupeau* was formerly in use] (Académie 1694, s.v. *couper/copeau*). However, it could still be found in some dictionaries until 1771, and it stayed in use even longer in regional varieties of French spoken in western and eastern France, as well as in Switzerland (FEW ibid.) (up until the present, to some extent). It was in use in North America (see, e.g., an attestation from 1635 in JR 6:260), but the attestations are relatively scarce, a sign that it was probably never the dominant variant in Canadian French (the most common traditional name for a wood chip being the variant *écopeau* (PPQ, quest. 1296). Today *coupeau* is sometimes used as a specialized term referring to metal turnings (TLFi).

Coureur de bois m. n. 'unlicensed fur trader'. See p. 499

Coureur de bois ('woods runner') is attested from 1672 (DHFQ).

Couverte f. n. 'blanket'.

The use of *couverte* to mean 'blanket' goes back to Old French; in this sense, the word is now out of use in European French, but it is still alive in Québécois and Acadian French (especially in informal style), along with the standard word, *couverture*. *Couverte* is used in Louisiana French in reference to a counterpane (Read 1931: 32). The use of *couverte* to refer to trade blankets, which Indians used both as bedding and as clothing, is attested from 1640 (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 96).

Crédit m. n. 'credit'.

Crédit refers to selling merchandise without immediate payment; hence the expression *à crédit*, meaning 'without asking for immediate payment'. The traders would say, for example, "ils donnent ou vendent des

marchandises à credit" [they give or sell merchandise on credit] or that "ils font à crédit aux Sauvages" [they extend credit to the Indians].

More specifically, *crédit* sometimes referred to the goods given on credit or, more often, to the furs owed for repaying these goods. When Truteau writes about the "distribution des crédits" [distribution of credits] (JQ: 61), he means the distribution of the merchandise sold on credit. A similar use of the word can be found in the writing of a fur trader in Wisconsin: "Les Puants ont eté fournis de credit par Mr Rolette" [The Winnebagos were supplied with goods on credit by Mr. Rolette] (1824, Jacques Porlier to Augustin Grignon [17B30] [Oct. 5], SHSW, Grignon, Lawe and Porlier Papers, reel 4, frame 301).

Had Truteau been able to return to the upper Missouri after his 1794–95 expedition, he could have collected the furs that the Indians owed to him to pay back the goods they received on credit. He probably would have used an expression such as *retirer les crédits* [collect the credits], which was in common use among the fur traders since at least the eighteenth century: "pourra seulement l'ancien fermier laisser un engagé dans chacun desd[its] deux postes pour retirer ses crédits" [the former tenant will have the right to leave one engagé in each of both posts to collect the credits] (1747, Convention d'exploitation du poste des Miamis et celui de la rivière Blanche, BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, Des limites et des postes, série C11E, vol. 13, f. 191v).

Créole n. 'person of European ancestry born in America, especially in Louisiana'.

Créole, first attested at the end of the sixteenth century under the form *crollo*, is a borrowing from Spanish *criollo* 'person of Spanish ancestry born in a colony'. By extension, *créole* took the general meaning of 'person of European ancestry born in the colonies', attested from 1670 (see TLFi, s.v. *créole*). Thus it was once used to refer to persons of European ancestry born in the St. Lawrence valley colony. Lahontan (1702) wrote: *"les Canadiens* ou *Creoles* sont bien faits [the *Canadians* or *Créoles* are well made]" (1990, 1: 623). However, in this specific sense, *Créole* was eventually completely replaced by *Canadien,* as is also shown, for example, in Lahontan's writings: "*Canadiens,* sont des naturels de Canada nez de pere & de mere François. On appelle ceux des Isles de l'Amérique Meridionale *Créoles*" [*Canadians* are the natives of Canada, born of French fathers and mothers. Those from the islands of South America are called *Créoles*] (1990, 1: 513). In reference to the inhabitants of the Illinois Country, *créole* is attested from at least 1752: "nous avons Beaucoup d'hommes qui n'e trouve pas á Sétablir faute de fille[.] Les créolles de ce païs né daignent pas regarder un Soldat"

[Transl.: we have many men who cannot set up housekeeping for want of girls. The creoles of this country won't deign to look at a soldier] (Macarty to Vaudreuil [Dec. 7], in Pease and Jenison 1940: 768). Truteau differentiates the Canadians from the Créoles (see DQ Ib: 8). Eventually *créole* came to include persons of African ancestry born in a colony (see GMVF, s.v. *Créole*).

Découverte f. n. 1. 'discovery'. 2. 'scouting or reconnaissance operation'.
The first meaning 'action to find what was ignored or hidden' is attested from 1587 (DDL 47), though clearly of an earlier origin. The second meaning is attested from 1566 (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 98). In the latter sense the word is often used in expressions like *aller à la découverte* and *aller en découverte*, *être en découverte*: 'to go and reconnoitre, to scout, to be scouting'; also *envoyer (quelqu'un, un parti, un bâtiment) à la découverte*: 'to send (someone, a party, a ship) scouting'. These were employed not only in military and naval contexts but, in North America at least, in contexts pertaining to hunting. This use of *découverte* was progressively supplanted by the word *reconnaissance* 'examen d'un lieu, d'une position' [examination of a place, of a position], which was attested since the sixteenth century (TLFi); however, it was still common in Truteau's time, especially in North America.

Découvreur m. n. 'scout'.
In this sense, *découvreur* is attested from the thirteenth century (TLFi). Still common in Truteau's time, especially in North America, this use of the word was progressively supplanted by *éclaireur* (attested from 1792; TLFi).

Dégrad m. n. 'stop of varying length made during a trip because of bad weather'. Also written *dégra*, *degra*, *dégras*, and *dégrat* in other documents.
Attested with this sense from 1768, *dégrad* derives from *degrader*, a seafaring term applied to a sailing ship or a boat that the currents, winds, or a bad maneuver have carried away from its intended destination (JalNaut; GPFC). In Canadian French, the same verb came to be used in a similar way and was applied to a boat carried away by the current or by a storm after its mooring line had broken (GPFC). It was also used with the meaning of 'being stopped or delayed on one's way (on water or on the ground) by bad weather (storm, snow, wind . . .)' (Clapin, Dunn, GPFC). This meaning, in particular, was part of the voyageurs' usage. It tended to be used with *jour* or *journée* 'day':

> Depuis Montreal jusqu'a Michillimakina nous avons eu vingt deux **jours de degra** par la pluie, sans compter le vent. (1768, Father Gibault (Michilimakinac) to Monseigneur (Jul. 28), AAQ, 7 CM, E.U., VI-10: 1)

> [From Montreal to Michilimakinac we have been stopped twenty-two days because of the rain, not counting the wind.]

Truteau used the word in the same way (JQ: 16).

In some contexts, the word was also used with the meaning of 'delay (in transport) caused by bad weather,' as in the memoirs of the voyageur Jean-Baptiste Perrault (ca. 1830): "Nous avons continué notre route assez heureusement, avec peu de dégrat" [We kept going on our way quite fine, without much delay] (Cormier 1978: 31). The earliest example of this use can be found in 1818, in a letter of a missionary traveling by canoe with some voyageurs:

> Nous avons eu un peu de dégras dans le lac Huron et sans les iles sans nombre dont il est bordé nous l'aurions été d'avantage. (Provencher (Drummond Island) to Monseigneur Plessis (Jun. 8), AAQ, 330 CN, Rivière Rouge, I-7: 2)

> [We were delayed a little on Lake Huron, and if it were not for the countless islands along its shore, we would have been even more.]

[**Écore**] **Écorre** m. or f. n. 'steep bank (of a watercourse or of an expanse of water); a cliff or a bluff'.

Also spelled *ecorre*. Attested in French from 1606 (TLFi, s.v. *accore*[2]) and, more specifically, ca. 1695 in Canadian French (DHFQ, s.v. *écore*). *Écore* (first written *escore*) was in use, mostly as a seafaring term, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, when it was supplanted by the variant *accore*. The word comes from Middle Dutch *schore* 'steep shore' (akin to English *shore*) (TLFi, s.v. *accore*[2]).

Embarras m. n. 'mass of branches and fallen trees that impede passage in a forest or that obstruct a watercourse'. Equivalent to *raft* as used in American English (see DA, s.v. *raft*). See pp. 492–94.

Engagé m. n. 'man who hired himself for a determined period of time to an employer; an employee of a trader or of a fur trade company'. See pp. 470–71.

Attested in Canadian French from at least 1666 (RAPQ 16: 12, 13). In the fur trade terminology, an engagé was sometimes called more precisely *engagé voyageur*; one also finds such designations as *domestique voyageur* and *voyageur domestique* during the French regime (see DHFQ, s.v. *voyageur*). In theory, any man who signed an engagement contract with a fur trading company could be called an engagé; in practice, the title was generally applied to the manual laborers, that is, the men transporting the furs and

merchandise. Beginning at the end of the seventeenth century, this class of engagés gradually appropriated the tittle of *voyageurs*.

Équipement n. m. 'merchandise, supplies and sometimes traveling gear brought on a trading trip or sent to a trading post'.

Truteau also writes *équippement*. Equivalent to the term *outfit* as used by English-speaking traders. Among the voyageurs, *équipement* was often used as a feminine noun: "une petite equipement de trois à quatre Pieces de drap avec l'assortiment" [a small outfit of two or three pieces of cloth with an assortment] (1824, Joseph Crevier Deschenaux [Fort Wayne] to Ramsey Crooks [Jul. 17], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 12, frame 20).

This meaning of the term *équipement* is attested from 1683:

> [le] Sieur Hazeur qui a fourny au[x]d[its] trois voyageurs sus nommez pour leur equipement des marchandises[,] vivres[,] ustancilles et autres choses necessaires pour leur d[it] voyage. (BAnQ-M, Greffe de C. Maugue, May 22, agreement between François Hazeur and Mathieu Rouillard, Pierre Trottyer and Estienne Papillon)
>
> [Sieur Hazeur who supplied the three aforementioned traders, for their outfit, merchandise, provisions, gear, and other things necessary for their expedition.]

This voyageurism probably derived from the use of *équipement* as a seafaring term, which is attested from 1671 in the sense of "provision et assortiment de tout ce qui peut servir à la subsistance, à la sûreté et à la manœuvre de l'équipage" [supply and assortment of all that can serve for the subsistance, safety, and working of the crew] (TLFi and JalNaut).

Among the fur traders, the term *équipement* often referred to the trading goods only, which is an important contrast with the usage among seamen, for whom the term *équipement* excluded the ship's cargo (JalNaut). For both groups, however, the term was sometimes employed with the broader meaning of 'action of equipping'. Moreover, in the fur trade terminology, *équipement* acquired, during the eighteenth century, the meaning of 'goods (articles of clothing, blankets, tobacco, supplies, etc.) given to an engagé in addition to his wages'. Attested from 1766 (BAnQ-M, Greffe de F.-P. Cherrier, Aug. 26, engagement contract of François Renaudeau), this use follows from the meaning "effets distribués aux hommes de troupe" [clothes or other things distributed to privates], attested only from 1812 in European French (FEW *skipa* 17: 117a), but that was already in use in military language in Canada during the eighteenth century (e.g., Bougainville, 1757, in RAPQ 4: 251).

[**Équiper (s')**] **Équipper (s')** pr. v. 'to get an *équipement* from a merchant (said of a fur trader)'.

This form is attested from 1734 in a letter written by the Marquis de Beauharnois pertaining to the journeys of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye:

> il [La Vérendrye] avoit passé sur cet obstacle qui étoit à la verité l'essentiel, s'il n'eût trouvé à s'équiper chez des négociants qui luy ont fait les avances de ce qu'il avoit besoin, quoiqu'il fût desjà endetté de son premier équipement. (Burpee 1927: 112)
>
> [Transl.: he (La Vérendrye) had overcome the one really essential obstacle [the loss of his associates] by obtaining supplies from merchants who had let him have what he required though he was still in debt to them for his first outfit.]

The transitive verb *équiper* means 'to supply a fur trader or a trading post with trade goods and sometimes the necessary equipment for a trading trip'; it is the equivalent of the verb *to outfit* as used by English-speaking traders. It is attested from 1674:

> des amendes et autres peines portées par nôtre ordonnance dudit jour vingt sept septembre, contre ceux qui equiperont et favoriseront lesdits vagabonds et coureurs de bois. (BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A, 4: f. 95v)
>
> [fines and other penalties provided by our order of the 27th of September against those who will supply and favor the aforesaid vagrants and coureurs de bois.]

The term is a borrowing from seafaring terminology, in which *équiper* means 'armer un navire, le munir de tout ce qui lui est nécessaire pour la manœuvre, la subsistance et la défense [equip a ship, provide it with all that is necessary for working, subsistence, and defense]' (JalNaut).

[**Équippeur**] **Equipeur** m. n. 'merchant who supplies a fur trader or a trading post with trade goods, provisions, and sometimes the necessary equipment for a trading trip'. Equivalent of the term *outfitter* as used by English-speaking traders.

Équipeur is attested from 1734:

> le Sr Papin promet et s'oblige baillér et payér aud[it] Richard engagé pour ses gages et salaire . . . en peltris au prix des equipeurs. (BAnQ-M,

Greffe de F. Lepailleur de LaFerté [May 10], engagement contract of Joseph Richard)

[Sieur Papin promises and obligates himself to deliver and pay to the said Richard, engagé, for his wages and salary . . . peltries at the price of the outfitters]

The term is an elliptic variant of *marchand équipeur*, which is attested from 1715: "paiable en pelleteris[,] cour [= cours] du marchand équipeur" [payable in peltries, at the rate of the merchant outfitter] (BAnQ-M, fonds SANM [P345], A. Lemoine Monière, *Journal no 1*: 11). In this compound, *équipeur* can be considered as an adjective or as a noun with an adjectival value. However, in the written form *marchand-équipeur*, generally adopted by historians but apparently not attested in historical sources, *équipeur* is clearly a noun. These uses of the word *équipeur* (as an adjective and as a noun) seem to be the oldest in the French language. In Europe *équipeur* is attested only from 1803, with the meaning of "ouvrier arquebusier qui ajuste toutes les pièces d'un fusil" [a gunsmith who fits together all the parts of a fusil] (FEW *skipa* 17: 117a).

[**Été (d')**] **Étée (d')** complex adj. '(said of a fur or skin) taken on an animal hunted or trapped during the warm season'.

Truteau wrote *détée*. From the seventeenth century the distinction between summer beaver (*castor d'été*) and winter beaver (*castor d'hiver*) became very important in the Canadian peltry trade. Thicker and of better quality, the winter fur of the beaver and other fur-bearing animals was more valuable than their summer fur. The two designations are attested at least since 1695:

les castors d'esté passez, les mitaines, et roignures seront pris pour la moitié du prix des castors d'hiver en robes. (BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A, 13: 369v)

[dressed summer beavers, mitaines, and roignures were taken for half the price of winter beaver and robes.]

Beavers taken in autumn were also sometimes distinguished (*castor d'automne*), occasionally called *castor veule* (soft beaver) (Lahontan 1990, 1: 611). The determinative *d'été* was used not only with the name of an animal (for example, *castor d'été*, *loutre* [otter] *d'été*)—the name often taken metonymically to mean 'skin of [the animal in question]'—but equally with words directly designating the coat, such as *peau* and *pelleteries*: "toutes pelletries d'été ou vicie seront à demi-prix" [all summer peltries or those

that are spoiled will be at half-price] (1803, Collection Baby, Minutes of the Meetings of the North West Company [G1/83]: 6). Truteau mentions both the *castor d'été* and the *chevreuil d'été* (summer white-tailed deer), the latter being a rare compound word in historical documents.

[**Féverole sauvage**] **Fêverole sauvage** f. n. 'hog peanut (*Amphicarpaea bracteata*)'.

For a description of this wild plant and its two different fruits, see appendix (1:457). Truteau gives the oldest attestation (1795) of the use of *féverole sauvage* (JS: 42). There is some confusion about the identity of the plant in historical documents. Maximilian (1832–34) misidentified it as a variety of horsebean (*Vicia faba* var. *equin*a) (Thwaites 1906, 23: 276), an interpretation repeated by Abel (1997: 315n473). Maximilian's misidentification follows from the fact that the word *féverole* (variants: *faverolle*, *fèverole*, *fevrole*, *feverolle*; see FEW *faba* 3: 339b, and Furetière, s.v. *feverolle*) was sometimes associated with the kidney bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) in French from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries (particularly in reference to the dried beans), and even longer in some regional varieties of French, such as Acadian French spoken in Nova Scotia (TLF, Littré, s.v. *féverole*; Furetière, s.v. *feverolle*, Mass. 407–8, No. 784). Today, in European French, *féverole* still refers to varieties of beans (*Vicia faba minor* and *Vicia faba equina*).

The word *féverole* seems to have been borrowed by English-speaking traders. For example, Francis A. Chardon wrote in his journal at Fort Clark (North Dakota) on May 12, 1837: "All the squaws of the Village [are] out after **Feverole**, as they have Nothing else to eat" (Abel 1997: 112). Such a spring harvest can only be the underground fruit of the hog peanut.

Folle avoine f. n. 'wild rice (genus *Zizania*)'.

Also written *folle-avoine* today. In North America, there are three native plants of the genus *Zizania*: the northern wild rice (*Z. palustris*), the annual wild rice (*Z. aquatica*), and the Texas wild rice (*Z. texana*). The *folle avoine* of Truteau is likely the northern wild rice, but it could also be the annual wild rice. The plants of the North American genus *Zizania* yielding grains resembling rice or oats began to be called *avoine* (oat) sporadically during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (first attestation in 1668, in JR 51: 58; see also Furetière, and Corneille, s.v. *avoine*). In France, *folle avoine* (attested from 1547) refers to a variety of wild oat (*Avena fatua*) in some regional and dialectal varieties of speech (FEW *av na* 25: 1207b, 1215a; TLFi). In America, in the seventeenth century, since wild rice was seen as a kind of wild oat, it received the name *folle avoine* ('crazy oat'), a name attested from 1671 (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 75). In the speech of the

voyageurs, the variant *folle* was often used to refer to wild rice grains; for example, in 1804:

> A La Petite Racine [the name of an Indian], pour un demi sac de folle et un de citrouille. [Payé:] Sept chopines de rome. (Malhiot 1804–5c: [2])
>
> [To Little Root, for half a bag of wild rice and one of pumpkin. [Paid] seven pints of rum.]

Gros loup de bois m. n. 1. 'gray wolf or timber wolf (*Canis lupus*)'. 2. 'hide of the wolf'. See p. 459.

Truteau uses *gros loup de bois* 'large wolf of the woods' to designate the timber wolf, the largest of the wild canids, in opposition to *petit* 'small' *loup de prairie*, the coyote. The name is a variant of *loup des bois*, attested from 1699, in a metaphorical use, by Lamothe Cadillac:

> les forces de tous les Sauvages consistent dans l'esloignement et celles du François dans la proximité. Ces premiers sont des loups des bois; tous leurs coups se font par surprise et leurs jambes sont tousjours les garans de leur salut. (Margry 5: 160)
>
> [the strength of the Indians resides in distance, that of the French in closeness. The former are like timber wolves; they always attack by surprise and their legs always guarantee their safety.]

Loup de bois, attested from 1715 (BAnQ-M, A. Lemoine Monière, *Journal no 1*: 3), rapidly supplanted *loup des bois*, also attested from 1715 (BAnQ-M, A. Lemoine Monière, *Journal no 1*: 3). *Loup de bois* seems to have been particularly favored by the fur traders and voyageurs, together with the even more frequently used generic word *loup*; besides, it was often used to refer to the animal's hide (see JQ: 9). The determiner *de bois* served to differentiate the gray wolf, which inhabits mostly the wooded regions of the northern half of North America, from the coyote (called [petit] *loup de prairie*), which, in Truteau's time, was found essentially in the plains and prairies west of the Mississippi River. During the eighteenth century in particular, in some fur inventories, *loup de bois* contrasts with *loup marin* 'sea wolf', a name given to various species of seals.

SYN. GROS LOUP m. n.: see JQ: 158.

Gros renard See *renard*.

Hivernement m. n. 1. 'action of wintering, of spending winter somewhere sheltered; (mostly in fur trade terminology) a more or less extensive period of time spent in the Indian country during the cold season'. 2. (mostly in

fur trade terminology) 'wintering place (post, camp, cabin . . .); winter quarters'.

Also written *hyvernement* in historical documents and in the Seville version of Truteau's journal (JS: 27). The word is attested in French by 1613 (in the written form *hyvernement*) by Champlain (Blais 1983: 98n71); at that time, a stay in New France during winter, as opposed to returning to France, was called a *hivernement*. The first meaning, 'action of wintering', is common in Canadian French, along with other meanings, more or less specialized and related to the one in use among the voyageurs (for example, 'a stay in a lumber camp during winter' and 'the stay of livestock in a barn during winter') (GPFC). In the sense of 'a wintering place', *hivernement* can be found mainly in documents related to the fur trade or exploration (see JQ: 82). The first use is uncertain, but it may be attested as early as 1679 in a letter written by Daniel Greysolon Dulhut (or Du Lhut): "De mon hivernement, cabané dans le bois, à trois quarts de lieue de Sainte-Marie du Sault, ce 5 avril 1679" [From my wintering place, in a cabin, three-quarters of a league from Sault St. Mary] (Margry 6:34). A clear context for its use dates to 1750: "ce sauvage a Envoyé des parolles dans tous les hivernements des Miamis des bandes du pied froid et du Gris" [Transl.: This Indian has sent messages into all the winter quarters of the Miami of the bands of Le Pied Froid and Le Gris] (Pease and Jenison 1940: 149). *Hivernement* was also sometimes applied to things that needed to be stored during the winter, such as canoes and furs: *"payé pour l'hyvernement dun petit canot"* [:] 9 [livres] [paid for the wintering of a small canoe: 9 pounds] (1779, in Blondeau 1777–89: 38).

Homme blanc See *peau blanche*.

Homme de médecine m. n. 'shaman, healer, seer, priest'.

Truteau gives the earliest attestation of this compound word (1795):

> ce mechant homme apprenant que les Poncas ne me traitoit pas tout a fait aussi mal qu'il le désiroit . . . il les a fait avertir . . . que le nommé Salom Petit en passant cher luy, luy avoit assuré que je devois faire mourir les Poncas et les Scioux par de mauvaises medecines que je jetterois dans le feu . . . disant que par tous les livre qu'il m'avoit vû [lire] et les ecrits qu'ils mavoit vû faire cet hyvers, il connoissoit que jetois un grand homme de médecine. (JS: 47)

The expression *homme de médecine* was commonly used by the voyageurs of the Missouri to refer to all types of Indian religious leaders. Tabeau, for instance, employs it in his journal:

> Chaque homme de médecine a sa natte particuliére, qui contient tous ses mystères & qui ne s'ouvre que pour des cas d'importance. (Tabeau ca. 1815: 51)
>
> [Each medicine man has his private bundle, which contains all his mysteries, and that is opened only on important occasions.]

The English equivalent, *medicine man* (attested from 1801; DC, s.v. *medicine-man*) is likely a calque of *homme de médecine*.

The origin of *homme de médecine* is relatively complex. It is most likely a calque with a Native American double origin: Algonquian and Siouan. For the meaning 'healer', the Algonquian contribution is probably *mackikiwinini*, a form found in Ojibwe dialects (see Thavenet ca. 1815: 363) that can be analyzed as *mackiki* 'medicine, medicinal plants [*médecine*]' and *inini* 'man [*homme*]' (hence *homme de médecine*). The equivalent Siouan form occurs, for example, as Dakota **pheŶíhúta wicháštá** 'medicine man', from **pheŶíhúta** 'medicines' (literally, 'grassroots') and **wicháštá** 'man' (Riggs 1890, orthography modernized).

Mackikiwinini and its Algonquian variants occupied a large semantic field and could refer not only to a healer but to shamans in general. Thus *mackîkiwinini* could be the source of *homme de médecine*. However, another Algonquian word remains a possible source: *manitouiriniou "l'homme merueilleux"* [man of wonders] (JR 23: 276), used by Algonquian groups in the 1640s to name the interpreter and explorer Jean Nicollet because they viewed him as a manitou 'spirit'. Since *médecine* was sometimes used as an equivalent of *manitou* in the French of the Pays d'en Haut since the eighteenth century, *manitouiriniou* may have been translated *homme de médecine*.

Even though the Algonquian influence looks certain, the semantic value of *homme de médecine* as a generic designation of all types of shamans and healers seems to result from the influence of Siouan. For instance, *homme de grande médecine* (attested sporadically since 1796), could be a calque of the Dakota *wichashta wakan "homme de la société de médecine sans être médecin, mais devineur, jongleur"* [man of the medicine society, not a doctor but a diviner, a juggler] (Nicollet 1839: 5; DeMallie 1976: 269). This form is composed of **wicháštá** 'man' and *wakháñ* 'spiritual, sacred; wonderful, incomprehensible' (Riggs 1890, orthography modernized). *Wakháñ* was often translated as *médecine* or *grande médecine* (since at least 1728; Margry 6:557–58). The semantic value of *homme de médecine* as it relates to the supernatural is most probably a Dakota contribution.

SYN. HOMME DE GRANDE MÉDECINE m. n.: Truteau (1796, JQ: 83) is the earliest attestation of this compound word.

Homme rouge See *peau rouge*.

Liard m. n. 1. 'eastern cottonwood (*Populus deltoides*)'. 2. 'balsam poplar (*Populus balsamifera*)'.

According to the French botanist André Michaux in 1795, *liard* was also the name given by the French Creoles of the Illinois Country to the *Populus caroliniana* (Michaux 1889: 125), which could be the Carolina poplar (*Populus canadensis* [*deltoides nigra*]). It is not always possible to determine which species is designated in French historical documents. Truteau most likely used the word to refer to the cottonwood, but in at least one occasion (JQ: 98), he might have had the balsam poplar in mind, which he must have known during his youth in Canada. *Liard* is attested since ca. 1714 in a Miami-Illinois to French dictionary: "*mar8sintia*[:] *liar, vel* ['or'] *leïard gros et grand arbre*" (Masthay 2002: 162); it certainly referred to the eastern cottonwood. With the same meaning, the variant *lierre* is attested earlier in a French to Miami-Illinois dictionary (Pinet 1696–1702: 38). As the name of the balsam poplar, *liard* is attested from 1749 (Gaultier 1749: 399). The word originates from regional French varieties (still used in the northwest and western regions of France at the beginning of the twentieth century) where it designates the Lombardy poplar (*Populus nigra*) (FEW *lĭgāre* 5, 323b); attested from 1558 (*léard*) (TLFi).

[**Lièvre**] **Lievre** m. n. 1. 'jackrabbit'. 2. 'hare'. See pp. 458–59.

In Truteau's writings, *lièvre* probably refers both to the white-tailed jackrabbit (*Lepus townsendii*) and the black-tailed jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus*). He may also have used it as the name of the snowshoe hare (*Lepus americanus*); as a designation for the snowshoe hare, *lièvre* (written *liepvre*) is attested from ca. 1538 in the account of Jacques Cartier's second voyage to Canada (Bideaux 1986: 166).

Loge f. n. 1. 'American Indian dwelling; lodge'. 2. 'group of American Indians living in such a dwelling (serves as a unit expressing the size of a Native population)'. 3. 'den of certain animals, especially the beaver'.

In the voyageurs' terminology, *loge* was the most frequent designation for any type of Indian habitation. Although a distinction seems sometimes to have been made between *loge* and *cabane* 'cabin' (or *maison* 'house')—the former being used for transportable dwellings like tipis, and the latter for more permanent habitations, such as longhouses or earth lodges—this distinction is far from being systematic, as is exemplified in this passage of the *Jesuit Relations* from 1638:

> Nous aiant quitté il s'en alla faire vn cry public par leurs cabanes . . . il crioit à pleine teste se pourmenant à l'entour de leurs loges. (JR 11: 248–49)
>
> [Transl.: When he left us, he went to cry aloud among their cabins . . . he cried in a loud voice, walking around their houses.]

Truteau used *loge* interchangeably with *cabane*, a word sharing also senses 2 and 3; for instance, in the Seville version: "elle [bande] m'a paru estre au nomble de dix a douze cabane" (JS: 10) becomes: "Il [elle] ma parut etre de plus de dix loges" in the Québec version (JQ: 17). However, in the voyageurs' terminology, *loge* was the most common designation for an Indian dwelling.

The word *loge* is attested in French from the twelfth century, referring to a shelter made of branches or leaves (TLFi). Its use in the New World is attested as early as the sixteenth century: "le peuple assemblé cõduit ce gentil prophete en la loge" [the assembled people conduct this fine prophet into the lodge] (Thevet 1558: 67). The metonymical meaning 'group living in a lodge' is attested in 1737 by Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye:

> j'ay eté dix-huit jours a me rendre au fort de Maurepas, j'ay troûvé presque tous les jours des lôges Sauvages qui me souhaittoient bon voyage et m'offroient des vivres. (Burpee 1968: 243)
>
> [It took me eighteen days to get to Fort Maurepas. Nearly every day I came across lodges of Indians who wished me bon voyage and offered me provisions.]

Loge also served as a way to estimate the number of people in a Native village or camp. For example, Truteau wrote: "Je le suivis jusqu'a leur campement. Ils étoient au nombre de vingt huit loges" [I followed them to their camp. They numbered twenty-eight lodges] (JQ: 46).

As a designation for an animal den or shelter, *loge* is attested from ca. 1200 (TLFi). It was used in reference to a North American animal since 1609 (Lescarbot 1609b: 26). The compound word *loge de castor* (beaver lodge) is found since at least 1738 (Le Beau 1738, 1:337). Truteau referred to a big beaver lodge as *grande loge* (DQ Ia: 17). It is probable that English *lodge*, a word sharing the same origin, has been influenced by French *loge* (see DA, s.v. *lodge*).

Loup See *gros loup de bois*.

Loup cervier m. n. 1. 'Canada lynx (*Lynx canadensis*)'. 2. 'hide of the Canada lynx'. In historical documents, also written *loup servier*; today, usually spelled *loup-cervier*.

In Europe, the same name refers to another species of lynx that is found in Eurasia (*Lynx lynx*). The first occurrence of *loup-cervier* as a name applied to the Canada lynx is in *The Relation of Master Stephen Bellanger*, written in 1584 by Richard Hakluyt, probably directly from the French explorer Etienne Bellenger: "Lucerns, which the frenche call Loupceruiers" (Quinn 1962: 342).

The word is attested in France from the twelfth century, under the form *luvecerviere*, which designates the female. *Loup cervier* comes from Latin *lupus cervarius* 'Lynx' (literally 'wolf that attracts deer'). Among the voyageurs and fur traders, the word *pichou*, of Algonquian origin, was sometimes used as a name for the Canada lynx, especially in the northern regions of Canada, where there are no bobcats. However, in the more southern regions, where the two species cohabit, *pichou* was generally reserved for the bobcat, and *loup cervier* for the Canada lynx.

Loup de bois See *gros loup de bois*.

Loup de prairie See *petit loup de prairie*.

Loutre f. n. 1. 'North American river otter (*Lontra canadensis*)'. 2. 'fur of the otter'.

The river otter, a mammal of the family *Mustelidae*, is the only species of otter that inhabits the interior of North America. It resembles the European otter (*Lutra lutra*) (also called *loutre*), hence its name; its former scientific name is *Lutra canadensis*. As the name of the North American species, *loutre* is attested from 1558: "Alors ils traffiquerent . . . [des] haches, cousteaux, haims à pescher, & autres hardes, contre peaux de Cerfs, Loutres, & autres sauuagines" [Then they traded . . . axes, knives, fish hooks, and other goods, for skins of deer, otters, and other wild beasts] (Thevet 1558: 150).

Marchand voyageur m. n. 'fur trader'. See pp. 470–71.

Attested from 1720:

> Les marchands voyageurs qui comercent avec les Anglois se plaindront de cet etablisement [Chambly] qui luy empechera ce commerce et enveront plusieu[rs] memoire au conseil. (BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A, 42: f. 94–94v)
>
> [The merchants (and) voyageurs who trade with the English will complain about this establishment that will prevent this commerce, and they will send many memoranda to the council.]

SYN. VOYAGEUR, TRAITEUR (see the corresponding entry words).

Mat(t)aché past part./adj. 'painted, many-colored'.

From the verb *mat(t)acher* (see next entry). Attested from 1632 under the form *matachié* and from 1666 under the form *mataché* (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 112). Here is an example from 1749:

> ils ont brusle 16. pirogues qu'ils ont trouvees cacheés. Ce sont Vraisemblablement celles dont se sont Servis les Chicachas et Abekas pour aller faire Coup aux Arkansas, etant toutes en bon Etat et matacheés de rouge. (1749, Vaudreuil to Rouillé, in Pease and Jenison 1940: 114–15)
>
> [Transl.: they burned sixteen pirogues which they found cached. Probably these are the ones which the Chickasaw and Abihka used to attack the Arkansas as they were all in good condition, marked with red.]

Mattacher (se) pron. v. 'to paint or smear one's body (especially the face) with various colored substances'.

This pronominal use of the verb *mattacher* (also *matacher*) is attested from 1632, as is its transitive use (to paint someone or something), but the latter under the form *matachier* (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 111–12). The variant *mat(t)achier* was supplanted by *mat(t)acher* during the first half of the eighteenth century. The first attestation of the variant *matacher* in its transitive use dates from ca. 1714: "Nitarag8ichima[:] je le matache pour le faire jeuner tout le jour" [I paint him in order to make him fast all day] (Masthay 2002: 69).

The verb *(se) mat(t)acher* is essentially employed in contexts pertaining to face or body painting practiced by Native Americans (for war, religious ceremonies, seduction, etc.) or to objects decorated by them, as is exemplified by the following quotations (see also the quote under *mat*[t]*aché*):

> Un chef de guerre s'abstient de manger et de boire et jeusne quelquefois huit jours durant; il se matache et se barbouille tout le visage en noir. (1718, Lamothe Cadillac, in Margry, 5:88)
>
> [A war chief refrains from eating and drinking and fasts sometimes up to eight days; he paints and smears his face in black.]
>
> Elles n'épargnent rien pour se rendre belles & leurs filles aussi, elles mettent pour cet effet des huiles d'Ours à leurs cheveux, elles se barboüillent le visage, ce que l'on apelle se *matacher*. (Bacqueville de La Potherie 1722, 3:26)

[The Iroquois women spare no effort to make themselves pretty, and their daughters as well; for this purpose, they put bear oil in their hair, and they smear their face, which we call se matacher.]

Mat(t)acher derives from the noun *matachia* (also spelled *matachias*, *matachiat*, *mattachiat*), which seems to be of Basque origin (from *patatxa* 'a coin') (Bakker 1989: 137). From a Basque-Micmac pidgin spoken in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and on the Atlantic coast, the word came into the French spoken in New France, at first as a noun referring loosely to ornaments traded with or made by Indians, such as beads, necklaces, bracelets, belts, embroidered accessories, and also to ornamentations of colored porcupine quills (see Lescarbot 1609a: 318, 577, 595, 695). Later it also gained the meaning of 'colors applied on something or someone' (see *mattachiat* defined by Potier in 1743–44, in Halford 1994: 25). The verb *(se) matacher* could still convey the idea of 'ornamentation' at the beginning of the eighteenth century: *"se matacher, c'est se parer et s'orner"* [*se matacher*, it is to adorn oneself] (1718, Lamothe Cadillac, in Margry 5:89).

Mauvais coeur m. n. 'ill-disposed attitude, bad sentiment, dishonesty or ruthlessness'.

Use of the expression 'bad heart' is attested in North America since at least 1632:

Toutes ces nations tres-aises & satisfaits, ils nous remercierent, nous loüans de ce que nous n'auions tesmoigné vn mauuais coeur. (Champlain in Giguère 1973, 3:1049)

[All these nations, being at ease and satisfied, they thanked us, praising us for not having shown a bad heart.]

Perrin du Lac, who obtained much of his information on Indians from Truteau, noted a metonymic use of *mauvais coeur* by which the expression refers to a person or to a group:

Ils ne sont entr'eux ni menteurs ni calomniateurs; celui chez lequel on découvriroit un de ces défauts, seroit considéré comme un homme *sans esprit, un mauvais coeur*(*).

(*)Ce sont leurs expressions littérales; ils les emploient envers tous ceux qui ont des torts avec eux. (Perrin du Lac 1805: 278)

[They are no liers nor slanderers among themselves; he who would display one of these faults would be considered a man *without spirit, a bad heart*(*).

(*)These expressions are theirs; they use them against all who have wronged them.]

Perrin du Lac derives the expression *mauvais coeur* from Indian languages (see Lacombe 1874; also see *description*, 280n), but since similar use of *mauvais coeur* was found in Europe during the eighteenth century, one cannot exclude the possibility that it has a French origin.

Mauvaise médecine f. n. 1. 'remedy or treatment that is inappropriate and harmful to the health of a sick person'. 2. 'magico-religious practices intended to kill or harm someone'.

Truteau gives the first attestation of the expression 'bad medicine' in the *Journal* (1796; JQ: 87), erroneously written *mauvaises médecine*. It was still in use in the nineteeth century among missionaries in the Northwest:

> Il n'est donc pas surprenant qu[e] . . . leurs jongleurs ou magiciens, ou hommes de médecine, aient pris tant d'empire sur leur esprit. Ces magiciens exploitent la peur qu'ils ont de la mort, leur laissant croire qu'ils peuvent les faire mourir en les regardant ou en leur jetant un sort, c'est ce qu'ils appellent faire une **mauvaise médecine**. (Fernand-Michel 1866: 270–71)
>
> [It's not suprising that their jugglers or magicians, or medicine men, have such a hold over them. These magicians exploit their fear of death, making them believe that they can kill them just by looking at them or by casting a spell over them; that's what they call making bad medicine.]

Among the missionaries, interpreters, and voyageurs, *mauvaise médecine* (literally 'bad medicine') had several closely related meanings that are sometimes hard to distinguish:

1. 'a remedy or treatment that is inappropriate and harmful to the health of a sick person'
2. 'a poison that can act on a more or less large scale, taken to have been prepared by a shaman or someone possessing shamanic knowledge'
3. 'an evil spell cast by a shaman or someone possessing shamanic knowledge'

Truteau's use of *mauvaise médecine* reflects senses 2 and 3. The French expression may have been influenced by one or more Native American expressions conveying the idea of 'bad' and notions associated with shamanic practices considered harmful, such as Dakota **wakháñ šíca** 'the Bad Spirit'; the devil (**wakháñ** 'spirit' + **šíca** 'bad'; Riggs 1890, orthography modernized) and Ojibwe *matchi manito* 'evil spirit, devil, satan', and *matchi manitokewin* 'idolatry' (*matchi* 'bad'; Baraga). The Indian influence is

clearer for sense 2 ('poison') since *mauvaise médecine* is probably a calque of forms like *matci-mackîki* 'poison' used in Ojibwe (including Algonquin and Ottawa dialects), which can be literally translated by *bad drug, bad medicine* (*matci* 'bad' + *mackîki* 'medicine, medicinal plant') (Cuoq; Lemoine 1911; Thavenet ca. 1815; Baraga, s.v. *matchi mashkiki*). This expression could also account for the meaning of 'evil spell', since *mackîki* is attested in the sense of 'charme, sort' [spell, curse] in an Algonquin dialect spoken during the seventeenth century (Anon. 1661: f. 25v, s.v. *machkiki*) (*Vézina 2010:507–8*).

Among certain groups, the connotation surrounding the curative virtues of medicines was so negative that the denotation of the word *mackîki* was affected, thence the variant *maskik* 'medicine or poison' one finds in old Algonquin and Ottawa (Anon. 1699). Furthermore, a Siouan expression like Dakota **pheŶíhúta šíca** (>bad medicine, i.e., poison=; Riggs 1890, orthography modernized) might be another, though late, source of the calque *mauvaise médecine* 'poison'.

Médecine f. n. 'any of various magico-religious practices that aim to produce supernatural phenomena or extraordinary effects other than therapeutic (e.g., attracting luck, wealth, or love; consulting or casting out spirits; performing feats of skill; bringing about success in hunting; influencing natural phenomena or defying laws of nature; harming enemies; foretelling the future; protecting oneself in combat; causing death); the knowledge and skills based on these practices'.

This use of *médecine* is attested from 1730:

> Par une admirable providence de Dieu qui veut detromper les autres, ces malheureux vrais ou pretendus sorciers, dont les lourdes et impures pratiques sont toujours condamnables apres avoir persisté dans leur scandaleuse opiniatreté meurent d'ordinaire toujours miserablement dans l'operation criminelle ou en punition de leurs extravagantes **medecines**. (JR 68: 50–51)
>
> [Transl.: Through the admirable providence of God, whose will it is that the others be undeceived, these wretched sorcerers, true or pretended, whose gross and impure practices are ever deserving of condemnation, nearly always after persisting in their scandalous obstinacy, die a miserable death, in the midst of their criminal actions, or as a punishment for their foolish medicines.]

Truteau used the word in a similar manner (JQ: 139–40, DQ la: 69).

From the seventeenth century, the word *médecine* had several meanings in the speech of the missionaries, voyageurs, and interpreters when

applied to the Indians' universe. Rapidly the word was used to refer to a method of diagnosis, prognosis, and therapeutic treatment that fell within magico-religious practices associated with shamanism; more particularly, *médecine* could also refer to a remedy, an operation, or therapeutic treatment falling within these practices (this use is attested from 1619). This evolution was just an extension of the basic meaning the word already had in French. However, the similarity between magico-religious practices done with a therapeutic purpose and those performed outside a "medical" context in order, for instance, to cast a spell, locate a herd of buffalo, or kill an enemy from afar explains in good part how *médecine* gained a new semantic value close to that of the word *magic*. Among Catholic missionaries especially, this use of *médecine* is very close to a pejorative word like *sorcery*.

The semantic development that resulted in *médecine* taking on the sense of 'shamanic practices with divinatory, propitiatory, conjuratory, or other nontherapeutic purposes' shows a closer contact between some French-speaking people and the complex universe of the shamans. Since certain occult operations could sometimes be performed by shamans capable of giving healing treatments as well, the two types of activities were often closely associated in white people's minds, as was the case to some extent in various Native cultures. Also, it is likely that those persons who had but superficial contacts with the Indians were hardly capable of making a distinction between healers (often members of a medicine society) and followers of other forms of magico-religious practices. Besides, although it is clear that the semantic enrichment of *médecine* is mainly the result of extralinguistic Native influences, it might also follow from a linguistic Native influence. In any case, the meaning related to nontherapeutic magico-religious practices was superimposed on the group of meanings related to healing and health maintenance. Moreover, *médecine* became an equivalent of Native words like the Algonquian *manitou* and Sioux *wakháñ* and was used to refer to any mysterious object or incomprehensible phenomenon considered as being supernatural, as illustrated in this passage from 1728:

> Quand ces pauvres gens [Sioux] virent ces feux d'artifice en l'air et les étoiles tomber du ciel, femmes et enfans de s'enfuir; et les plus courageux d'entre ces hommes de crier merci et demander très instamment qu'on fît cesser le jeu surprenant de cette terrible **médecine**. (Excerpt of a Father Guignas to Marquis de Beauharnois, Margry, 6: 558)

> [When these poor (Sioux) people saw the fireworks in the air and the stars fall from the sky, women and children ran off, and the more courageous among the men asked for mercy and begged us to put a stop to the amazing display of this terrible medicine.]

Thus by the eighteenth century the word *médecine* had achieved a remarkable degree of polysemy. In some contexts it is even difficult to determine whether it refers to therapeutic practices or nontherapeutic ones. For example, the following passage from 1721 describes a ceremony celebrating the power of shamans in an Illinois village. The latter, in one single gesture, will apparently bring some of the participants to death's door, just to heal them with their "medicine" instants afterward:

> Un deux se leve Le chichicoya a la main et en chantant dit a toute l'assemblée mes amis c'est aujourd'huy qu'il faut faire Voir, aux hommes le pouvoir de nostre **medecine**, affin de leur faire connoître q.ls ne vivent qu'autant que nous Voulons. (Pease and Werner 1934: 370)
>
> [Transl.: One of them rises, the *chichicoya* in his hand, and speaks in a chant before the whole assembly: "My friends, today you must manifest to men the power of our medicine so as to make them understand that they live only as long as we wish."]

One can draw a parallel between the bipolar semantic content of *médecine* and that of words like *enchantement* (enchantment) and *sortilège* (magic spell), which can both refer to magical actions, sometimes beneficial, sometimes harmful. For a more complete history of the word *médecine* used in reference to American Indians, see Vézina (2008).

Médecine (de) complex adj. 'supernaturally powerful, endowed with supernatural power; having a supernatural or sacred dimension'.

Truteau provides the first attestation of the complex adjective *de medicine*.

> Cet homme avoit fait croire a ses gens que l'orsqu'il seroit mort, soit qu'il fut tué ou autrement, qu'en jettant son corps dans leau, bien quil fut coupé par petites parties, il ressusciteroit et seroit encore bien plus **de médecine** qu'il étoit auparavant. (JQ: 140–41)
>
> [This man had made his people think that when he died, whether he was killed or otherwise, that by throwing his body into the water, even if it was cut into little pieces, he would be restored to life and would have even more supernatural power than before.]

Menuité(e)s, minuitées f. n. pl. 'miscellaneous trade goods of little value, generally of small size'. See p. 477.

Collective noun equivalent to *sundries* and *trinkets* as used by the English-speaking traders. Truteau writes it *menuités*, *menuitées*, and *minuitées*; the word is also spelled *menuté* and *minuité* in other documents.

Menuités were traded at low cost or given as gifts. The first attestation in the speech of the voyageurs dates from 1739, in a journal of Sieur de La Vérendrye:

> Je fis asemblér les chefs et principaux mantannes, leurs fis un présent de poudre balles et plusieurs menuité qu'il estime beacoup [*sic*] par le besoin ou il en sont. (Burpee 1968: 350)
>
> [Transl.: I assembled the chiefs and the principal men of the Mandan and made them a present of powder, ball and a number of small articles, to which they attach much value owing to the need they have of them.]

Although *menuités* can be considered a voyageurism, it was sometimes used with a similar meaning in contexts unrelated to the fur trade. The variant *menutés* stayed in use in Canadian French until the beginning of the twentieth century, with a similar meaning: *'petites choses, bagatelles* [small items, trinkets]' (Dionne 1909, s.v. *menutés*; see also GPFC, s.v. *menutée*). The word *menuité* is connected to *menueté* and *menuté*, forms used in Middle French in the sense of *"menus choses"* (small things), which stems from Latin *mĭnūtus* 'small' (FEW *mĭnūtus* 6²: 137a; see also Huguet, s.v. *menuté*, and Godefroy, s.v. *menueté*).

Mitasse f. n. (mostly used in the plural) 'garment traditionally made of soft leather, partially or completely covering the legs'. Equivalent to *leggings* as used by English-speaking traders. In historical documents, *mitasse* (also spelled *mitas* and *mittasse*) is often used in the phrase *paire de mitasses* (pair of leggings).

Attested from 1669 in Canadian French, *mitasse* is a loanword from various Ojibwe dialects and Montagnais (DHFQ). From Canadian French, the word was adopted in Louisiana French and in English (DHFQ; see also DC, s.v. *mitashes*, DA, s.v. *mitasses*).

Mitasses were often fringed; the fringes were sometimes decorated with beads or colored porcupine quills (Laberge 1999: 97). Usually made with the skin of an animal from the deer family or of a pronghorn, *mitasses* were also made of cloth after the arrival of the Europeans. Although there were knee high *mitasses*, it seems that Truteau was more familiar with the long

leggings covering the entire legs, which were also called *grandes mitasses* to distinguish them from the shorter ones (DQ Ib: 1).

This garment was adopted by voyageurs during the seventeenth century; it was sometimes part of the equipment given to an engagé. It also became a trade good. For instance, in 1717 it was planned that "18 paires de mitasses de molton rouge et bleuf" [18 pairs of leggings made of red and blue broadcloth] should be brought along with other merchandise on a projected voyage to the "mer de l'ouest" (western sea) (BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11E, 16: f. 29v).

Montage d'eau m. n. 'rise in the water level'. See pp. 498–99.

Attested for the first time by Truteau (1795):

> nos vivres diminuent, nous ne tuons rien dans le bas du Missourie, les pluys et les **montages d'eau** nous ont beaucoup retardé icy. (JS: 10)

The term is also used to mean 'a flood' in subsequent documents from other traders. *Montage d'eau* and its elliptical form *montage* were used by voyageurs and fur traders west of the Mississippi and, less commonly, around the Great Lakes. Both terms are first attested in Québécois French in 1897, around Trois-Rivières (FTLFQ).

In standard French, a rise in the river level is expressed by the words *crue* and *montée (des eaux)*. As synonyms of *crue*, *montage d'eau* and *montage* appear to be North American innovations. It seems that Truteau glossed *montage d'eau* by the word *crue* (spelled *crüe*) the first two times he wrote it in the Québec journal (JQ: 5, 6), as if he were not certain that the term would be understood or well received; however, the manuscript is not clear: it is possible that instead Truteau glossed *montage* by *crüe d'eau*, a compound having the same meaning. Likewise, an occurrence of *montage d'eau* in the Washington version of the journal (JW: 2) was suppressed and replaced by the verb *monter* (rise) in the Québec version: "les eaux du Missouris montent dans la saison du primtems" [the waters of the Missouri rise during the spring] (JQ: 98).

Moucheron m. n. 'generic term for gnats and mosquitoes'.

Attested in French from around 1300, the word *moucheron* loosely refers to various kinds of tiny dipterous insects (TLFi). In New France it was used by travelers as a generic name for mosquitoes (family *Culicidae*) and gnats (family *Simuliidae* and family *Ceratopogonidae*), the latter including biting midges (Canac-Marquis and Poirier 2005: 530–31). *Moucheron* was not used commonly by the general population of the Canadian colony, who preferred words such as *maringouin* (mosquito), *moustique* (black fly), and *brûlot* (biting gnat).

Mouiller v. 1. (impers.) 'to rain'. 2. (intrans.) 'to get wet'.

Attested in France since 1636, where it is now used only in some regional varieties (mostly in the west) (TLFi), the verb *mouiller* 'to rain' is still used in the French spoken in Canada and Louisiana (Halford 1994: 280, Mass 1:139, Read 1931: 51), and also in Louisiana Creole (Valdman et al. 1998, s.v. *mouye*).

The intransitive use ('to get wet') seems rare. Attested in Old French (ca. 1160), it is still alive in modern French, but it has a vulgar connotation, and it is essentially applied to a person ('to urinate', 'to get aroused') (Robert 2001). However, in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Canadian French, *mouiller* was applied to things, as is shown in documents from Canadian fur traders. For example:

> nous avons eus une partie de notre biscuit qui **a mouillé** l'automne dernier a bord de l'Eskimau. (1787, Pierre Marcoux to Jacques Perrault, merchant in Québec City [Jun. 8], Fonds Pierre Marcoux, SASTR: 10)
>
> [we had some of our biscuit that got wet last fall on board the Eskimau.]

Truteau used the term in the same context in 1795 (JS: 9). This usage is also found in the journal of F.-V. Malhiot (1805):

> Nous avons arrivè au Grand Portage de la R.V. Montreal, a un heur apres midis, mais nous sommes obligés de camper pour faire secher quatre paquets qui **ont mouillés**, mon canot ayant crevè. (Malhiot 1804–5a: 39)
>
> [We arrived at the Grand Portage of Montreal river at one o'clock in the afternoon, but we have to camp in order to dry four packs that got wet, as my canoe has burst.]

Truteau uses *mouiller* in the same kind of context in 1795 (JS: 9). This intransitive use is still alive in Lousiana Creole (Valdman et al. 1998, s.v. *mouye*).

Noyau de porcelaine m. n. 'tube cut from shell, originally the axis of a gastropod, used as a decoration or a hair ornament'. Corresponds to *hair pipe* as used by the English-speaking traders. See pp. 478, 480.

Ours blanc m. n. 'grizzly bear (*Ursus arctos*)'. See p. 471.

SYN. OURS BLANC ET ROUGEATRE m. n.

Parc m. n. 'enclosed area in a field or in the woods, including an entrance, into which game is lured or chased'.

Attested since the twelfth century in the sense of "grande étendue de terres et de bois clôturée, où l'on garde et élève en liberté des animaux pour la chasse" [large extent of enclosed land and woods where animals

are kept and raised for hunting] (TLFi), *parc* was adapted in North America to refer to enclosed areas made by Indians in order to kill big game animals. That method was also adopted by French Canadian hunters (Clapin, s.v. *parc*). Lahontan (1990, 1:336–37) gives a description published in 1702; the English translation was published the following year:

> I was surpriz'd to see a sort of a Park or Fence made of Trees, fell'd one upon another, and interlac'd with Thorns and Branches; with a quadrangular inclosure of Stakes at the end of it, the entry of which was very narrow. They gave me to know, that they used to hunt Harts in that place, and promis'd to divert me with the shew, as soon as the Inclosures were a little mended. . . . At last, after walking a great pace, and running now and then, we arriv'd at the **Park**, and found the Savages lying flat upon the Ground all round it, in order to shut up the entry of the stake Inclosure as soon as the Harts enter'd. We found thirty-five Harts in the place, and, if the **Park** had been better fenc'd, we might have had above sixty; for the nimblest and lightest of 'em skip'd over before they came to enter the Inclosure. (1703, Lahontan 1905, 1:113–14)

For other descriptions, see GMVF, s.v. *parc*. Such an enclosure could be used for several years and was conspicuous enough to become a geographical feature, hence Truteau's use of *au parc* 'at the park' (JQ: 3). Pronounced /paRk/ in standard French, the word was also pronounced /paR/ in seventeenth-century French (Thurot, 2:132). This pronunciation with the silent *c* was preserved in some dialects and regional speech in France (FEW *parrĭcus* 7: 663b–664a) and could still be heard in Québécois French during the twentieth century (in which case, the *a* is sometimes pronounced like a back *a* or like an open *o*; see PPQ, quest. 520 and 1458a). The writings of some fur traders of Canadian origin (with spellings like *part* and *pard*) illustrate this pronunciation: "J[']ai passé . . . au part a vache" [I went by . . . the buffalo park] (1824, Joseph Crevier Deschenaux [Fort Wayne] to Ramsey Crooks [St. Louis], agent of the American Fur Co. [Jul. 17], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 12, frame 20).

Parchemin m. n. 'dried, untanned hide'. See p. 482.

The word *parchemin* in the sense of 'hide of a sheep, lamb, goat, dried in the air and untanned, in such a way as to receive manuscript writing or printing, [or] to serve for binding' is attested in French since the eleventh century (TLFi). The extension of meaning by which the word was equally applied to hides not intended for writing or binding is equally ancient (see, for example, Furetière). In the world of the voyageurs a parchment hide was most often called *peau* 'hide' (followed by the name of the animal)

(passée) en parchemin '(dressed into) parchment' rather than simply *parchemin* (although the latter usage is also attested). An early example can be found in Denys (1672: 2:404):

> [les raquettes] étoient cordées de peau d'Orignac, passée en parchemin, que l'on coupoit par éguillettes fort longues grosses & menuës.
>
> [(the snowshoes) were laced with moose hide, dressed into parchment, that was cut into long threads, thick and slender.]

Such a hide was sometimes called "parchment (skin)" by the English-speaking traders; for example:

> Invoice of Stock of P. D. Papin & Company delivered to the American Fur Company at Fort Tecumseh 16 Oct: r 1830 . . . 17 Parchment Cow Skins. (MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 17, frame 15)

See also the Dakota form given by Riggs (1890, s.v. *ta-ha ´-sa-ka*): "dried skin, parchment; a skin with the hair taken off, but not yet dressed."

Pare-flèche m. n. 'round shield used by Indians, made from a thick hide of moose, elk, or buffalo bull, well scraped and dehaired'. See pp. 501–4.

Parole f. n. 1. (especially in diplomatic contexts) 'message, speech, or communication; someone's words'. 2. (in phrases including *en parole*: i. *aller, venir en parole*: 'to go, to come to talk to someone or to persons not belonging to one's group (tribe, nation, etc.), especially to make or confirm peace; to go parley'. ii. *envoyer (quelqu'un* or *quelque chose) en parole*: 'to send someone as a messenger, to send something as an invitation (to talk, to make peace)'. iii. *entrer en parole avec quelqqu'un*: 'to enter into talks with someone'. Also written *parolle*.

In addition to its other usual meanings (word, promise), *parole* was used in the diplomatic language developed in New France in dealing with Indian tribes more or less as an equivalent of *message*, *speech*, and *communication*. Although this meaning is closely related to the general sense of "suite de mots, message, discours, propos exprimant une pensée" [sequence of words, message, speech expressing a thought], attested in French since ca. 1100 (TLFi; also Furetière: "tout un discours qu'on prononce" [an entire speech that one delivers]), it is somewhat specialized and adapted to diplomatic contexts: to make peace, invite to trade, enter into an alliance, or request help, supplies, provisions, or weapons. In that respect, this use of *parole* is probably related also to the meaning "*proposition, offre, accommodement*" ['proposition, offer, accommodation']

(Furetière) that the word also had during the French regime and after (see, e.g., Académie 1694–1878, and Littré). *Parole* often appears in translations of speeches made by Indians and in speeches made by the French to the Indians. First employed by interpreters and colonial officials, the word entered the vocabulary of the fur traders.

A message or speech given by a French-speaking person could have a written form; likewise, that given by an Indian could have been encoded in a wampum belt, as in this quotation from 1673:

> [Les Hurons dirent aux Iroquois] que puisqu'ils le regardoient tous aujourd'huy comme leur pere commun ils voudroient bien desormais vivre entre eux en bonne intelligence et comme de veritables freres devoient vivre. Cette **parole** fut accompagnee d'un collier de porcelaine qu'ils offrirent aux Iroquois. (BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A, vol. 3: f. 21r)
>
> [(The Hurons told to the Iroquois) that since they now considered the French governor as their common father, they would agree to live at peace with one another, like true brothers must live. This parole was accompanied by a wampum belt that the Hurons offered to the Iroquois.]

In some instances the wampum belt was clearly identified with the message; for example, "Ce Colier contient ma parole" [This belt holds my message] (1702, Lahontan 1990, 1:309).

The construction *en parole* meaning 'in discussions, in talks' is attested in French at least since 1655 (Littré). In North America it was used in different phrases with various senses (*aller, venir en parole,* etc.), most of which share the idea of 'peace' or 'agreement'. The first occurrence dates from 1745:

> Memoire des fournitures de vivres fait par nous fermiers de la Baye, aux chefs sakis et renards allant **en parole** a Montréal par ordre de Mr. de Lusignan[,] commandant pour le Roy aud. Poste. (1745, BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A, vol. 117: f. 324)
>
> [Bill of provisions supplied by us tenants of la Baye post, to the Sauk and Fox chiefs going to parley in Montreal by order of Mr. de Lusignan.]

The phrase *aller en parole(s)* was still in use in Missouri during the 1840s:

> [Il rencontra] deux Patokas qui se trouvaient dans un parti de Pânies-Mohawks, *allant en paroles* chez les Pânies-Piqués, les tua et les scalpa

malgré leurs signes. [Footnote:] Aller en paroles, faire des propositions de paix. (Tixier 1844: 128)

[(He met) two Comanches who were with a party of Skiri Pawnees, going to talk peace with the Pawnee-Picts, killed and scalped them despite their signs. (Footnote:) Aller en paroles: to make propositions of peace.]

Peau blanche (gender indeterminate) n. 'Caucasian, especially of European descent; white person'. Truteau's *Journal* (1796) includes the earliest attestation of *peau blanche* (JQ: 90–91).

This term belongs to a group of expressions that refer to "races" by using a reference to skin color: *homme blanc* (white man), *homme rouge* (red man), *homme noir* (black man), *rouge, blanc, noir* (see next entry). Referring to a Caucasian (usually a person of European descent), the terms most generally employed during Truteau's time were *homme blanc*, attested in French at least from 1604 ("il y a quelques mulastres ou mestis cest adire personnes yssuz d'hommes blancs et de femmes noires" [there are some mulattos or metis, that is to say, persons born of white men and black women], in TLFi, s.v. *mulâtre*), and *Blanc*, attested from 1678–79 (TLFi, s.v. *blanc*). Truteau's predominant usage was *homme blanc;* he used *peau blanche* only once in his texts. The latter term appears only in contexts in which there is a verbal interaction between white and Native peoples. It most likely originated in the Illinois Country, although it was never widely used there, and it is virtually unknown in other French-speaking areas. *Peau blanche* is probably a calque of expressions sharing the same meaning ('one who has white skin') used in some Algonquian (such as Sauk-Meskwaki, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Miami-Illinois, and Ojibwe) and Siouan languages (Omaha) (Goddard 2005: 11–13), which, in turn, might have been inspired by the French *homme blanc* and *blanc*. Moreover, the influence of the older terms *homme blanc* and *blanc* cannot be dismissed in the integration of *peau blanche* in French, since they paved the way to the use of racial self-designations based on the concept of 'white'.

SYN. HOMME BLANC m. n., and BLANC m. n.

Peau rouge 1. f. n. 'A person of native North American Indian heritage; an Amerindian'. 2. adj. 'Of or pertaining to Native American Indians'. Truteau spells the word *peau rouge*, with no capital letters or hyphen. It is generally written *Peau-Rouge* today. See p. 500.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in all the French settlements of North America, *Sauvage* (also *sauvage*) was the universal name given to American Indians. Nevertheless, the French-speaking colonists

employed other collective designations referring to Indians in certain contexts and geographical areas.

The word *rouge* (red) has been employed in reference to Native Americans at least since the beginning of the eighteenth century. From around 1710, the word *Sauvage rouge* (Red Indian) and the elliptical form *Rouge,* are attested to designate a person belonging to the Beothuk tribe of Newfoundland (DHFQ, s.v. *sauvage*). However, both terms applied only to this one tribe and did not have a collective value. According to the chroniclers of the time, these names had been given to the Beothucks on account of their practice of coloring themselves with red ocher (HAINM, s.v. *Beothukan family*). Subsequently, the compound word *homme rouge* (red man) (attested since 1725) became frequent in the French spoken in Louisiana, along with *Sauvage,* as a generic label for American Indians, especially in the language of French-Indian diplomacy (Shoemaker 1997: 627–28). However, there is no direct link between this lexical innovation that occurred in Louisiana and the name *Sauvages rouges* applied to the Beothucks. In fact, in Louisiana and other territories now part of the United States, the relationship between Indians' ethnicity and the color red seems to have a Native origin. Although its source remains uncertain, "there seems to have been some connection between a 'red' identity and origin stories," as in the case of the Meskwakis (Shoemaker 1997: 634).

Once associated with Native Americans in general, the adjective *rouge* was also used with the words *esclave* (slave) and *nations* (tribes, nations), mostly in Louisiana and the Illinois country: "que la nation blanche et les nations rouges soient toujours freres et punissent leurs mauvais enfans" [may the white nation and the red nations be always brothers and punish their bad children] (1803, Charles Dehault Delassus [lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana] to Cheveux blancs [chief of the Grand Osages] [Jun. 17], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 3, frame 965).

Thus *homme rouge* and *rouge* were part of a paradigm in which the principal ethnic groups present in colonial America were each represented by a color, as is illustrated by Father Vivier in the Illinois Country in 1750:

> [Transl.] There are three classes of inhabitants: French, Negroes, and Savages; to say nothing of Half-Breeds. . . . In the five French Villages there may be eleven hundred white people, three hundred black, and about sixty red slaves, otherwise Savages. (JR: 69:145)

Although they were fully integrated into French and appear in documents intended for French readers, the expressions incorporating *rouge* were more often employed in the context of speeches delivered to or

by Indians, which suggests that they were associated with Indian ways of speaking. Jean-Bernard Bossu, captain in the marine troops based in Louisiana during the French regime, wrote that an old man of the Natchez tribe once said, in a harangue: "Nous passons pour les plus spirituels de tous les hommes rouges" [We pass for the most spiritual of all the red men], to which Bossu added: "C'est ainsi que ces Sauvages s'appellent pour se distinguer des Européens qui sont blancs, & des Africains qui sont noirs" [That is how these Indians call themselves to distinguish themselves from the Europeans, who are white, and from the Africans, who are black] (Bossu 1768, 1:60). Indeed, *homme rouge* seems to be a calque of expressions meaning "man-red" used in some southeastern Native languages, such as Natchez, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Muskogee (Shoemaker 1997: 630).

As *homme blanc* and *blanc* facilitated the borrowing of *peau blanche* by calque, *homme rouge* and *rouge* paved the way to *peau rouge*, another calque of expressions used in Algonquian (such as Miami-Illinois and Sauk-Meskwaki) and Siouan languages (including Omaha and Quapaw) (Goddard 2005: 11–12). *Peau rouge* is attested since 1769 in the French translation of a speech delivered by a Miami-speaking chief (quoted in Goddard 2005: 4). Apparently the borrowing first spread in the French language of the Illinois Country. Until the end of the eighteenth century, it seems that it was only used in discourse addressed to Indians or intended for them, an indication that it belonged, at that time, essentially to diplomatic usage and that it responded to equivalent expressions in native languages. Mainly through the influence of French-speaking interpreters who served as intermediaries between Indians and English-speaking officials, *peau rouge* was transited into English in the form of the calque *redskin* (Goddard 2005: 9–11).

The merchant Auguste Chouteau (1750–1829), one of the founders of St. Louis, also employs *peau rouge* in an undated document in which he relates an incident that happened during the war against the Chickasaws in 1765:

> les chefs sauvages qui etaient present . . . quand ils virent Mr Bellerive marché sur le fort coururaient [*sic*] a lui le prirent par les mains et Lui dirent[:] Bellerive . . . qui ne se rappelle pas que c'est toi qui a reduit Les nations Sacs et renards—toutes ces campagnes t'on acquit l'estime et la confiance des blanc et des Peaux Rouges. (Chouteau 1911: 347)
>
> [the Indian chiefs who were present . . . when they saw Mr. Bellerive march on the fort ran toward him, took him by the hand, and told him:

> Bellerive . . . who would not remember that it was you who subdued the Sauk and Fox tribes—all these campaigns have gained you the esteem and trust of the whites and the redskins.]

In the texts associated with Truteau, *peau rouge* first appears in 1794 in the instructions he received from the Upper Missouri Company:

> le portrait de Sa Majesté le grand chef de touts les Espagnols, protecteur & ami de toutes les **peaux rouges.** [article 51]

Throughout his writings, Truteau uses *peau rouge* several times in the context of establishing bonds of dependence and subjection of the Indians to the Spanish authorities:

> le grand chef des Espagno[ls], le père commun des **peaux rouges** (JW: 26)
>
> ils avoient étés bien reçus du grand chef des Espagnols, le pere de toutes les nations **peaux rouges** (JS: 15)
>
> le grand chef des Espagnoles, le pere commun de toutes les **peaux rouges** (JQ: 115)
>
> le grand chef des Espagnols, qui faisoit sa demeure à l'embouchure du Missouris, le pere commun de toutes les **peaux rouges** (JQ: 137)

Peau verte, peau de chevreuil verte See *vert, verte*.

Pêche (au castor) f. n. 'beaver hunting' [literally, 'beaver fishing'].

In Truteau's journal, the word *pêche* 'fishing' seems to refer to the type of beaver hunting in which the animal is caught while underwater, whether with a net or a spear. These techniques, developed by Native Americans (Laberge 1999: 142), were also adopted by white trappers on the upper Missouri, as attested in Truteau's *Journal*:

> un chasseur aux castors nommé Noraut, que jai retenu icy depuis un mois, en l'empéchant de partir pour la pêche. (JQ: 177)
>
> [a beaver hunter named Noraut, whom I have detained here for a month, preventing him from leaving to go fishing.]

Although this use of the word *pêche* is rare in French documents, it can be traced back to the seventeenth century, as is shown in Louis Nicolas's *Histoire naturelle*:

> Dans une campagne que je fis il y a quelque tems pendant l'hyver avecque les sauvages, je leur vis faire cette chasse [au castor], et cette **pêche**, tout

ensemble, qui se fait avec l[']épée, et avec le filet fait de peau, affin que si le castor échape le fer, il n[']évite point le filet. (Nicolas, ca. 1685: 118)

[While I was on a winter campaign with the Indians some time ago, I saw them do both (beaver) hunting and fishing, which is done with a sword and with a net made of skin, so that, if the beaver escapes the sword, it will not escape the net.]

This specific use of *pêche* by Truteau indicates that it was part of the specialized vocabulary of the voyageurs. It is also found in the writings of Pierre-Antoine Tabeau:

Partout, au-dessus des Mandanes, on pourrait tirer parti des engagés, en les employant a la **pêche au castor**, ce qui se pratique dans tout le Missouri & où plusieurs font plus que leurs gages. (Tabeau ca. 1815: 42)

[Everywhere above the Mandans one could take advantage of the engagés by employing them in beaver fishing, which is done throughout the Missouri, where many of them earn more than their wages.]

See also next entry.

Pêcher (des castors) v. 'to hunt beaver' [literally, 'to fish beaver'].

The use of the verb *pêcher* 'to fish' in referring to beaver hunting cannot be explained solely by the fact that the animal is caught while underwater. If so, *pêcher* would be applied to other kinds of animals that can also be hunted while underwater (such as otters and muskrats), which is not the case. It is very likely that this peculiar meaning of the verb *pêcher* is a reminder of the time when the beaver was considered to be a fish, on account of its amphibian nature and scaly tail. On that ground, this mammal could be eaten on Fridays or during Lent. The conception of the beaver being a fish dates back to the Middle Ages; it was still in vogue during the French regime, even though it became more and more questioned during the eighteenth century (Gagnon 1994: 29–31). The Jesuit Louis Nicolas gives the first known attestation of *pêcher* applied to beaver hunting:

Je ne suis pas de l[']advis de ceux qui ont voulu dire que le castor se prent avec la queue qui se gele et qui se prent a la glace. . . . Il est bien vray que les sauvages les **pechent** sous la glace quils rompent avec des tranches de fer; mais il n'est pas vray de dire que leur queue s'atache contre la glace[.] (Nicolas ca. 1675: 60)

[I do not agree with those who said that the beaver can be caught by the tail, which gets frozen and stuck to the ice. . . . It is true that the Indians

fish them under the ice, which they break with iron chisels, but it is false to say that their tail gets trapped in the ice.]

It was still used in the beginning of the nineteenth century, as Pierre-Antoine Tabeau's journal illustrates:

> Si quelques chasseurs français ont fait quelques chasses assez heureuses dans ces parages, ce n'est pas sur le Missouri même, mais en parcourant les rivierres des Sioux et quelques autres, où la nature a pourvu à la subsistance de ces amphibies. Encore ces succès n'ayant pas souvent été répétés, laissent à douter si le castor, annuellement **pêché** comme il l'est dans la rivierre des Osages et ailleurs dans tout le bas Missouri, ne serait pas bientôt détruit. (Tabeau ca. 1815: 13)
>
> [If some French hunters did have several good hunts in those parts, it was not on the Missouri itself, but by traveling along the Sioux rivers and some others, where nature provided sustenance to these amphibians. Still, these successes, not having been repeated often, allow us to question whether the beaver, since it is fished annually in the Osage River and elsewhere thoughout the lower Missouri, would not soon be destroyed.]

SYN. FAIRE LA PÊCHE (AU CASTOR): see JQ: 157.

Petit chien de prairie m. n. 'prairie dog (*Cynomys spp.*)'.
Truteau (DQ 1a: 33–34) gives the first attestation of this compound word (1796), which is the source of the variant *chien de prairie* (literally 'prairie dog'), still in use today. See pp. 469–70.

Petit loup de prairie m. n. 'coyote (*Canis latrans*)'.
Truteau (DQ 1a: 33–34) gives the first attestation of this compound word (1796). See pp. 468–69.

Petit renard See *renard*.

Pichou m. n. 'bobcat (*Lynx rufus*)'. In other French documents, the word is also written *pichoulx*, *pichout*, *pijou*, *pychou*, and *picheux* (a very rare plural form). In plural, *pichou* is written with a final *-x* or *-s* (Truteau wrote *pichoux*).

Closer in pronunciation to its Algonquian source, *pichiou* is an early variant used during the first half of the eighteenth century. Some sources, such as the 1714 Illinois dictionary, use the two forms interchangeably:

> Les pichoux te tirent les nerf[s], te causent ton mal / les pichioux te tirent les nerfs, te causent ce mal. (Masthay 2002: 151, 314)
>
> [The bobcats pull your nerves, causing your pain.]

First attested in 1701, under the variant *pychou* ("22 pychoux" in a list of furs: FTLFQ), *pichou* is a borrowing from various Algonquian languages, particularly Ojibwe (several dialects including Algonquin and Ottawa), Cree, and Montagnais (which can also be considered a Cree dialect)—Ojibwe: *bisîw* = lynx (Baraga); Ottawa: *pichi8* = loup cervier ['lynx'] (Du Jaunay, s.v. *loup*); Algonquin: *pichi8* = loup cervier (Anon. 1661); *piciw* = loup-cervier and lynx (Cuoq); Cree: *pisiw* = loup cervier, lynx (Lacombe 1874, s.v. *loup*); Montagnais: *pichi8* = l8p ceruier [8 = ou] (Fabvre: 290).

Like its Algonquian source, the word *pichou* could refer to the Canada lynx or to the bobcat, although in Ojibwe, at least today, the bobcat has a distinctive name, *gidagaa-bizhiw* 'spotted lynx' (Nichols and Nyholm 1995). Especially in the northern regions of Canada, where there are no bobcat, *pichou* was used as a name for the Canada lynx (e.g., 1737, La Vérendrye, in Burpee 1968: 258).

However, in the more southern regions, where the two species cohabit, *pichou* was generally reserved for the bobcat, and *loup cervier* for the Canada lynx. Sometimes the distinction was made by adding a qualifier, as in *pichou du nord* (northern pichou=lynx) and *pichou du sud* (southern pichou=bobcat):

> Estat des pelleteries provenant de la traitte qui a été faite au fort Frontenac, et a Niagara pendant l'année 1739[:] 17 loups de bois a 40 s.[,] 258 **pichous** du sud . . . a 45 s.[,] . . . 20 pichoux du nord a 15 # [livres]. (1739, BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A,72: f. 143)
>
> [Inventory of the peltries resulting from the trade made at forts Frontenac and Nigara during the year 1739: 17 timber wolves at 40 sols, 258 southern pichoux (bobcats) . . . at 45 sols, . . . 20 northern pichoux (lynx) at 15 livres.]

It thus appears bobcat hides were much less valued than lynx hides—45 sols compared with 15 livres (300 sols) in this example. During the French regime, bobcat hides were often given the same value as the least valuable kind of fox fur:

> il y a tres peu de renards blancs et ils ne valent presque rien. Cependant l'objet etant de peu de consequance on peut les laisser subsister avec lés renards de Virginie[,] mais il faut comprendre dans le meme article les **pichoux**[,] attandu qu'ils sont touiours confondus avec les renards de Virginie dans les paquets des voyageurs et qu'ils s'achetent au meme prix; les uns dans les autres ils valent de 30 a 35 s. année commune, et comme la quantité de rebut est considerable on peut en fixer le prix

> moïen a 25 s. [sols]. (1749, BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A, 121: f. 216v)
>
> [there are very few white foxes and they are worth almost nothing. However, the matter being of not much consequence, one can let them be mixed with the Virginia foxes, but the bobcats have to be included in the same item, given that they are always mixed up with the Virginia foxes in the fur traders' packs and that they get bought at the same price; all in all, in a usual year they are worth from 30 to 35 sols, and since there is a lot of waste, one can set the average price at 25 sols.]

Pirogue f. n. 'canoe-type boat made of a hollowed tree trunk'. See p. 485.

The word is attested from 1555 under the form *piragues* and from 1638 under its standard form. It comes from Spanish *piragua* which was borrowed from a Carib language (TLFi and FEW *piragua* 20: 76a).

The word *pirogue* was first incorporated into French usage in the Antilles and Guyana at the beginning of the seventeenth century, then spread to the other French colonies. The pirogue was more frequently used by the French of Lower Louisiana and the Illinois Country than by those in Canada; thus it was the same for the use of the word. Consequently, the engagés and voyageurs from Louisiana (Lower and Upper) were above all associated with the use of the pirogue (as is attested in 1727 by Father du Poisson, a missionary to the Arkansas: "here they call 'engagés' the men who are hired to paddle a pirogue or boat" [JR 67: 279]), while those from more northerly forested regions were associated instead with bark canoes:

> Les engagés chargés de parcourir le pays en canots pour le transport des marchandises, sont désignés plus spécialement sous le nom de voyageurs. (Duflot de Mofras 1844: 2: 170–71)
>
> [The engagés charged with traversing the country in canoes to transport merchandise are more particularly designated by the name *voyageurs*.]

For a general description of pirogues, see journal, note 5; also see GMVF, s.v. *pirogue*).

Pomme de raquette f. n. 1. 'prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia polyacantha* or *Opuntia macrorhiza*)'. 2. 'fruit of prickly pear cactus'. See pp. 456–57.

From the thirteenth century, the word *pomme* 'apple' was used to form compound words referring to fruit and vegetables having a shape more or less similar to that of the apple proper, such as *poume* (= pomme) *de paradis* 'banana' and *pome* (= *pomme*) *d'orange* 'orange'. In these compounds, *pomme*

keeps its old meaning of 'fruit', stemming from its Latin etymon *pomum* 'fruit of a tree, pip or pit fruit', which extension is such as to embrace edible tubers, like in *pomme de terre* 'potato' (TLFi, s.v. *pomme* and *pomme de terre*, and RH, s.v. *pomme*). *Pomme de raquette* results from the same word formation process. It is attested from at least 1722 in the French spoken in the West Indies:

> On l'appelle **pomme de Raquette** aux Isles Françoises, quoiqu'il n'ait aucune ressemblance avec les pommes, & que le fruit dont il approche le plus pour la figure, & pour la chair, soit la figue. (Labat 1722, 4:39)
>
> [It is called *pomme de Raquette* in the French islands, although it bears no resemblance to the apple, and the fruit whose shape and flesh are most similar is the fig.]

In 1765 the word appears in the *Encyclopédie* (13, s.v. *raquette*):

> Son fruit est de la grosseur & de la figure d'une noix verte; on le pele pour le manger. Les François le nomment *pomme de raquette*.
>
> [Its fruit has the size and shape of a green nut; it has to be peeled to be eaten. The French call it *pomme de raquette*.]

In the speech of the voyageurs, it is likely that *pomme de raquette* referred not only to the fruit but to the cactus. The word is attested in 1806 as a borrowing in the journal of North West Company trader Alexander Henry the Younger, where it seems to refer to the plant:

> The **Pomme de Racquette** is here [somewhere in North Dakota] in great plenty and very large and some the size of the hand, which are troublesome to our horses, when they happen to tread upon them. (Gough 1988–1992, 1: 215)

As a name given to a cactus of the genus *Opuntia*, *raquette* is attested from 1647 in Father Breton's *Relations de l'Ile de la Guadeloupe:*

> Les figuiers d'Inde appellés icy des **raquettes** à cause qu'ils en représente la forme, sont de la grandeur d'un pied, larges de demyt pied et plus. De mesme substance que les torches et chargé d'épines toute semblabe. Mais le fruit est bien différent; il a la figure d'un figue, et rouge quand il est meur, sursemé de petites espines qui sont menues comme cheveux, qui entrent aysément dans la chair. (Breton 1978, 1:48)
>
> [The India fig trees (prickly pears), here called *raquettes* on account of their racketlike shape, are one foot high and half a foot wide or more.

> They are of the same matter as the hedgehog cacti and are covered with similar thorns. But the fruit is very different; it has the shape of a fig, red when ripe, covered with little thorns that are fine as hair, which penetrate easily into the flesh.]

Raquette belonged to the vocabulary of the Canadian voyageurs who left Lower Louisiana in order to explore a territory now part of Texas (1716–17):

> le pays n'est pas des plus beaux; ce sont bois piquants et des **raquettes** en si grande quantité que les chevaux ont de la peine à passer au travers. (1717, "Relation par le Sieur Derbanne," in Margry 6:208)
>
> [the country is rather ugly; the mesquite trees and prickly pears are so numerous that the horses can hardly pass through.]

Porte(-)épic m. n. 1. 'North American porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum*)'. 2. (employed either collectively in the singular or distributively in the plural) 'quills of the porcupine'. In Truteau's texts, the word is also written *porte epic* and *porteepic*.

Porte(-)épic is a nonstandard variant of French *porc-épic* 'porcupine', which is attested from 1544 in reference to the North American porcupine in a text written by Captain Jean Alfonse (*La Cosmographie*): "Et y a en la terre [of Anticosti island] forces bestes saulvaiges comme hours, porcs espiz, cerf, biches et dains" [And there are on the land (Anticosti island) lots of wild beasts, like bears, porcupines, elk, doe and deer] (excerpt of the manuscript reproduced in Bideaux 1986: 216). The name *porc-épic* was given to the large North American rodent of the family *Erethizontidae* (*Erethizon dorsatum*) on account of its resemblance to the Old World porcupines, which belong to another family (*Hystricidae*), especially to the crested porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*) found in Europe and in Africa (see Blais 1998: 216).

Porc-épic (now pronounced /pɔRkepik/, but formerly also pronounced /pɔRkepi/, as illustrated by the spellings *porc-épi* and *porc-épy*) is attested from the sixteenth century (from the fifteenth according to TLFi) and is the result of an alteration—through the influence of the verb *piquer* 'to prick, to sting'—of Old French *porc espi*, in use from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and even up to the twentieth century in some regional varieties of French spoken in France and Canada. *Porc espi* was borrowed from Italian *porcospino*, through Old Provençal *porc espi*, in parallel to the form *porch espin*, which ultimately gave English *porcupine* (FEW *pŏrcus* 9: 191a; TLFi and RH, s.v. *porc-épic*).

The variant *porte(-)épic* used by Truteau is attested in New France as early as 1648: "brins de **porte épic**, teins en écarlatte" [quills of porcupines, dyed in scarlet] (JR, 31:220; quoted in Mass 255, No. 388). One can also find the form *portipique* (e.g., in 1805, in Malhiot 1804–1805a: 32). In the twentieth century, in the popular speech of Québec and in Acadian French, several pronunciations in which the phoneme /k/ is replaced by /t/ could still be heard (/pɔRtepik/, /pɔRtipik/, /pɔRtepi/, /pɔRtipi/, etc.) (PPQ, quest. 1595, and Mass 255, No. 388). Similar forms also exist in France, in certain regional varieties (Anjou, Maine, and Limousin; FEW *porcus* 9:191a; Blais 1998: 145).

Some have suggested that the variants beginning with *porte-* were the result of a folk etymology process in which a link is established with the verb *porter* 'to carry, to bear' (Juneau 1972: 251). Besides, folk etymology is evident in the formation of the variants *porte-pic* and *porte-pique* 'carry-pick' used in popular French during the nineteenth century (FEW *pŏrcus* 9:191a; Blais 1998: 145). However, *port(-)épic* and *portipique* can be considered as well as phonetic variants that result from a transformation of /k/ into /t/ following a depalatalization process (Saint Pierre 2002: 72–73).

Sense 2 ('quills of the porcupine'), resulting from a metonymy, is attested with the variant *porc espic* from 1680: "une ceinture de porc espic" [a belt embroidered with dyed porcupine quills] (Margry, 2:107). Other old attestations include: "j attache parcy et parla du duvet a ma robe avec du porc epic" [I tie some down here and there on my robe with porcupine quills] and "je mets des porc epic de diff[érentes] couleurs" [I put porcupine quills of different colors] (ca. 1714, in Masthay 2002: 169, 251).

The construction *en porc(-)épic(s)/en porte(-)épic(s)* is found at least since 1723 in Diron d'Artaguiette's journal: "ils s'ocupent a faire quelques ouvrages en porc epic assez connus en France" [they keep themselves busy doing some work in porcupine quills, quite known in France] (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 172). In Truteau's writings, as in other documents, it is often used in phrases like *garni en porte-épics* (sometimes *de porte épics*) and *travaillé en porte-épics* (decorated with porcupine quills); in other texts, one can also find *brodé en porc-épic* (embroidered with porcupine quills) (Tixier 1844: 245).

Prélat m. n. 'tarpaulin'. The word is also written *prelat*, *prèlat*, *prêlat*, *prélla*, and *prolla* in other documents. See pp. 444, 471.

Prélat, attested from 1678, is a variant of the word *prélart*, which is a name given to a tarpaulin (a waterproofed canvas or other material covering, used to protect the goods on a boat or to prevent water to come in through the deck or hold) from 1670 (FEW 23: 98a, s.v. *bâche*, and TLFi, s.v.

prélart). In French dictionaries, *prélart* is generally seen as a seafaring term (see, e.g., Furetière).

Both *prélat* and *prélart* were used in North America (Canada, Illinois Country, and Lower Louisiana). Among voyageurs and fur traders, *prélat* and its variants (*perlat*, *perlas*, *parlat*, and *parlas*) dominated. For instance: "1 grand **prelat**" (1794, Broulliard A [Day Book A] (Sep. 4), p. 123, Illinois State Historical Library, Pierre Ménard Collection, reel 16); "goudronage des prélats" [tarring of the tarpaulins] (1807, Facture de diverses march.ses chargées a bord du Bateau l'Aigle . . . à l'adresse de Mr. Aug.te Chouteau, MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 5, frame 650).

Rapicage, rapiquage m. n. 'in river navigation, the action of steering the boat back in the direction of a channel after the combined action of the current and the course acquired turned it aside'. This definition of *rapicage*/*rapiquage* is conjectural.

Truteau gives the first known attestation of this term (1796), which also referred to a place along a watercourse where *rapicage* is necessary. See p. 500.

Rassade f. n. (employed either collectively in the singular or distributively in the plural) 'trade beads'. Also written *rasade* by Truteau. See pp. 476–77.

Even though the origin of the word *rassade* (pronounced / Rasad/) is unknown, it has been suggested that it came from Venitian *rassada* 'craping'. It is attested from 1505, under the spelling *rasades* (TLFi). This latter form with a single *s* is quite common in seventeenth- to nineteenth-century documents (see, e.g., Lahontan 1990, 1:611). This spelling may convey the pronunciation / Razad/, which is clearly attested by the spelling *razade*, also found in some historical documents: "**Razades** bleues" (Collot 1826, 2:274). Although it could be used in plural, the word was more often employed collectively in singular, at least in North America:

> ayez la bonté de m'envoyer les marchandise ci bas nommé, savoir, des [n]oyaux, . . . de la **rassade** rize[,] de la bleu et blanche. (1836, Jean-Baptiste Defond to Honoré Picotte [Dec. 17], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 24, frame 943)
>
> [would you be so kind as to send me the goods listed below, viz.: some hair pipes, . . . some beads for the Arikaras, some blue and white.]

[**Rat musqué**] **Ramusqué** m. n. 'muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*)'.

Champlain (1603) provides the first attestation of the word:

> Il y a aussi plusieurs bestes sauuages, comme orignas, . . . porc-epics, lapins, regnards, castors, loutres, **rats musquets** [*sic*], & quelques autres sortes d'animaux que ie ne cognois point, lesquels sont bons à manger, & dequoy viuent les sauvages. (Giguère 1973, 1:100)
>
> [There are also (on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, toward Montréal) many wild beasts, like moose, . . . porcupines, rabbits, foxes, beavers, otters, muskrats, and some other kinds of animals that I do not know about, which are good to eat and that the Indians live on.]

The muskrat is the largest representative of the family *Muridae*. It has forelegs with webbed paws and a long hairless and scaly tail. This amphibious rodent, which vaguely resembles a huge rat, without belonging to the same genus—Cartier (ca. 1538) called it *rat* (Bideaux 1986: 148)—was so named because of the strong musky smell given off by a liquid secreted by its anal glands. Muskrat skins were an important trade item, even though their value was generally much lower than that of beaver or otter. Indians provided large numbers of them to the fur traders.

It should be noted that, rather than being an alteration of *musquash* by folk etymology (see DC and RHWUD), *muskrat* is more likely a calque of *rat musqué*.

Renard m. n. 1. 'fox'. 2 'hide of the fox'. See pp. 457–59, 461.

In reference to a North American species of fox, the word *renard* is attested from ca. 1536 by Cartier (Bideaux 1986: 105). Truteau uses the names *petit renard* (small fox) and *gros renard* (large fox) to distinguish two different species or groups of species that live in the upper Missouri (genus *Vulpes* and perhaps *Urocyon*). Taking into account the ranges of the various species of foxes, it may be suggested that *petit renard* refers primarily to the swift fox (*Vulpes velox*) and that *gros renard* refers to the red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) and possibly also to the gray fox (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*). When Truteau uses *renard* alone, it is likely that he refers to any of these species of fox rather than to one in particular.

Renduit m. n. 'layer or coating of a substance spread over a construction'.

The word *renduit* was in use in Middle French (attested from 1520), generally in reference to a coating of plaster, lime, or cement. It was recorded for the last time in a French dictionary in 1660 (Halford 1994: 294), but was nevertheless still employed up until at least the eighteenth century. It persisted even longer in some regional varieties of French (e.g., in Normandy and Maine) as well as in Canadian French, in which it is attested from 1689 (BAnQ-Q, Greffe de Gilles Rageot, Nov. 19, cadastral lot 2276; see also in

Father Potier's glossary [1744] in Halford 1994: 55). In Modern French, *renduit* is replaced by *enduit*, a word that was already in use in Old French.

Robe de boeuf f. n. 'garment or covering made of a good quality buffalo hide, generally obtained during the winter, retaining its hair, the flesh side of which has been carefully tanned and softened'. See p. 483.

The compound word *robe de boeuf* first appeared in 1674 in the journal of Father Marquette: "ils nous traitterent 3 belles robbes de boeuf pour une coudee de petun" [they traded us 3 fine buffalo robes for a cubit of tobacco] (JR 59:174).

SYN. ROBE f. n.: "Il me pressent vivement de prendre mon partis et de traiter leurs robes" [They are urging me to resign myself and to trade for their robes] (JQ: 172). *Robe* is a generic word that can also refer to similar garments or coverings made with other types of pelts, especially beaver (*robe de castor* 'beaver robe').

Siffleur m. n. 'marmot (genus *Marmota*)'.

Since Truteau mentioned the *siffleur* as being found on the upper Missouri, he probably referred to the yellow-bellied marmot (*Marmota flaviventris*) and/or the woodchuck (also called groundhog, *Marmota monax*). Because of the characteristic high-pitched whistle these rodents use when alarmed, they were called *siffleur* 'whistler' by the French as early as 1635 (Mass 252, No. 382). The name was first given to the woodchuck, the only species living in eastern North America. It is likely that Truteau, like other voyageurs, pronounced the word as if it were written *siffleux* (/sifløˑ/). As the traditional name of the woodchuck, the variant *siffleux*—and the corresponding pronunciation—is the only one still in use in Canadian French. It is attested from the end of the seventeenth century (before 1695, in Fabvre 234, s.v. *8inask8*). As a name given to the hoary marmot (*Marmota caligata*), a species that lives in the Rocky Mountains of Canada and the northern United States, the word was borrowed into English in the nineteenth century (first employed by fur traders) (see DC, s.v. *siffleur*).

[**Sole**] **Solle** f. n. 'flat bottom of a boat with no keel'.

Attested with this meaning from 1678, *sole* is generally seen as a seafaring term (Richelet, Corneille, Littré, s.v. 4. *sole*, and TLFi, s.v. *sole*[2]). In the available documentation, the voyageurs use the word in relation to pirogues or dugout canoes:

> Leurs canots sont tous sans exception fait de cèdre et d'une seul piece. Nous en vîmes (et c'étoient les plus grands) qui avaient près de cinq piéds de largeur et 30 piéds de longeur, et portent de 25 à 30 personnes. . . . Le devant se termine en pointe fort allongé,

de manière que de la **Sole** ou dessous du canot à l'extremité de cette pointe au dessus, il ny a pas moins de quatre à cinq piéds. (1819, journal of Gabriel Franchère in Lamb 1969: 101, 253)

[Without exception their canoes are made of a single cedar log. We saw some (they were the largest) nearly five feet wide and thirty feet long, capable of carrying 25 to 30 people. . . . The bow ends in an elongated point so that from the bottom of the canoe to the upper end of this point there is not less than four or five feet.]

Terriere (gender indeterminate) n. 'auger'.

Variously spelled in other documents (*teriere*, *tériére*, *terrière*, *terriére*, *térriere*, *terrierre*, *terrier*, etc.; recorded as *teriere* in 1680 by Richelet), the word is a variant of *tarière*, the dominant form in standard French since about the end of the seventeenth century (see Académie 1694, s.v. *tariere*). Both forms were in use in Canada (Potier records *un tarriere* in the Pays d'en Haut in 1745–46; Halford 1994: 86; see also Juneau 1972: 44–45). The word is attested in French from the eleventh century under the form *taredres* (TLFi, s.v. *tarière*).

The uncertainty in regard to the gender of the word was already documented in French during the seventeenth century; since 1676, it was observed that among some groups of workmen, the feminine form (*une tariere*) was used to refer to a small auger and the masculine for a bigger one (TLFi, s.v. *tarière*). Although the context is not clear enough to determine with certainty the gender of the word in Truteau's writings, it is probable that he used it as a masculine noun (*un terriere*), which is the dominant usage in Canadian French and, more recently, in Québécois French (up until the twentieth century) (see GPFC, s.v. *tériére*, and DGLFC, s.v. *tarière*). Both variants (*ter-*/*tar-*) (with various spellings) were also employed in the Great Lakes region and in the Illinois Country:

5# de castor donai a Baptis LaChenau pour acheter des **terrier** (1794, Broulliard A [Day Book A] [Sep. 4], p. 123, Illinois State Historical Library, Pierre Ménard Collection, reel 16)

[5 pounds of beaver given to Baptiste Lachenau to buy some augers]

Je vous envoye mon **tarierre** casser et je vous prie de man procurér un autre . . . sames [=ça m'est] nassesaire pour ma traine. (1824, Charles Grignon to Augustin Grignon (Dec. 14), SHSW, Grignon, Lawe and Porlier Papers, reel 4, frame 360)

> [I am sending you my broken auger, and I am asking you to get me another one. . . . I need it for my toboggan.]
>
> Quelle honte pour mr. Wood & Kerns [?] d'avoir permis un pareil ouvrage! Non seulement tout est trop faible, mais quel bois! — plein de trous de **térriere** et de noeuds. (1841, MHS, Fur Trade Collection, "Log-book of Capt. Joseph A. Sire": 4)
>
> [What a shame for Messrs Wood and Kerns that they allowed such a bad piece of work to be done! Not only everything is too weak, but what wood! Full of auger holes and knots.]

Tigre m. n. 'mountain lion or cougar (*Felis concolor* or *Puma concolor*)'. Sometimes written *tygre* in older documents.

As a name given to the mountain lion, *tigre* is first attested in a French to Miami-Illinois dictionary completed at the beginning of the eighteenth century: **tigre**[:] kin8nsa8e8[a] (Pinet 1696–1702: 586). However, the word *tigre* was already employed during the seventeenth century (since ca. 1675), along with *lion*, to evoke the possibility that these large Asian and African felines could be found in America, since the cougar was not yet precisely described and identified by the French. Before it became a regular name for the mountain lion, *tigre* was used to describe it in such contexts as "une espece de tigre" [a kind of tiger]. (Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 129).

Tigre was used in Upper and Lower Louisiana:

> Je vous envoye par la berge conduite par Samuel [Young?] un pacton contenants[:] 39. chats[,] 2. loups[,] 3. pichoux[,] 1. **tigre**. (1829, Solomon Bissonnette (Fort Edouard) to R. Farnham (Jun. 12), MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 15, frame 499)
>
> [I am sending you, by the barge conducted by Samuel Young, a small pack containing 39 raccoons, 2 wolves, 3 bobcats, 1 mountain lion.]

Traite f. n. 'commerce based on barter; trade'.

Also spelled *traitte* in Truteau's texts. This spelling as well as *traicte* are found in historical documents. The word *traite* refers to the type of commerce established between whites and American Indians. The pelts and furs obtained by the Indians through hunting and trapping constituted the bulk of this trade. The use of this word is attested from 1582 in a contract drawn up in France but regarding North America:

> aller [au Canada] pour la **traite** des fourrures à partir de la dite Terre-Neuve (document quoted in Turgeon 2004: 110)

[to go to Canada for the fur trade from the said Newfoundland]

This is the first occurrence of the compound *traite des fourrures* (fur trade), now widely used by historians. The compound *traite de pelleteries* appears in 1604 in a contract drawn up in Normandy:

au proffict et esmollument de ce qui proviendra au moien de la terre de l'Acadie, **traite** de pelleteries, pescheries et choses à lui conceddez. (document reproduced in Le Blant et Baudry 1967: 47)

[to the profit and emoluments of what will come from the land of Acadia, peltry trade, fisheries, and things granted to him.]

Traite des pelleteries was by far more frequently used than *traite des fourrures* during the French regime.

The word *traite* illustrates very well the links between the seafaring terminology and the vocabulary of the fur trade; more precisely, it shows the maritime origins of this type of trade. Indeed, in French North America during the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth, it was mostly fishermen, for whom bartering of goods with the Indians represented extra income (see Turgeon 2004). Richelet's *Dictionaire françois* (1680) shows this semantic value of the word *traite* by presenting it as a *terme de mer* (sea term): "commerce entre des vaisseaux & les habitans d'une côte" [commerce between ships and coastal inhabitants] (quoted in TLFi, s.v. *traite*). This use of *traite* follows from the older meaning of "traffic que font les bâtiments de commerce" [trade done by commercial ships] (Cotgrave 1611; quoted in TLFi, s.v. *traite*), which results from the sense of "transport de marchandises entre différents pays (ou différentes provinces)" [transportation of goods between different countries or provinces].

From the seventeenth century on, the noun *traite* prevailed in the linguistic usage throughout the French possessions in North America to refer to commerce with the Indians, a trade that was no longer carried out only along the shores. It supplanted, among others, the words *trafic* and *troc* 'barter', but without eliminating them. Moreover, it was not considered a seafaring term in Furetière's dictionary (1690): "TRAITTE, *signifie aussi, Trafic, commerce avec les Sauvages. En Canada on fait la traitte des castors avec les Yroquois* [*Traitte* also means traffic, commerce with the Indians. In Canada, one trades beavers with the Iroquois]." In 1765, Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* defines the word *traite* similarly: "on appelle ainsi en Canada le négoce que les François font avec les sauvages, de leurs castors & autres pelleteries" [so is called in Canada the trade in beavers and other peltries between the French and Indians] (*Encyclopédie* 16, s.v. *traite*).

Among fur traders and *marchands équipeurs*, the word *traite* was employed in compounds referring to various goods specifically dedicated to the fur trade: *chemise de traite* (trade shirt), *drap de traite* (woollen trade cloth), *fusil de traite* (trade gun), *hache de traite* (trade axe), not to mention the generic designation *marchandises de traite* (trade goods).

SYN. TROQUE

Traiter trans. v. 'to trade, to buy and sell, to barter'. Also written *traicter* and *traitter* in old documents.

This use of the verb *traiter* is attested from the end of the sixteenth century (before 1582) in a text pertaining to the short-lived French colony in Florida (quoted in Canac-Marquis and Rézeau 2005: 130). From the seventeenth century on, the verb *traiter* prevailed in the terminology relating to commerce between whites and Indians. It supplanted, for the most part, the verbs *trafiquer* and *troquer*, which, however, continued to be used in more polished language. After passing through the French settlements in the Illinois Country at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, Perrin du Lac noticed that it was the "[s]eul terme en usage dans le pays pour désigner les échanges que les Blancs font avec les Sauvages" [the only term in use in the country to refer to exchanges made between the white people and the Indians] (text published in 1805, quoted in GMVF, s.v. *traiter*). For a more complete description of *traiter*, see Canac-Marquis and Rézeau (2005: 130).

SYN. TROQUER trans. v.

Traiteur m. n. 'fur trader'. Also written *traitteur* in other documents.

As a designation of a person doing commerce based on barter and exchange (generally of pelts and furs for European goods), it is attested from 1671 in the journal of Father Bruyas, a missionary among the Iroquois: "Nos traitteurs ['Iroquois traders'] retournerent avec quarante barils d'eau de vie" [Our traders went back with forty barrels of brandy] (JR 53:256). Rapidly, the word specialised and referred more particularly to a merchant who "traded" (*faisait la traite*), that is, who engaged in the fur trade with the Indians and bartered goods from Europe or produced in the colony for pelts and furs. This use is also attested from 1671: "Ils ont peu d'idée des François, depuis que deux traiteurs de robbes de Castor ont parû chez eux" [They have a poor opinion of the French ever since two traders in beaver robes appeared among them] (JR 54:224). In this sense, the word applies as much to the voyageur (or *marchand voyageur*) as to the merchant based at a trading post. *Traiteur* is a derivative of the verb *traiter* that is essentially associated with the French spoken in North America: "On donne le nom de Traiteurs à ceux qui font la traite avec les Sauvages

de la Louisiane" [The name *traiteurs* is given to those who trade with the Indians of Louisiana] (Académie 1762) (see also TLFi, and FEW *tractare* 13²: 141b). In the voyageurs' terminology, the word referred not only to a merchant proper but also to a person hired by a merchant or a fur company in order to take charge of the trading operations at a post. Thus, depending on the organization, the designation *traiteur* could include the clerk or the interpreter working at a trading post.

SYN. MARCHAND VOYAGEUR, VOYAGEUR

Trappe de fer f. n. 'iron or steel trap'. See p. 471.

Truteau (1796) gives the oldest attestation of *trappe de fer* 'iron trap', which can also be translated as 'steel trap', since such traps were sometimes made of iron covered with steel. Although iron or steel traps were known and used in France since at least the sixteenth century, they were not much used by the white hunters in New France, and few of them were traded to Native hunters during the French regime (Saint-Pierre 1987: 217); they were expensive, heavy, and difficult to repair. Traditional pit traps, deadfalls, and snares, were by far the most common trapping devices (Kent 2001, 1: 229–30). Of these, the latter two were the most frequently used (Saint-Pierre 1987: 195, 218).

Among fur traders and outfitters throughout the French period up until the beginning of the nineteenth century, a metal trap was generally called *piège* or, less frequently, *piège de fer*. Models made especially for trapping beaver were called *piège à castor*; there were also *piège à renard* (fox trap), *piège à martre* (marten trap), *piège à rat* (muskrat trap): "Le Sioux a tre mal aji de puis que jais affaire a lui[;] ne le menagé pa–il doit te remettre mon fusil & 1 piege a castor" [The Sioux behaved very badly since I dealt with him; do not treat him gently. He has to give you back my gun and one beaver trap] (1823, Louis Grignon [near Portage, Wisconsin] to Augustin Grignon [Apr. 16], SHSW, Grignon, Lawe and Porlier Papers, reel 3, frame 573).

The device was also generally called *piège* in France (but also by other names, such as *traquenard*) as one can see, for instance, in a hunting treatise published in Paris in 1660 (*piege de fer* in Fortin 1660: 205) as well as in the *Encyclopédie* in 1765 (*piége* in Enc, s.v. *piége*). In 1701, on the cargo manifest of merchandise and commodities sent to Detroit, there were *6 pieges*, which were metal traps (Kent 2001, 2: 1019). In fact, the word *piège* (formerly spelled *piege* and *piége*) is the generic term for any type of trapping device. In New France, the words *trappe* and *attrape*, both related, were used as synonyms of *piège*:

> les Sauvages s'occuperent, les uns à pêcher des *Truites* & les autres à faire des piéges ou **trapes** pour prendre des Loutres sur les bords de ce Lac. Ces machines se font avec de petits piquets plantez en figure de quarré long qui forment une petite Chambre, dont la porte est soutenuë par un piquet, au milieu duquel est attachée une corde passée dans une petite fourche où la truite est bien liée. (1702, Lahontan 1990, 1: 334–335)
>
> [some of the Indians fished for trout while the others were employed in laying traps for otter on the banks of this lake. These devices are made of five stakes placed in the form of an oblong quadrangle, so as to make a little chamber, the door of which is supported by a stake, to the middle of which is attached a cord going over a small fork where a trout is securely tied.]

Attrape seems to have been more common than *trappe*. Both words were used interchangeably by some authors, such as Hennepin:

> ils prennent encore des Castors au Printemps avec des **trappes** en la maniere suivante. Quand les glaces commencent à fondre, ils remarquent les endroits par où ils sortent, & là ils font une **attrape**, l'amorce ou l'appast, est une branche de bois de tremble, qui va depuis l'**atrappe** jusques dans l'eau; quand les Castors la rencontrent, ils la mangent jusques dans l'**atrappe**, où ils font tomber deux grosses billes de bois qui les accablent. (Hennepin 1683, 2: 78–79)
>
> [they still catch beavers in the spring with traps in the following manner. When the ice starts to melt, they notice the places through which they come out, and there they make a trap; the bait is the branch of an aspen tree, that goes from the trap to the water. When the beavers come across it, they eat it up to the trap, where they cause two big logs to fall, which crush them.]

While the words were used in the same context as *pièges*, they tended to be restricted to narrower meanings and generally referred to pit traps and deadfalls—traps like the one described by Hennepin, made on the spot by the trapper (with logs, stakes, rocks, etc.), in which a weight falls on the prey. An exception to this is found in a treatise on North American quadrupeds written by a Jesuit missionary ca. 1675, in which the word *attrape de fer* is used instead of *piège de fer* to refer to iron traps:

> Cet animal frequente plus les sapinieres que tous autres endroits et c'est la principallement qu'on les prend et qu'on leur tent des **attrapes de fer**, ou de bois. (Nicolas ca. 1675: 12v.)

[This animal goes to the fir forests more than anywhere else, and that is the place where they are caught the most and where iron traps or wood traps are set.]

This attestation of *attrapes de fer* implies that *attrape* could sometimes have a broader meaning and refer to a metal trap. In this case, it is possible that the word *trappe* could also have a broader sense and be used in North America to refer to a steel or iron trap during the French period. However, since the first clear occurrence of this meaning seems to date only from 1796, it is quite likely that this broadening of meaning results from the influence of the English word *trap*. Indeed, the usage of metal traps in the interior of New France began to increase toward the end of the French regime (during the 1750s), perhaps in part through the influence of British and American traders, who began to introduce improved models of traps to the Great Lakes region at that time (Kent 2001, 1: 229–30). In addition, the quantity of steel traps among the trade goods of Montréal-based traders increased significantly after the British conquest of 1760, such traps being made by American blacksmiths and therefore more easily obtained (Russell 1978: 124–25). In this view, *trappe de fer* would be an example (the only one?) of English-influenced terminology in Truteau's writings.

Troque s. f. 'direct exchange of goods without the use of money; a barter'. Also written *trocque* (JS: 6, 9). The feminine word *troque* is a variant of the masculine noun *troc* (same pronunciation), which is a word of unknown origin attested from 1464, and as early as 1364 under the form *truke* (TLFi, s.v. *troc*). The feminine form *troque* is attested from 1520 (ibid.), and was in use up until the nineteenth century. Today, only the masculine variant (*le troc*) is still part of common usage, whereas the feminine one (*la troque*) is mostly used by historians (see also FEW *trokk*-13²: 317a).

Troque, as well as the verb *troquer* 'to barter', were employed to some extant in French America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "ce qui a absolument empesché leurs dits hommes de faire leurs troque avec les Sauvages" [which has completely prevented their men bartering with the Indians] (1684 document in Dubé 1993: 171). The word appears in Lahontan's *Nouveaux voyages* (1702): "quelques Vaisseaux de Saint Jean de Luz qui doivent partir de ce lieu là . . . , pour aller faire la troque avec les Habitans de Plaisance" [some ships from Saint Jean de Luz that are supposed to leave from that place . . . , to go barter with the inhabitants of Placentia] (Lahontan 1990, 1:497); see also Lafitau (1724, 2:482). However, in North America *troque* was supplanted by *traite*. The claim that *troque* is a term "qui n'est guéres en usage que dans les Colonies Françoises

de Canada" [that is scarcely employed but in the French colonies of Canada] (Savary des Bruslons 1741, s.v. *troque*) is inaccurate. The word was of frequent use in the French West Indies during the seventeenth century. It regained some popularity during the nineteenth century in regard to the commerce in the French colonies of western Africa (Brunschwig 1962: 340; see also Littré, s.v. *troque*). Truteau's generation of fur traders seems to have been the last to use the term *troque*.

Vache (sauvage) f. n. 'female of the American buffalo (*Bison bison*)'.

As the name of the buffalo cow, *vache sauvage*, the counterpart of *boeuf sauvage*, is attested from 1683:

> Les **Vaches sauvages** vont dans les Isles pour empescher que les Loups ne mangent leur [*sic*] veaux ; & quand mesme les Veaux peuvent courir, les Loups n'oseraient s'en approcher, car les Vaches les extermineroient. (Hennepin 1683: 126)
>
> [The buffalos cows go to the islands so to prevent the wolves from eating their calves; but even when the calves can run about, the wolves would not dare to approach them, for the cows would exterminate them.]

With the same meaning, *vache* is attested from 1668:

> ils n'ont point ch[e]z eux de forest, mais bien de grandes prairies, où les boeufs, les **vaches**, les cerfs, les ours, & les autres animaux paissent en grand nombre. (JR 51:50–51)
>
> [they have no forests in their country, but vast prairies instead, where oxen, cows, deer, bears, and other animals feed in great numbers.]

It must be noted that *vache sauvage* meant 'cow elk' among the French Canadians during the seventeenth century. As they became more familiar with the buffalo in the interior of the continent, this meaning was progressively replaced by 'buffalo cow'. The Canadians finally adopted *biche* to refer to the cow elk, a word already employed by some missionaries and prominent figures like Samuel de Champlain between 1603 and 1675.

Valeur (de) complex adj. 'unfortunate, regrettable, deplorable'. Generally used with the verb *être* ('to be'). See p. 454.

The first occurrence of *de valeur* 'of value' with a similar sense is by Frontenac, governor of New France, in 1691:

> Cet échec qui était **de valeur** pour eux, pour me servir de leurs termes, parce que parmi leurs morts il y avait leurs principaux chefs, les rallentit beaucoup. (RAPQ 1927–28: 68, quoted in DHFQ, s.v. *valeur*).
>
> [This defeat (of the Iroquois), which was unfortunate to them, to use their own words, because their principal chiefs were among their dead, slowed them down much.]

A distinctive characteristic of the French spoken in North America, *de valeur* is still current in Québécois and Acadian French. It is found in the writings of other fur traders of Canadian origin or those who had learned French in Canada:

> c'est **de valeur** pour un pauvre garçons comme je suis de me trouver dans des dettes si considerables. (1794, John Reeves [Makinac] to Grant, Campion & Co., Jul. 9, Collection Baby, U-10371: 1–2)
>
> [it is unfortunate for a poor boy such as I am to be so deep in debt.]

During the French regime, *de valeur* was sometimes associated with Indian speech, and some observers attributed its use by the Canadians to Indian influence (DHFQ). It is true that this complex adjective appears in some French versions of Indian speeches, which could imply that the interpreters were calquing a Native expression. Examples of this can be found in Lahontan's *Mémoires de l'Amerique septentrionale*, in which *de valeur* has, however, another meaning (important, worth being considered):

> Quand on les interoge leur réponse est concise & presque monosillabique, à moins qu'ils ne soient dans le Conseil, autrement vous les entendez dire, *Voilà qui est bien, cela ne vaut rien, cela est admirable, cela est raisonnable, cela est de valeur*. (1702, Lahontan 1990, 1:643–44; note that this passage and subsequent ones were plagiarized by Truteau (DQ, Ia: 57)
>
> [When one interrogates them, their answer is concise and almost monosyllabic, unless they are attending a council, otherwise you hear them say: *That is good, that is worth nothing, that is admirable, that is reasonable, that deserves consideration*.]

In short, the Indian influence on the meaning of this term has yet to be proven. One cannot reject the possibility that the North American meanings of *de valeur* might be original developments from the meaning 'very precious', attested in French dictionaries since 1690 (DHFQ).

Vert, verte adj. 1. 'undressed skin or hide'. 2. 'freshly removed skin or hide'. See pp. 481–82.

The adjective *vert* (m.) / *verte* (f.) (literally 'green') in the sense of 'undressed' or 'uncurried' (in relation to a hide or leather) is attested in French from 1604 (see FEW 14 *v r dis*: 507a; Furetière, s.v. *verd*; Littré, s.v. *vert*). In North America this use is attested from the seventeenth century; for example:

> ladite peau [de chevreuil passée] nous procura le moyen de faire des souliers, lesquels nous estoient bien plus commodes que ceux que nous avions faits avec des peaux de boeuf **vertes** ou fraischement habillées [préparée pour le tannage], lesquelles nous faisoient venir du mal aux pieds lorsqu'ils estoient eschauffez. ("Relation de Henri Joutel," ca. 1689–98, in Margry 3:306)
>
> [the aforementioned hide (of tanned deerskin) gave us the means to make moccasins, which were more comfortable for us than those we made from green or freshly dressed (prepared for tanning) buffalo hide, which caused us sore feet when they became overheated.]

Green hides were not a negligible article of trade; for example:

> Estat des pelleteries provenant de la traitte qui a été faite au fort Frontenac, et a Niagara pendant l'année 1739[/] Sçavoir[:] 634 ours a 3 # 5 [sols] . . . 298 peaux de cerfs **verts**. (BAnQ-Q, Archives des colonies, série C11A, vol. 72: fol. 143)
>
> [Account of peltries originating from the trade at Fort Frontenac and at Niagara during the year 1739(/) viz(:) 634 bear at 3 livres 5 (sols) . . . 298 green deerskins.]

In 1791 the trader and interpreter John Long, in an English-French lexicon relating to different peltries, translated *vert* as "raw" and as "unprepared": "Raw stag skins [=] *Cerfs verts*" [Unprepared roebuck skins [=] *Chevreuils verts*] (Long 1791: 216).

The adjective *vert* 'green' was applied to the word *peau* 'hide' with or without the name of the animal (e.g., *peau verte*, *peau de chevreuil verte*, *chevreuil vert*).

Voiture f. n. 'boat'. See p. 485. To refer, in a generic manner, to a means of transportation, whether on land or on water, *voiture* is attested from the thirteenth century, first under the form *veicture* (TLFi).

For the Canadian voyageurs operating around the Great Lakes and in the northern regions for the benefit of the trading companies based in

Montréal, the word *voiture* referred most often to a bark canoe, as is illustrated by this extract from the memoir of the voyageur Jean-Baptiste Perrault (written about 1830): "[M]r Hontson a pris un canot du nord pour ne faire qu'une seule voiture et s'est renforci de provisions, car il n'en avoit plus" [Mr. Hontson took a north canoe in order to have only a single *voiture* and was replenished with provisions since he had none left] (Cormier 1978: 137).

Voler le(s) chemin(s) v. expr. 'to move, go or come with haste, furtively and stealthily'. See p. 471.

Voler le chemin ('steal the road') and its plural variant *voler les chemins* is most likely a calque from an Indian expression, since it only appears in context of reported Native speech. Truteau (1795) gives the first attestation for both variants:

> Il sont déjà fort irrités contre nous a ce sujet et en particulier contre le S^{r} Jacques Déglise, qui **volent** [*sic*], disent-ils, toutes les étées **le chemin**. (JS: 35)
>
> [They already are angry with us about this matter, and in particular with Sr. Jacques d'Église who "steals the road" every summer, as they say.]
>
> nous ne cherchions qu'a les irrites en **volent les chemins**. (JS: 36)
>
> [we were only attempting to annoy them by "stealing the roads."]

The expression was used by other traders from St. Louis, as is shown in a journal written by Jules DeMun:

> Ils me parlerent beaucoup contre la Plume Blanche, me disant qu'il étoit venu me conte[r] de fausses nouvelles, qu'il n'etoit pas envoyé par par [*sic*] les chefs mais qu'il avoit **volé le chemin** p[ou]r être le premier a m'apporter des nouvelles. (DeMun 1816: 10–11)
>
> [They talked badly of White Feather, telling me that he came to relate false news to me, that he was not sent by the chiefs, but that he had stolen the road to be the first to bring me news.]

From the traders' jargon, the expression *voler le chemin* crept into general use among the Missouri French-speaking Créoles, with the slightly broader meaning of *'se sauver, s'enfuir'* ['to run away, to flee'] (Carrière 1937: 320; however Carrière mistakingly attributed it to English *to steal away*, which would have become *to steal the way* among the Créoles, and then translated as *voler le chemin*).

Volier m. n. 'flock of wild birds in flight, especially during their migratory movements'.

Attested from 1744 by Father Potier, who noted the word during a trip between Niagara and Detroit (Halford 1994: 53, DHFQ, s.v. *volier/voilier*). It coexists with the variant *voilier*, attested only from 1890 (DHFQ). Still well known in Québécois French, the word *volier* is also used in Acadian French (Mass 291, No. 480) as well as in Louisiana French (Read 1931: 75). It seems that *volier* is a legacy of regional varieties of French; the word has been found in the northwest and center of France (DHFQ).

Voyageur m. n. 1. 'licensed merchant who carries out the fur trade with the Indians in their territory, on his own or as part of a company'. 2. 'man engaged in fur trade voyages, including the hired hand whose principal task is to transport the merchandise and peltries, either by water (in canoes, pirogues, barges) or by land (on the backs of horses or mules)'.

Voyageur 'a licensed merchant' is attested from 1682 (DHFQ, s.v. *voyageur*). This meaning of *voyageur* was in use mostly during the French regime in Canada, notably as a professional title. During this period, *voyageur* was a synonym of *traiteur* (fur trader), but not an absolute one, for it only referred to "voyaging" fur traders (hence *voyageur*), chiefly the ones going back and forth from Montréal to different posts in the Pays d'en Haut; it was a synonym of *marchand voyageur*. This meaning of *voyageur* completely disappeared toward the very beginning of the nineteenth century. Yet the word was already commonly employed during the second half of the previous century with its second meaning (a man engaged in fur trade voyages), especially in reference to the canoemen transporting the goods and furs. This meaning is clearly attested from 1695, but may have appeared a little sooner. With this semantic value, *voyageur* became a specific of the more generic term *engagé*. However, for Truteau, and probably for many traders of his generation, *voyageur* mainly referred to a voyaging fur trader.

SYN. (sense 1) MARCHAND VOYAGEUR.

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

AAQ	Archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec
Académie	*Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*
BAnQ-Q	Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Québec.
BAnQ-M	Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Montréal
BrunotHLF	Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours*
Clapin	Sylva Clapin, *Dictionnaire canadien-français*
Corneille	Thomas Corneille, *Le dictionnaire des arts et des sciences*
CRNC	William Saunders, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*
DA	Mitford M. Mathews, *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*
DARE	*Dictionary of American Regional English*
DAW	Win Blevins, *Dictionary of the American West*
DC	Walter S. Avis, *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*
DCECH	Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*
DDL 47	Pierre Rézeau, *Matériaux pour l'histoire du vocabulaire français*, vol. 47
DFQ	Claude Poirier, *Dictionnaire du français québécois*
DGLFC	Louis-Alexandre Bélisle, *Dictionnaire général de la langue française au* Canada
DHFQ	Claude Poirier, *Dictionnaire historique du français québécois*
DN	Nicollet version of the description
DQ	Québec version of Description (DQ 1a = first cahier; DQ 1b = continuation of first cahier; DQ II = second cahier; DQ III = third cahier
Dunn	*Glossaire franco-canadien et vocabulaire de locutions vicieuses usitées au Canada*
FEW	Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*
FTLFQ	Lexical file of *Trésor de la langue française au Québec*
Furetière	Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*
GAHLF	*Le Grand Atelier Historique de la Langue Française*
Godefroy	Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*
GPFC	La Société du parler français au Canada, *Glossaire du parler français au Canada*
HAINM	Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*
HNAI	Raymond DeMallie, *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 13, *Plains*
Huguet	Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*

JalNaut	Augustin Jal, *Nouveau glossaire nautique d'Augustin Jal*
JQ	Québec version of the journal
JR	Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*
JS	Seville version of the journal
JW	Washington or National Archives version of Journal
La Curne	La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois*
L&C	Gary E. Moulton, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*
Littré	Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*
Mass	Geneviève Massignon, *Les parlers français d'Acadie*
MHS	Missouri Historical Society
NYROP	Kristoffer Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (CD-ROM; version 2.0)
PLarousse	*Le Petit Larousse illustré*
PPQ	Gaston Dulong and Gaston Bergeron, *Le parler populaire du Québec et de ses régions voisines*
PPQ	*Atlas linguistique de l'est du Canada* The data in these volumes result from surveys done between 1969 and 1973. In citations, the abbreviation PPQ is followed by the question number.
RAPQ	*Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec*
RH	Alain Rey, *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*
RHWUD	*Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary* (CD-ROM version)
Richelet	Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois*
Robert 2001	Paul Robert, *Le Grand Robert de la langue française*
SASTR	Service des Archives du Séminaire de Trois-Rivières (Québec, Canada)
SHSW	State Historical Society of Wisconsin
TLF	*Trésor de la langue française.*
TLFi	*Trésor de la langue française informatisé* (e-version at http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm)
Thurot	Charles Thurot, *De la prononciation française depuis le commencement du XVIe siècle*
Trévoux	*Dictionnaire universel françois & latin*
Webster 1986	*Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*
WW	Ramon Adams, *Western Words: A Dictionary of the Old West*

INTRODUCTION

1. For the history of the French in North America, especially in Canada, see Eccles (1964, 1969, 1972); and Havard and Vidal (2014).
2. For French expansion in the Great Lakes region and the Illinois country, see Eccles (1969); White (1991); and Havard (2003; 2016).
3. For La Salle's explorations, see Weddle (1987, 2003); and Foster (1998).
4. For Le Sueur's activities, see Wedel (1974).

5. For the French period in Louisiana, see Giraud (1953, 1958, 1966, 1974, 2012); McDermott (1969); Nasatir (1952, 1:1–57); Villiers du Terrage (1982); Ekberg (1998); and Havard and Vidal (2014). For fur trade institutions in French Louisiana, see Surrey (1916). For lower Louisiana, see Usner (1992).
6. For French exploration on the Missouri River, see Nasatir (1952, 1:8–10).
7. For Juchereau de Saint-Denis, see Phares (1952); on Spanish-French rivalry, see Folmer (1952).
8. For Law and the Company of the Indies, see Giraud (1966); and Vidal (2006).
9. See Norall (1988:15–27); and Giraud (1958).
10. See Phares (1952).
11. For Du Tisné's visit to the Wichitas, see M. M. Wedel (1972, 1973, 1982:124). For the names "pani" and "paniouassa," see Parks (2001, 1:564).
12. See Dunn (1915); Thomas (1935:99–260); and Hotz (1970).
13. Various writers erroneously identify the Padoucas during this period as Comanches (W. R. Wedel (1936:4); Nasatir (1952, 1:70). For a discussion of their identification as Plains Apaches, see Norall (1988:68–70); and Parks (2001, 2:938–39).
14. See Norall (1988:39–80).
15. Bienville in Margry 1876–1886, 6:455.
16. Throughout the French and Spanish periods the Pacific Ocean was referred to as both the "Western Sea" and the "Southern Sea."
17. For the Vérendrye expeditions, see Burpee (1927) and Smith (1980). For a discussion of tribes they visited, see Parks (2001:966–69; 2013).
18. See Havard (2016:309–12). For the articles of agreement between Desruisseaux and Vaudreuil, see Nasatir (1952, 1:23–27, 34–36).
19. For discussion of these expeditions, see Bolton (1917); and Nasatir (1952, 1:28–29, 42). For Fabry de la Bruyère's expedition, see Blaine (1979).
20. On the founding of St. Louis, see Fausz (2011) and Ekberg and Person (2015).
21. For the history of Spain in Louisiana, see Gayarré (1903, 3); McDermott (1974); Nasatir (1952, 1:58–115; 1976); Weber (1992); and Pitot (1979). For documents of the Spanish period in Upper Louisiana, see Houck (1909); Kinnaird (1949); and Nasatir (1952). For biographies of the Spanish governors of Louisiana, see de Montero de Pedro (2000). For the Treaty of 1763, see Calloway (2006).
22. In his instructions in 1770 to the lieutenant governor of Spanish Illinois, Gov. Alexandro O'Reilly decreed that the "commandant shall not refuse his license to anyone who shall be recognized as an honest man. For no reason at all shall he suffer or authorize any monopoly, or concede any exclusive rights." See Houck (1909, 1:77).
23. See "Report of Lieutenant Fraser" in Dunn (1894:408–17) and Stoddard (1812:297–98).
24. Spanish officials in New Orleans chose to ignore these pleas for reasons of economy and also because of their preoccupation with intrigues in Lower Louisiana (Nasatir 1952, 1:76).
25. For Ríu's statement, see Nasatir (1952, 1:66); for St. Ange's report, see Houck (1909, 1:44–45).
26. For recent studies of the voyageurs, see Podruchny (2006), Vézina (2010), and Harvard (2016).

27. See Truteau's complaint, below (journal, p. 47).
28. For contemporary comparisons of the English and Spanish fur trade in Upper Louisiana, see Collot (1826, 2:178–94), Perrin du Lac (1805:234–40), and Trudeau's report in Nasatir (1952, 1:175–80).
29. North West Company operations actually began in the area with the construction of Pine Fort several miles downriver from the mouth of the Souris River, probably in 1785 or earlier. Pine Fort was abandoned in 1794 (Harmon 1957:90).
30. See, for example, Brown (1960–62), Stewart (1930), Alwin (1979), and Wood and Thiessen (1985:8–17).
31. Carondelet to Alcudia, January 8, 1796, in Nasatir (1952, 2:385–95).
32. See documents entitled "Lieutenant Armstrong's Expedition to the Missouri River, 1790" and "André Michaux's Proposed Expedition, 1793," both in Nasatir (1952, 1:135–42, 164–67).
33. Piernas to Unzaga, in Nasatir (1952, 1:70). For identification of the Padouca, see note 97 in the journal.
34. This report is given in Nasatir (1952, 1:119–27).
35. For a discussion of Arikara and Mandan historical names, see synonymies in the chapters entitled "Arikara" and "Mandan" (Parks 2001, 1:362–64, 388–89).
36. Nothing is known of the early life of Jacques d'Église. For a biographical sketch of his career as a trader, see Nasatir (1952, 2:123–34).
37. The Hudson's Bay Company's and the North West Company's posts on the Souris River.
38. Bonaventura Collell, who advanced Garreau his merchandise and equipment on credit, states that they did reach their destination among the Mandans (Nasatir 1927:50).
39. The Tayenes, clearly a misprint for "Cheyennes," are not mentioned in Trudeau's report dated October 20, 1792; the first reference to them appears in d'Église's petition to Carondelet following his second trip, dated June 8, 1794 (Nasatir 1927:58–59).
40. "Merchants of St. Louis to Carondelet, June 22, 1793," in Nasatir (1952, 1:181–84).
41. Carondelet's original articles, plus the modifications to them made by the merchants and the addendum signed by twenty merchants and Trudeau, are given in Nasatir (1952, 1:186–94).
42. Clamorgan was born ca. 1730. In 1781 he came to St. Louis from New Orleans and operated from there throughout the remainder of his life. In 1807 he traveled to Santa Fe in an attempt to open trade. He died October 30, 1814. For biographical sketches, see Nasatir (1942, 1966a, 2:81–95). Winch (2011) is a biographical study of Clamorgan and his descendants.
43. These posts were located among the following tribes: Grand Osages, Little Osages, Kansas, Otoes, Republican Pawnees, Chawi Pawnees, Pitahawirata Pawnees, Skiri Pawnees, and Omahas.
44. The name of this company occurs in many variant forms in contemporary documents: Commercial Company of the Missouri, Company of Commerce

and Discoveries of the Missouri, Company of Commerce of the Upper Missouri, Company of Discoverers of the Missouri, Company of Discoveries of the Missouri, Company of Discoveries, Company of Explorers of the Upper Missouri, and Spanish Company of Discoveries to the West of the Missouri. Hereafter the name is cited simply as Upper Missouri Company.

45. For biographical sketches of these men, see Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, 4:10.
46. Carondelet did not report the formation of the Upper Missouri Company to his superiors until January 8, 1796 (Carondelet to Alcudia, in Nasatir 1952, 2:395–405). Although the king accorded it royal sanction on May 27, Carondelet dispatched the news of its approval to Clamorgan on October 26, 1796, a year and a half after formation of the company (Clamorgan to Carondelet, in Nasatir 1952, 2:470).
47. The copy of instructions given in English translation in Nasatir (1952, 1:243–53), and presented here in part 3, is one of several extant copies; this one is dated June 30, 1794, and has an appendix, dated November 25, that reports a meeting between Clamorgan, Reyhle, and Trudeau, in which the two directors acknowledge receiving from Trudeau a communication from Carondelet voiding articles eighteen and nineteen of the instructions.
48. Throughout his life Jean-Baptiste, like other members of the Canadian branch of the family, spelled his surname Truteau; members of the family who migrated to New Orleans, in contrast, changed the spelling to Trudeau, as illustrated by Zenon Trudeau, who was a distant relative of Jean-Baptiste. Despite Truteau's own spelling, it is not uncommon to find his name cited as Trudeau, (e.g., Beauregard, 1912; Robinson 1914).
49. An apparent historical reference to Truteau's trading activities in Canada is the trading license granted to Agustin Chaboillé, issued in Montréal on May 11, 1770, which contains the following information: 2 canoes; from Michilimackinac; 16 men, including J. Bte. Truteau; merchandise £ 900 (Nasatir 1966e).
50. For example, in a letter to Clamorgan and Reyhle during the third Upper Missouri Company expedition, Mackay wrote: "I wish you had given me better interpreters for the Maha. Many of those people at St. Louis who think they understand the Indians and who on that basis, wish to be sent out to the [Indians], when they arrive here, are only children. We need some good, shrewd interpreters" (Nasatir 1952, 1:352–53).
51. Mackay, like Truteau before him, remarked that one of the major impediments to maintaining successful commerce on the Missouri was "the bad behavior of our traders," which, together with the commerce of foreigners, threatened "to throw all the nations into insurrection and anarchy at once" (Nasatir 1952, 1:353).
52. See Liljegren (1941).
53. Berger, the son of Pierre Berger and Thérèse Hebert, married Josette Mayer, the natural child of Jean-Baptiste Mayer and an Omaha woman named Josette. Truteau was an officiating witness at the marriage in St. Louis on August 26, 1797 (Jameson 1914:310).

54. Neither Truteau nor any records found to date specify all members of the party, so it must be inferred from Truteau's journal that the last three individuals were among them.
55. Lécuyer's Christian name is not recorded.
56. Although Clamorgan and Reyhle give the total expense of this expedition as 96,779 pesos, the itemized expenses add up to only 54,032 pesos (Nasatir 1952, 1:340).
57. For the "Declarations of Fotman and Joncquard, St. Louis, July 4, 1795," see Nasatir (1952, 1:330–35).
58. Mackay was born in Arrichliney, Scotland, probably in 1759. Around 1776 he emigrated to Canada and entered the fur trade. Later, after the end of his service for the Upper Missouri Company, he was given the rank of captain in the Spanish Army and appointed commander of San André, a Missouri River post seven leagues from St. Louis, where he remained until 1804 when Louisiana was purchased by the United States. He died in St. Louis on March 16, 1822. See Nasatir (1966d); Wood (2003:35–42).
59. Wood (2003) is a study of the Mackay-Evans expedition.
60. He recommended to Clamorgan that a fort be established at the Otoe village to protect those people from their enemies and to provide them with merchandise that would obviate their need to trade with the British.
61. John Thomas Evans was born ca. April 1770 at Waunfawr, near Caernarvon, Wales. Sent to America by a London Welsh group to investigate reports of Welsh Indians in the interior of North America, Evans arrived in St. Louis in spring 1793, only to be imprisoned for two years by Spanish officials suspicious of his intentions. After returning from the Upper Missouri Company expedition he was a surveyor at Cape Girardeau and later, in 1799, died in the household of Gov. Gen. Gayoso de Lemos in New Orleans. See Nasatir (1931b, 1966c); Wood (2003:2–46).
62. For a description and discussion of the Evans map, see Wood (1981), (2003:133–51).
63. See Clamorgan to Carondelet, Ste. Genevieve, April 10, 1796; Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, St. Louis, December 20, 1797; and Trudeau to Governor, St. Louis, January 15, 1798; all in Nasatir (1952, 2:417–21, 527–29, 540–42).
64. Régis Loisel, the son of François Régis Loisel and Madeleine Massue, was born in the parish of l'Assomption, Montréal, date unknown. His great-grandfather had come to Lower Canada from Bayeux, France; his maternal grandmother was a member of the prominent Vallée family. Régis reputedly arrived in St. Louis in 1793, while still a youth, and became acquainted with Clamorgan at least by 1796. On May 27, 1800, he married Hélène Chauvin, the daughter of Jacques Chauvin, a St. Louis merchant. Until his early death in October 1804 he pursued a career as a trader and merchant. For a biographical sketch, see Abel (1939:20–32); for other details, see Nasatir (1952, 2:757).
65. Born at Lachine, Québec, outside Montreal, on January 15, 1755, Pierre-Antoine Tabeau was the younger son of Jean-Baptiste Tabeau and Marie-Josephe née Vallée. His great-grandfather, Pierre, emigrated to Canada from Prignac, France, in 1699, and over the next century the family counted many voyageurs

and coureurs de bois among its members. For a biographical sketch, see Abel (1939:32–43).

66. Known in the early eighteenth century as Nahukat Island, after the Arikara village NahuukaátA 'By the Water' and located there as late as 1832 (Parks 2001, 1:389). The island was later named after Gen. William H. Ashley, whose fur trading party encountered hostilities with Arikaras living there in 1823 (Reese 1952:196). Those hostilities resulted in the Leavenworth Campaign.
67. At least two versions of Tabeau's manuscript are extant: a copy found in the Nicollet papers, now in the Library of Congress, Washington DC, and a copy in the Roman Catholic archives in the Archbishop's Palace in Montréal. The latter copy is clearly a revision of the former made at some later date, since historical references in the Washington version are omitted from the Montréal copy and the grammatical and other errors in the Washington version are corrected in the Montréal version. Annie Heloise Abel (1939) published an annotated edition of the Washington version that provides cross-references to differences between the two copies.
68. See Bloom (1927) and Nasatir (1952, 1:113–14).
69. There are repeated references to Truteau opening the first school in St. Louis after arriving in the village in 1774, e.g., Dexter (1904:117–18); Carrington (1931:31, 43); and Nasatir (1966e:381–83). None of those assertions, however, is substantiated.
70. The first school of record was the "French and English Grammar School" established by Christopher Friedrich Schewe. It opened February 6, 1809 (McDermott 1940:97).
71. For a description of this house type, one typical of the Middle Mississippi Valley French Vernacular tradition, see Thurman (1984:1–2).
72. All of these donations were paid in tanned deerskins, the current medium of exchange given the lack of hard cash (Houck 1908, 2:299–300).
73. The French language edition of Truteau's journal and description was published in 2006 by Septentrion (Québec): Jean-Baptiste Trudeau, *Voyage sur le Haut Missouri, 1794–1796*. However, this present edition offers a new transcription of the original manuscripts.
74. The National Archives document corresponds to 166–98 in the Québec version herein.
75. It is available on microfilm from the National Archives as microcopy T260, roll 1.
76. McDermott speculated that Clamorgan may have given it to U.S. Territorial Governor Claiborne in New Orleans, who then may have sent it to the State Department in Washington, thus accounting for its being in the "Claiborne Correspondence." On December 10, 1795, Governor Carondelet acknowledged receipt of the continuation of Truteau's diary—undoubtedly a copy, not an original—and stated that he would do with it and several other documents "what is fitting for me to do" (Nasatir 1952, 1:371).
77. "Account of the Indian Trade," below.
78. Douglas's role in editing and writing the introduction to the publication is credited in a letter from Beauregard to Dr. Lawrason Brown, dated May 16, 1934, in the collections of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

79. This document corresponds to pp. 76–156 herein.
80. See Trudeau's letter of transmittal, in which he characterizes it as poorly copied (Nasatir 1952, 1:328–29).
81. The translation of the first part of the journal is credited to C. Stanley Stevenson of the South Dakota State Department of History, who was at times aided by Charles Gastine, a native Frenchman and college teacher of languages and music (Robinson 1914:405). It should be noted that there is a two-month hiatus between the end of the first and the beginning of the second part of Truteau's journal as represented by these two copies. The interval is, however, covered in the Québec version presented herein.
82. In the draft of the introduction to the French version the translator notes that it is a diplomatic copy except for punctuation, which had been altered to clarify the sense of the prose.
83. In a handwritten note dated April 9, 1923, that accompanies the manuscript, a Dr. Brush is mentioned as the translator and Albert Hyma signs himself as the emendator who corrected Brush's transcription.
84. This is at or about the same time Mitchill also obtained copies of other contemporary exploration manuscripts, among which are two descriptions of the Missouri River country, one by Soulard (Mitchill 1808a) and the other by Lewis (Mitchill 1808b), and another is an account of William Dunbar and Dr. George Hunter's journey up the Washita River (Mitchill 1806b).
85. For a later annotated version of the extracts from Mackay's and Evans's journals, together with related documents, see Quaife (1916). Quaife's edition is reprinted without its introduction and footnotes in Nasatir (1952, 2:490–99). All the Mackay and Evans documents are reprinted, with extensive commentary, in Wood (2003).
86. Mitchill's extract corresponds to pp. 143–45 of the Québec manuscript herein.
87. These longer extracts correspond to two sections of the Québec manuscript herein: one entitled "Customs of the Indians of the Upper Missouri," pp. 165–72; and the other "Love and marriages of the Indians of the Upper Missouri," pp. 181–87.
88. These contents are listed as follows: "1. A description of the Upper Missouri; 2. A sequel to that description; 3. The opinions of the Indians as to their origin, faith, and ceremonies in religious matters; 4. Mode of making peace, smoking the great pipe, and dancing in different ways, such as the calumet-dance, the sun-dance, and the bull-dance; 5. Conduct of the sexes toward each other, and marriages; 6. Their wars" (Mitchill 1806c:315).
89. These are located in the J. N. Nicollet collection (MMC-3289).
90. Mackay's "Table of Distances" appears in Abel (1923) and is reprinted in Nasatir (1952, 2:485–90). Abel published editions of "Trudeau's Description of the Upper Missouri" (1921), Chardon's journal (1932), and Tabeau's journal (1939).
91. The Nicollet version corresponds to pp. 136–50 of the Québec manuscript herein.
92. The concluding portion of the Boilvin manuscript published by Mitchill (1808c:121–24) is reprinted as Smith (1936). Nasatir's reprint of Abel's translation of the Nicollet manuscript appears in *Before Lewis and Clark* (1952, 2:376–82).

93. The Séminaire had negotiated a joint agreement with Laval University and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for the publication of the Contrecoeur papers (as Grenier 1952), and wished to arrange a similar agreement for other publications.
94. An agreement between the Séminaire de Québec and the American Philosophical Society, dated November 15, 1960, gives the latter institution exclusive publication rights to the Truteau manuscripts.
95. McDermott's papers, including materials relating to his work on Truteau's writings, are in the special collections of the library at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville. The preliminary translation of the journal and description commissioned by McDermott was made by Alma Myer of St. Louis and is preserved in his papers.
96. This document is reproduced on National Archives microfilm T260, roll 2. A photostat and related correspondence is preserved in McDermott's papers in special collections of the library of Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville.
97. The notes are in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress (137:23685); Jefferson's letter to Lewis, November 16, 1803, is printed in Jackson (1962:136–40).
98. His full name was Georges Henri Victor Collot, but he published under the name Victor Collot.
99. Sometimes spellings of proper names differ slightly, but in such cases they seem to reflect Collot's miscopying or re-rendering of Truteau's usages, e.g., Truteau's spelling "Wuisy" for a Cheyenne division is given by Collot as "Vouisy," and Truteau's "Tokiwako" or "Tokiouako" is Collot's "Tokiwuakos" (Collot 1826,1:287).
100. Nasatir (1952, 2:670) suggests that James Mackay and Auguste Chouteau were likely sources of information. The latter entertained Collot when he was in St. Louis.
101. Perrin du Lac's book went through two French editions in 1805 and an English and two German editions in 1807; for a description of which, see Wagner and Camp (1982:16–19).
102. See Perrin du Lac (1806). For biographical information, see Grenier (1953:208–9); Waldman (2004).
103. See Abel (1916) and Diller (1946:513–14). For reprinted copies of Mackay's and Perrin du Lac's maps, see Wood (1983, plates 4 and 9).
104. See Diller (1946:510–11) and Houck (1909, 2:179–80).
105. In addition to the Truteau journal extracts sent by Jefferson to Lewis on November 16, 1803 (printed in Jackson 1962:138–39), Jefferson's own copy of his extracts from the journal are preserved among his papers at the Library of Congress (137:23685). Curiously, among Lewis and Clark scholars, only Donald Jackson and John Logan Allen have documented or discussed Truteau as a source of information for the explorers. Allen (1975:139) suggests that Jefferson "probably received the Truteau journals from James Wilkinson in May, 1800" and speculates, certainly erroneously, that Lewis and Clark may

also have had the copy of Truteau's description that was later found in the Nicollet chest.

106. Geographical reports during the early Spanish period that provided lists of Indian tribes with whom there was trade include two written in 1769, one by Francisco Ríu and another by Pedro Piernas (Houck 1909, 1:62–75). Neither document, however, provides new information.
107. The report ends with a reference to the Mandans, who are referred to as the Higadosduros 'hard livers' or Pitacaricó, who live north of the Arikaras on the Missouri. The term Pitacaricó is the Pawnee name for the Mandans, *piitakariitu*, literally 'stone man', suggesting that the reference to the Mandans here came through a voyageur or trader from a Pawnee source rather than from someone who had visited the tribe, since virtually every trader who visited the Mandans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries knew them by a variant spelling of the name Mandan (e.g., Mantannes, Mantons, Mandians) (Parks 2001, 1:362–3).
108. Truteau writes that the western nomadic tribes had "no trinkets" of trade yet by the time he lived among the Arikaras (journal 99). By 1833, however, most native tools and utensils had been replaced by those of European manufacture (Maximilian 1906, 23:276).
109. Truteau's portrayal is corroborated for the Pawnees by Murie (1981, 1:114–54), and by the narratives of the Skiri religious leader Roaming Scout (Parks n.d.).
110. For discussions of intertribal trade on the Northern Plains, see Ewers (1968:14–33), Wood and Thiessen (1985:4–8), and Swaggerty (1991:351–53).
111. Truteau did not mention the practice of many French traders, who cemented ties with tribes by marrying an influential chief's daughter.
112. See Pitot (1979:80–86) for a contemporary discussion advocating that exclusive trade rights be granted to companies rather than privileging individuals. Large business houses, he and other New Orleans merchants argued, would have developed on the Missouri River and produced a flourishing trade and commercial centers to rival those of Canada.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNALS OF TRUTEAU

1. Name written at the top left corner of the folio. Truteau's father, Antoine Vincent (Bouis), was a shareholder in the Company of the Upper Missouri. Vincent Pascal, baptized in 1784, was likely one of Truteau's students and one of the scribes for this copy of the journal (Nasatir 1952, 1:211; St. Louis Census 1787; Collet 1876: 6, 101, 1918:25).
2. Text in angled brackets in the first part of the journal is from the Seville version. Ellipses and conjectural readings in square brackets reflect blotting of the text.
3. "The Illinois" refers to St. Louis, the capital of the western Illinois country.
4. No copy of this inventory is known to have survived.
5. The pirogue was a capacious light-draft river craft used by trappers, hunters, and Indian traders. It was a dugout, made from the trunk of a large tree, generally cypress or cottonwood; depending on size, it could carry from one to as many as fifty tons of cargo and as many as thirty men. Larger pirogues

reached dimensions of forty to fifty feet in length and five feet in width. Oars were the principal means of propulsion, and an oar at the stern served to guide the draft (Surrey 1916:57–58; Nasatir 1968:49). Although ideally a pirogue was equipped with a mast and a sail, there is no evidence that Truteau's pirogue was so equipped (see appendix 1:485, and glossary: *pirogue*).

6. St. Charles, St. Charles County, Missouri, some 20 miles northwest of St. Louis, was the first permanent white settlement on the Missouri River. Because it was located at the foot of a small range of bluffs that were high enough to protect the site from floodwaters, the village was at first known to its French Canadian settlers as Les Petites Côtes (the Little Hills) and later as Village des Côtes (Village of the Hills). Auguste Chouteau surveyed the settlement in 1787, after which time it became a town. During Spanish rule it was known first as San Fernando and later as San Carlos del Misuri, after San Carlos Borromeo, the sixteenth-century Archbishop of Milan and patron saint of the town's church. In 1797 the community comprised 450 inhabitants living in one hundred houses scattered along a single street about one mile long running parallel with the river. They were primarily French Canadians and their descendants, who subsisted chiefly by hunting, trapping, and trading with Indians (Houck 1908, 2:79–86; Work Projects Administration 1941:260–62).
7. The "old" Parisian itinerary league of the early eighteenth century was the equivalent of twenty-five leagues to a degree of latitude (2,281 *toises*) or 2.7617 miles, based on a measurement of nine thousand leagues for the earth's circumference. The "new" league resulted from a measurement of the earth's circumference made after 1792 that showed it to be greater by one thousand leagues. This resulted in an itinerary league that equaled 4 kilometers, or 2.485 miles (Littré 1869, 2:305).
8. Present Osage River.
9. Both the Missouria and Little Osage village sites, known respectively as Gumbo Point (23SA4) and Plattner (23SA3) archaeological sites, are located on the south side of the Missouri River on what was formerly named the Petitesas (Petits Os) or Little Osage plains, now Tetsau plains, in Saline County, Missouri. These villages were occupied from 1727 until 1777, or perhaps a decade longer, when the Sauks and Foxes and other northern tribes in Illinois dealt the Missourias and Little Osages crushing blows, encouraged by Spanish officials in St. Louis, who perceived them to be pro-French and hostile toward Spaniards. The remnants of the Missourias, no longer an independent people, fled up the Missouri River to reside with the related Otoes. Both spoke dialects of the Chiwere language. The Little Osages removed to the Osage River, where they joined their kindred, the Grand Osages (Chapman 1959; Moulton 1983–2001, 2:295–96, 302–3).
10. This village, known as the Kansa Village archaeological site (14PO24), is located on the north bank of the Kansas River 2 miles east of Manhattan, Manhattan County, Kansas, near the mouth of the Blue River. It was occupied from the 1790s until ca. 1830. Thomas Say, a member of the Long expedition, described its general appearance in 1819 and estimated that it comprised 120 lodges, which

suggests a population of about fifteen hundred people (James 1823, 1:120–30; W. R. Wedel 1959:177–78).

11. The Republican, or Kitkahahki, band of Pawnees was living on the Republican River as early as 1775, when Lt. Gov. Pedro Piernas reported them to be one of the Missouri River tribes trading furs at Spanish St. Louis. U.S. Army lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike visited a Republican Pawnee village on this river in 1806, and George C. Sibley wrote that a village he visited on the Loup River in 1811 included two groups that had resided on the Republican until two years prior. Two archaeological sites on this river, Kansas Monument (14RP1) and Hill (25WT1), are ascribed to the Republican Pawnees and date to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Kansas Monument, located 1.5 miles west and 1 mile south of present Republic, Republic County, Kansas, is the later one, estimated to date between ca. 1820 and 1831. The Hill site is 7 miles east and 2 miles south of Red Cloud, Webster County, Nebraska, and was inhabited earlier. This was the village Pike visited, and probably the one to which Truteau refers here. Whether the two sites represent separate communities or a single one that moved is unknown (W. R. Wedel 1959:59–60, 1986:156–58, 176–79; Witty 1968).
12. One of perhaps several islands opposite present Leavenworth, Kansas. William Clark referred to two called Isles des Parques or Field Islands (Moulton 1983–2001, 2:336–40); Nicollet labeled them "Old Cluster of Islands Called Isles des Parcs" and placed them in the location of present Leavenworth Island (Nicollet 1835–40:371; Missouri River Commission 1892:map 15). Changes in the Missouri River have altered the configuration of landforms here, making it difficult to associate them with contemporary islands.
13. This Kansa village was located near the mouth of Salt Creek, opposite Kickapoo Island, a few miles north of the boundary of present-day Fort Leavenworth, Leavenworth County, Kansas. It was occupied during the 1740s and 1750s. Subsequently the Kansas moved west and south to the lower reaches of the Kansas River, near the mouth of Blue River. Fort de Cavagnolle (1744–64), a French post, was located on rising ground overlooking the Salt Creek village (W. R. Wedel 1959:51–52; Hoffhaus 1964; Nicollet 1835–40:372).
14. The earliest documented Kansa village, an archaeological site (14DP2) at the junction of Independence Creek and the Missouri, at the location of Doniphan, Doniphan County, Kansas, some 60 miles above the Kansas River. The Kansas appear there on the Delisle map of 1718 and are so given by La Renaudière in 1723. Bourgmont stopped at the village in 1724 before heading west to visit the "Padoucas." Some eighty years later Lewis and Clark camped near the site at the mouth of Independence Creek, which they named (Tucker 1942:plate 15; W. R. Wedel 1959:51, 98–105; Moulton 1983–2001, 2:345–49; Norall 1988:51, 146).
15. Apparently contemporary St. Joseph Bend, located at St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri (Missouri River Commission 1892:map 17). William Clark referred to it as the Grand Bend or Grand de Tour (Moulton 1983–2001, 2:352–54). It is not to be confused with the Grand Détour (Great Bend) of the Missouri in South Dakota.

16. Lt. Gov. Zenon Trudeau.
17. The carrot (spelled *carot, carotte*) was a type of tobacco package in which tobacco leaves were twisted or rolled into a bundle that was thick in the middle and tapered at both ends (McDermott 1941:43; Hanson 1988; see appendix 1:477 and glossary).
18. Bullets for trade guns.
19. While ascending the Missouri in 1804, Pierre-Antoine Tabeau referred to Quenneville as "one of the most expert among the pilots of the Missouri." Later that year Tabeau mentioned that Quenneville (spelled "Guenneville") left the Arikara village to follow the Cheyennes in their travels and to trade with them. Abel suggests this may have been François Quenneville, born in 1742 in Canada, and apparently still trading on the Missouri in 1812 (Abel 1939:60, 87).
20. Trade guns of this period were smooth-bored muskets. The French term *fusil* was also used in English.
21. D'Église's boat, being smaller and lighter, could be unloaded and portaged across the narrow necks of long river bends that Truteau would have been forced to navigate by water.
22. The origin of this name is obscure. Nicollet (1838–39) cited "Nishnabatone" as an Omaha name meaning 'narrow', referring to the narrow tongue of land formed by this river and the Missouri. Thomas Say wrote that "nish-ba-bot-ona" was an Otoe name that meant 'canoe-making river' (James 1823, 3:300).
23. Collot (1924, 1:278) noted that a hunting canoe carried only two men. (see appendix 1:488).
24. The Otoe tribe. Truteau's designation "Otoctata" and similar variants appear throughout the historical literature, but the source of the name is obscure. Both Dorsey (Hodge 1910, 2:166) and Whitman (1937:xi) give the Otoe name for themselves as Watfota, clearly a variant of Otoctata; but Whitman was told that their proper name was "Tdjiwede" [*çiwére*] (Parks in HNAI 2001, 1:459–61). The Otoes were most closely related to the Iowas and the Missourias, with all three peoples speaking dialects of a single language; their closest relatives were the Winnebagos. Together those four groups comprise the Chiwere subgroup of the Siouan linguistic family. Their location given by Truteau accords well with other reports. In 1804 Lewis and Clark estimated their population at 500, and placed them on the south side of the Platte River, about 30 miles from its mouth (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:394). In 1798 Zenon Trudeau (Nasatir 1952, 2:539) reported them to have 400 men. Collot (1924, 1:281) gave their population as 300 warriors.
25. Probably the Linwood site (25BU1), located approximately one mile south and slightly west of present Linwood, Butler County, Nebraska. It is 3 miles south of the Platte River on an east bank terrace of Skull Creek (Grange 1968:19; W. R. Wedel 1936:29–31). The location agrees with that given for the "Panis" in 1777 by Lt. Gov. Francisco Cruzat and in subsequent descriptions (Houck 1909, 1:144). Lewis and Clark reported the Grand, or Chawi, Pawnees living here in 1804 (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:395–96), and Pike reported them here in 1806 (Jackson 1966, 1:325–27n, 2:23). Collot (1924, 1:281) gave their population as 700 to 800 warriors.

26. Presumably the Loup River, since the Panimahas, or Skiri Pawnees, lived on this stream throughout the early historic period when they were commonly known as the Panimaha, a Dhegiha Siouan designation meaning "upstream Panis" (J.O. Dorsey 1880; Parks in HNAI 2001, 1:518–19, 543, 545).
27. Probably the Palmer site (25HW1), located on a terrace above the north side of the Loup River 4 miles north and one mile west of Palmer, Howard County, Nebraska. It is thought to be the Skiri village reported by Lewis and Clark in 1804 and by John Dunbar in 1836 (Grange 1968:21; W. R. Wedel 1936:25–27). Collot (1924, 1:281) gave their population as 600 warriors.
28. The skin boats of the fur traders (Truteau's *canots de peaux*) were adaptations of the tub-like boats (*boucauts de peaux*) made by some upper Missouri tribes. Both are commonly referred to as bullboats. The traders' skin boats were made for travel on such rivers as the Platte, Niobrara, and Cheyenne, whose shallowness precluded use of boats drawing more than nine or ten inches. They were constructed of a willow pole and twig frame covered with buffalo rawhide and were commonly thirty feet long, twelve feet wide, and twenty inches deep. These boats were extremely light and well suited for navigation in low water (Chittenden 1903, 1:97–101; Metcalf 1972:79). (See appendix 1:488–89 and glossary, *boucaut de peau de boeuf;* LT 3.5.4.1).
29. The rate of water flow of the Platte River before it was restricted by dams and before its waters were used for irrigation is not precisely known, but it was very much greater than at present. "Average peak flow measurements before April of 1909 at North Platte were more than 500 cubic meters per second (using an average of 14 years), while peak flows for the 13 years between 1957 and 1970 averaged only 72 cubic centimeters per second" (Johnsgard 1984:82).
30. The Omaha Big Village archaeological site (25DK5) is located one mile northeast of present Homer, Dakota County, Nebraska. It had two periods of occupancy: from 1775 to 1819 and again from 1834 to 1845. During the earlier period, when Truteau visited the village, its population is estimated to have been approximately 2,500 people (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992:23–37, 41–51, 286–89). Collot (1924, 1:281–82) placed it twenty leagues above the Little Sioux River and noted that the Omahas were said to number 1,100 to 1,200 warriors.
31. The Sauks are an Algonquian-speaking tribe closely related to the Foxes, who allied with them in the early eighteenth century. In the late eighteenth century the Sauks were living along the Mississippi River between the Rock and Des Moines Rivers in northern Illinois and Iowa. Their primary enemies were the Sioux and Osages (Callender 1978:648–52).
32. Truteau uses the term *battures coupées* 'cut sand bars'. At river bends the current undercuts the bank on the outside curve and forms deposits (*battures*) opposite, on the inside of the curve. These deposits are continually shifting; the force of ice during the spring thaw and high water caused by snow melt cuts channels through them (Chittenden 1903,1:86; Lobeck 1939:227; Lass 1962:2). (See glossary: *batture coupée*, appendix 1.)
33. The Big Bend of the Missouri below present Ponca, Dixon County, Nebraska.

34. Following a dispute with Blackbird (Village Maker), Little Bow left the Omaha Big Village with a following of some 300 people and established a new fortified village on what is now Bow Creek, known also by its Omaha name, Village Creek, in present Cedar County, Nebraska. The precise location of the village is unknown. There is a scattering of Omaha-type village remains on the bluffs along Bow Creek, any of which might represent Little Bow's village. But perhaps the most likely location is the fortified site 25CD11. A compilation of historical references to Little Bow's village appears in Ludwickson, Blakeslee, and O'Shea (1981:79–85).
35. An island on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River located between Calumet Bluff on the left bank and White Bear Cliff on the right bank, approximately where the line between where the Nebraska counties of Cedar and Knox intersect the river (Missouri River Commission 1892:map 30). It is not designated on modern maps but it is called "I au Sigo" on John Evans's map and "Sego Island" on the Clark-Maximilian Sheet 7 (Moulton 1983–2001, 1:maps 7 and 18; 3:37–39); in 1839 Nicollet (1843:map) designated it "Buffalo Is." The word *chicot* 'stump' was also used to mean 'snag' (see appendix 1:494–95 and glossary). This island, evidently covered with washed-up snags and stumps, is not to be confused with modern Chicot or Big Cedar Island, upriver in South Dakota where the Todd and Gregory County line intersects the Missouri (Missouri River Commission 1892:map 33).
36. A large, tree-covered island that in 1890 extended between Mennonite Village and Bon Homme settlement in Bon Homme County, South Dakota, and just south of the old Santee Agency, Knox County, Nebraska (Missouri River Commission 1892:map 31). It is now inundated by Lewis and Clark Lake.
37. *Minot* is a dry measure equaling ca. 1.10746 bushels (Alexander 1840:70; McDermott 1941:104). *Livre*, as a measure of weight, equals slightly more than a pound, i.e., 1.079219 English pounds (Alexander 1840:56).
38. *Maïs non lessivé,* that is, dried corn. The staple food of the voyageurs was hominy, made by soaking dried corn in water that contained quicklime or ashes to soften the kernels and remove the hulls. The corn was then washed, mashed, and dried. Hominy was prepared for eating by boiling in water and adding a small amount of fat, which produced a thick mush (Henry 1901:54; Mackenzie 1901, 1:lxxx).
39. In the description, Truteau places the Ponca village on the Niobrara, two leagues from its mouth (see note 15). This site has not been positively identified archaeologically, although Wood (1959, 1965) suggests it was the Ponca Fort site (25KX1) located on a hill on the south side of Ponca Creek, about 1.5 miles from the Missouri River, in Knox County, Nebraska. Ponca Fort was a small fortified earthlodge village some two acres in size and apparently occupied at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1785 Miró placed the Ponca settlement about a league from the Missouri on a small river below the Niobrara (Nasatir 1952, 1:123, 126), while in 1804 Lewis and Clark noted an empty Ponca "town" on Ponca Creek, when the tribe was away on a hunt (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:48–50). For historical Ponca village sites, most of which are clustered on the Niobrara above its mouth, see Howard (1970).

40. A conspicuous landmark noted by nearly every traveler on the Missouri. Now called the Tower, it is located in eastern Boyd County, Nebraska, about a mile from the Missouri River (Missouri River Commission 1892:map 33). In 1804 William Clark described it as "a Cone . . . about 70 feet higher than . . . the high lands around it, the Bass is about 300 foot" and commented that it resembled a cupola (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:53). Although on most early maps it was designated by its contemporary name, on Clark-Maximilian sheet 8 it is labeled "The Steeple" (Moulton 1983–2001, 1:map 19). Nicollet (1843:map) designated it "The Tower" and gave it its Sioux name as well: "Pahah Owassoke" (*pahá owásoke* 'hill where red earth is dug').
41. The "English" traders represented the Michilimackinac Company. During the last decades of the eighteenth century they annually visited Prairie du Chien and the Des Moines and Saint Peter's Rivers (Minnesota) to trade with the Sioux, Iowas, and Sauks and Foxes, in what are now Minnesota and Iowa. Those tribes in turn traded with the Omahas, Otoes, and other tribes along the Missouri. These Canadian traders, however, also sought out tribes on and even west of the Missouri; in 1795 traders from the St. Peter's River (Minnesota) planned to construct a fort near the Omahas on the Missouri, and that same year traders from the Des Moines River visited Pawnees on the Platte (Davidson 1918:21; Nasatir 1952, 1:81, 175–80; Van der Zee 1914; Houck 1909, 2:181–92).
42. Contemporaries of Truteau also noted this as Basque Island. Evans placed "I au Basque" midway between Truteau's Ponca House and [Little] Cedar Island, just south of Spear Island (Moulton 1983–2001, 1:map 7); Mackay cited it as "Ile du Basque" on his itinerary map (Wood 1983:plate 4a). Tabeau (Abel 1939:67) designated it as "l'isle au Basque" in his narrative but described it as only one of six islands in close proximity; the others are two Ponca islands, Bonhomme Island, and two Cedar islands. Later explorers and writers do not mention the name. Based on Evans's placement and Truteau's description of its location, the island was west of present Lake Andes, approximately opposite former Wheeler, Charles Mix County, South Dakota (Robinson 1914:407; Diller 1946:509, 1949–50). The site of Wheeler and this segment of the Missouri River are now underwater, behind Fort Randall Dam.
43. Probably Little Cedar Island, which lay between the mouths of Cedar Creek and Little Cedar Creek in Charles Mix County, South Dakota (Missouri River Commission 1892:map 34).
44. Joseph Garreau was a well-known interpreter and trader among the Arikaras and Mandans for some forty years. According to Drumm, he was probably a son of Pierre Garreau of St. Charles County, Missouri (Luttig 1920:64). In 1787, at age twenty-three, Garreau was engaged to hunt and trap on the upper Missouri River. In 1793 he accompanied Jacques d'Église's second voyage up the Missouri and remained among the Arikaras when d'Église returned downstream. In 1804 Lewis and Clark met "Mr. Gurrow a Frenchman who has lived many years with the Ricares & Mandans" (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:313–16). Garreau's two sons,

Pierre and Antoine, were for many years interpreters at Fort Berthold (Drumm in Luttig 1920:64). Lauson is unidentified.

45. *Galettes*, or "flat, unleavened cake[s] made by baking in a frying pan or by covering with hot ashes in a fireplace" (*Dictionary of Canadian English* 1967:289).
46. The blunderbuss (*espingole*) was a short musket with a flaring barrel that scattered shot over a wide area. Such guns could be swivel-mounted on a pirogue and were primarily used for defensive purposes (see Moore and Haynes 2003:267).
47. The Yankton division of the Sioux, referred to in the early nineteenth century as the Yanktons of the South, are not to be confused with the closely related Yanktonais, who were called Yanktons of the North. When Truteau came upriver the Yanktons still inhabited a wide area in southern Minnesota and northern Iowa centering on the Des Moines River, but were gradually shifting their territory to southeastern South Dakota, along the James and Missouri Rivers (Abel 1939:85, 102–5; Howard 1972; DeMallie in HNAI 2001, 2:777–93; Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:753–55).
48. Various early explorers mentioned raising the hands upward to indicate a similar meaning. On a trip onto the southern Plains in 1601, for example, Don Juan de Oñate remarked that Indians whom he encountered raised their hands high as a sign of peace (Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:757). Perrot noted that Ioway women, when greeting French traders, wept and raised their hands to the sun, thereby imploring protection from forces beyond their own abilities (Blair 1911–12:367–70). Le Sueur (1700) was greeted by two Eastern Sioux men who raised up their arms and called on the sun to witness the truth of what they said.
49. Shaking hands as a gesture of friendship was a custom apparently borrowed from Europeans (Ewers 1982:55).
50. An earlier seventeenth-century discussion of the pipe as a symbol of peace and friendship among the Sioux and other tribes appears in an account of Nicolas Perrot (Blair 1911–12, 1:181–88). Jean-Baptiste Perrault described a treaty of peace between the Sioux, Chippewas, Menominees, and Sauks and Foxes that provides a nearly contemporaneous description of the pipe and smoking as a sign of friendship (1909–10:542–43).
51. Don Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant governor of Spanish Illinois (1792–99). The designation "Great Spanish Chief" or "Great Spanish Father" sometimes referred to the lieutenant governor in Saint Louis and at other times to King Carlos IV of Spain (1788–1808). See, for example, Mackay in Houck (1909, 2:188).
52. Chiefs among the nomadic Tetons had few absolute prerogatives, unlike their counterparts among many eastern tribes and most of the horticultural groups along the Missouri River. For a characterization of the authority of Teton chiefs during this period, one that is perhaps slightly overstated, see Tabeau (Abel 1939:105–6). A century later Richard Nines recorded information on chiefs he learned from Oglala elders (Walker 1982:36–39).
53. The Sioux visited the Arikaras to trade for tobacco as well as corn and other horticultural products.

54. Very likely a reference to the Yanktonai Sioux, who were known as the Yanktons of the North. See notes 47 and 98.
55. Sioux chiefs customarily adopted European traders to establish mutually beneficial ties of kinship. Doubtless Truteau had been adopted when he lived among the Yanktons. For discussions of the incorporation of traders into Sioux society, see Wozniak (1978) and Anderson (1984).
56. Vermillion, a brilliant red pigment derived from mercury ore, was produced in China, Holland, and, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the United States. For 250 years it was a common gift to Indians and a standard item in the trade with them. The most familiar type of packing was a "paper" of vermillion, folded into a rectangle 1½ x 2¼ x 5/16 inches (Hanson 1971).
57. Among upper Missouri tribes, white blankets were generally in greatest demand throughout the fur trade period. In the mid nineteenth century Boller wrote that the Sioux preferred capotes made from white blankets to wear on winter war parties (1959:302).
58. Ell (*aune*) is a linear measure equaling 1.29972 yards (45 inches) (McDermott 1941:17).
59. The Grand Détour or Great Bend of the Missouri, approximately 40 miles south of present Pierre, South Dakota, where the Missouri separates the Lower Brule and Crow Creek Indian reservations. Today the river has been widened in this area by the waters of Lake Sharpe, which was created by Big Bend Dam (Missouri River Commission 1892:map 38; Harmon 1988).
60. Present Bad River. See note 63.
61. Prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia*) (see appendix 1:456–57; and Gilmore 1919:104).
62. Probably archaeological site 39ST50, one of three located on Black Widow Ridge, two to 3 miles (a league or more) below the mouth of the Cheyenne River in present Stanley County, South Dakota. The village was fortified by a deep ditch that surrounded it, enclosing twenty-five to thirty earthlodges that may have housed a population of two to three hundred people. Site 39ST25, a few hundred yards distant, was probably the second Arikara village. Closer to the mouth of the Cheyenne, approximately one to two hundred yards below it, is site 39ST1, whose fortified portion is about the same size as 39ST50 and which probably dates to some decades earlier. In addition to site 39ST50 there is one other site on Black Widow Ridge that is at least a century older. Archaeological evidence thus suggests that Arikara occupation of this location extends back to the late seventeenth century. All these sites are now flooded by the waters of Lake Oahe (Waldo R. Wedel, p.c.; Lehmer 1971:174–75).
63. Today's Bad River was known as the Little Missouri from the time of Truteau's visit until the middle of the nineteenth century, when its contemporary name, derived from Sioux *wakpá šica* 'bad river', became firmly established (Nicollet 1843:41). Before Truteau's trip, present-day White River was known as the Little Missouri. In 1804 Lewis and Clark changed the name of Truteau's Little Missouri to Teton River and gave the name Little Missouri to the river in North Dakota that now bears the name (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:107–10). For almost a century

after Lewis and Clark's change of its name, many people continued to call the Bad River the Little Missouri or to cite that as an alternate name. A thorough discussion of the history of usage of the name Little Missouri is presented in Thurman (1988).

64. *Arpent* is a linear measure equaling ten *perches* or 180 old French feet (191.838 English feet) (McDermott 1941:15–16).
65. Truteau probably resided at the Republican Pawnee (Kitkahahki) village known today as the Hill archaeological site (25WT1), located southeast of Red Cloud, Webster County, Nebraska (see note 11). There is no known journal entry regarding Truteau's stay among the Kitkahahkis.
66. The cabin was located in a wooded bottom on the north bank of the Missouri River, nearly opposite but somewhat above Fort Randall and some 35 miles above the mouth of the Niobrara River, in Charles Mix County, South Dakota. In James Mackay's "Table of Distances" it is called "Poste de la Nacion Poncas, 3e bâtisse appartenant à la Compagnie" (Abel 1923). On the Perrin du Lac "Carte du Missouri" it is identified as "Second Poste de la Compagnie," and on the Indian Office map it is "Maison de Mr Trudeau" and "Mr Trudeau's house" (Abel 1916:343–44; Moulton 1983–2001, 1:map 5). In their journals Lewis and Clark referred to it as "Trodos house" and as "Pania House," the latter now acknowledged to have been an editorial misreading for "Ponca House," a name derived from the tribe in whose territory the lodge was located (Diller 1949–50; Moulton 1983–2001, 3:54–57).
67. According to Edwin James, Big Rabbit (Mâšçëge 'Rabbit') succeeded Blackbird in 1800 as head chief of the Omahas upon the latter's death; thereafter he possessed considerable authority but lived "only a few years to enjoy" that status. The hereditary successor of Big Rabbit was White Buffalo Cow (Ttesâ), an inactive man eventually overshadowed by Big Elk (Âphâ-ttâga), who was noted for his intellect (James 1823, 1:320). For a discussion of Omaha chiefs from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth centuries, see Barnes (1984:29–49) and O'Shea and Ludwickson (1992).
68. Independent, unlicensed traders who traded illegally in the Indian country (see appendix 1:472–7 and glossary; also Saunders 1940; McDermott 1941:60).
69. *Engagés* were employees hired by contract (*engagement*), usually for a prescribed length of time and at a specified salary, to perform a variety of duties in the Indian fur trade, including serving as canoemen, hunters, and trappers (see glossary).
70. It was customary for traders to provide complete sets of clothing to Indian leaders, frequently including a military-style coat. See Ewers (1997:52–53); Moore and Haynes (2003:135).
71. These trade goods originated with traders from the Michilimackinac Company; see note 41.
72. *Braves* referred to warriors, probably prominent members of the men's societies; *soldats,* in this context, were young men who were appointed to maintain order during the trade; *chefs du second rang* were the heads of extended families.

73. The administrative officers of the Spanish government in St. Louis. Elsewhere in the journal Truteau refers to "M[onsieur] the Commandant of the Illinois" in the singular, who at this time was Lt. Gov. Zenon Trudeau.
74. Pierre (or Pedro) Montardy, born in 1736 in Montauban, France, was a soldier who came to St. Louis in 1765 after serving as a sergeant at Fort de Chartres. In St. Louis he had a land grant and was an officer in the militia and a trader. When Jacques d'Église reached the Omaha village in 1792 he met Montardy, who was engaged in trade. It was probably on this trip that Montardy brought the medal to which Blackbird refers here. Several years later Montardy was upriver again, this time among the Osages, for a two-year residence that ended on June 6, 1797 (Houck 1909, 1:183–84; Hill 1914:325; Kinnaird 1946, 4.2:302; Nasatir 1930:369).
75. The following year, on November 21, 1795, James Mackay presented a new medal and commissions to Blackbird. Although greatly pleased, the chief was reported to have expressed surprise that there was no flag with the medal, since the English traders always gave a flag (Houck 1909, 2:186; Nasatir 1952, 1:359).
76. James Mackay, in a 1795 report of his voyage up the Missouri for the Upper Missouri Company, reiterated the importance of the Omaha village as a strategic midway point on the river, beyond which lay the tribes of the upper Missouri (Houck 1909, 2:184–89).
77. *Pot* is a liquid measure of two *pintes,* equaling .931 litre (Littré 1963:921), or just under one-half (.49206) of an American gallon (Alexander 1840:87, 89; McDermott 1941: 118, 126).
78. Salomon Petit was a trader from St. Louis, but there is almost no documented information about him (Nasatir 1952, 1:88). Houck (1909, 1:186, 193n77) suggest that he may have been the Salomon Paty who appears in a 1780 roster of St. Louis militia companies, who was listed there as being twenty-six years old, an American by birth, and a hunter by occupation. No other instance of the name Paty has been discovered. Houck notes that Salomon Petti or Petit is mentioned in the General Archives of the Indies, Documents from the Island of Cuba; he claimed land in the St. Charles district.
79. Enemy ships, or ships carrying contraband, might be "prized," that is, seized, by privateers; if a maritime court found the prize "good," the victors were entitled to the ship and its cargo (McLachlan 1938).
80. Here Truteau uses the word *voyageur* in its most general sense as 'trader' (see appendix 1:473–75). *Habitants* were farmers who owned and cultivated their own land. The term, not to be confused with "inhabitant," came into use to distinguish settled, land-owning farmers from soldiers, merchants, artisans, and the itinerant element of the population (McDermott 1941:86; Clapin 1894:178). The inclusion of this paragraph criticizing the merchants of St. Louis indicates that the Québec version was not intended to be read by the directors of the Company of the Upper Missouri. Truteau borrowed the language of this criticism from Lahontan (1990, 1:609), who made the same criticism of the merchants of Canada.

81. The ground bean (*Amphicarpa bracteata*) produces bean-like seeds underground that are gathered by rodents into caches. Plains Indian women searched out the caches as a highly valued food (see appendix 1:457; Gilmore 1919:95–96; W. R. Wedel 1986:17).
82. This name may be Ponca *kkíštawagu*, "said to be a Pawnee name" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:52; John Koontz, p.c. 2002). The Pawnee equivalent is *kiictawaku*' 'bell', a name that Pawnees may have bestowed on a Ponca during a Calumet Dance. Alternatively, the name that Truteau cites might be a pidgin form composed of Ojibwe *kicci* 'big, great' (or its Fox equivalent *kehci*) and Spanish *tabaco* 'tobacco'. Such a form might be the traders' equivalent of the early nineteenth-century Ponca chief's name šuudegaaʔe 'Smoke Maker', who was also cited as Shondagaha 'Smoker' (1817 in Kappler 1972:140), Smoke Maker (1819 in James 1905, 17:152), Sho-ta-gah-hah 'The Smoker' (1824 in Wilson as cited in Jablow 1974:168), and Shu-de-gah-he 'He Who Makes Smoke' (1825 in Kappler 1972:227). The name of the other chief, Morrestnangy, is not identified.
83. Rafts (*cajeux*) were used during low water to carry peltries down the Missouri to a point where they could be transferred to a larger boat (see appendix 1:487–88; McDermott 1941:41).
84. Omitted sentence is shown below: "These two chiefs. . . ."
85. Indians on the upper Missouri continued to perceive the writings of whites as sacred until at least the mid nineteenth century. Denig, for example, wrote that Indians in the vicinity of Fort Union could "be made to believe almost any story, however absurd, if read in appearance from a book" (1930:528).
86. Truteau's description suggests that the Poncas had a chiefs' society similar to that of the Omahas (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:481–85).
87. Among Plains Indians, rubbing or stroking another's body symbolized the transfer of power. It was also a blessing and an expression of appreciation. In Arikara and Pawnee the verb stems 'to stroke, to pass the hands down over' (Arikara *in . . . ut . . . ištawiʔa*, Pawnee *ir . . . ut . . . ikstawiʔa*) also translate as 'to bless'.
88. A similar passage also appears at the end of the Seville version.
89. The *franc* or *livre tournois* was the basic unit of money at this time. Twenty-four *livres* equalled a pound sterling (Lough 1960:vi).
90. This Arikara village, located on Black Widow Ridge below the Cheyenne River, was apparently in the same location as the abandoned village reached by Truteau the preceding fall (see note 62).
91. Although Truteau never identifies this Sioux band, he mentions that the Occonanas (Oglalas) were former friends of the Arikaras, implying that the group living by them was Oglala. In 1804 Tabeau noted that two Teton groups, the Okondanas (Oglalas) and Chihaut (*Šiyó* 'Prairie Chicken'), the latter an Oglala band, "formerly connected and living with the Ris, were agriculturalists, but a war having come between the Ricaras and some Sioux bands, these two bands sided each one with one of the opposing parties. Although they were reunited afterward, there was no longer any question of cultivation" (Abel 1939:104).
92. Commissions, or *patentes*, were printed or hand-lettered certificates attesting to the chiefly status of individual Indians. The governor or lieutenant governor

supplied them to field officers or other officials, who filled in the names of those individuals to whom they were presented. As Truteau notes, such documents were prized and even venerated by the recipients (see Ewers 1974:276).

93. Two hunters who may have come upriver with Jacques d'Église. Truteau spells the name La Voye variously: La Voiet, La Voye, Lavoie.
94. René Jusseaume and Cardin lived in the Mandan villages and conducted trade and took periodic employment with the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies. Jusseaume apparently took up residence with the Mandans about 1790. In 1797 he built "a small fort and a hut" there, which that same year John Evans seized and occupied in the name of the Spanish government. In 1797–98 Jusseaume served as guide and interpreter for David Thompson on his visit to the Missouri River, and in 1804 he was interpreter for Lewis and Clark. Cardin is mentioned only infrequently, and always by his surname only. The earliest references to him on the upper Missouri are in John Macdonnel's diary and journal in 1793 and 1794 (Gates 1933:112–13; Thompson 1916:209; Wood and Thiessen 1985:43–46). Nasatir (1952, 1:94) suggests that he may have been the voyageur Louis Cardin, who was trading out of Michilimackinac in 1787.
95. Text in angled brackets in the second part of the journal is from the National Archives version (also called the Washington version), in the form of a separate letter addressed to Clamorgan and Reihle, directors of the Company of the Upper Missouri.
96. In the National Archives version the name Lecuyer was added later, at the end of this paragraph. Lecuyer was the leader of the second Upper Missouri Company expedition in 1795.
97. Where the Québec version has "Pados," the National Archives version, written by Truteau himself, has "la nation du Corbeau" (folio 138, recto). The former is apparently a copyist's error. Pado is a variant form of Padouca, the eighteenth-century name for Plains Apaches used by the Mississippi Valley Siouan tribes and French explorers and traders (Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:939). It is not to be confused as an alternate designation for the Crows. See Truteau's description of Pado territory, which locates them far south of the Crows.
98. A spelling of the Sioux name *isäthi, isäathi,* or *isäyathi,* normalized in English as Santee. In the nineteenth century this name was used by the Sioux of the Missouri River (the Yanktons, Yanktonais, and Tetons) to refer to the Dakota groups of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, namely, the Mdewakantonwans, Waöpekutes, Waöpetonwans (or Waöpetons), and Sisitonwans (or Sissetons). This usage has continued to the present, although A. L. Riggs insisted that the name originally signified only the Mdewakantonwans (Riggs 1893:159–60; Meyer 1967:vii, 10–11; Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:751–52).
99. The Takorpa, also spelled Tacowa herein, was apparently a Minneconjou band. Lewis and Clark listed them as such, giving the name as "Tar-co-eh-parh" (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:420). Tabeau also listed them as a Minneconjou group, the "Tacohiropapais," who are probably the same or a related group (Abel 1939:104). The name does not appear in written sources after 1804.

100. The contemporary Arikara name for white man, *sahNIštaaká*, documented as early as the 1830s (Maximilian 1906, 24:212), means literally 'white person'. The cognate Pawnee term is *cahríkstaaka*. Another nineteenth-century Arikara designation, *katAhká*, is literally 'enemy'. Its cognate form in Pawnee, *katahka*, designates both 'Plains Apaches' specifically and 'alien western tribe(s)' generally. In Sioux, however, the term *wašicø* 'white man' also means 'spirit, mysterious force, *or* being' (Riggs 1890:536; Buechel 1970:551). The latter meaning in Sioux is clearly the older, more fundamental one, the word having later been extended to white men as Truteau observes and as recorded by both Hennepin in 1680 (1903, 1:260, 292) and Le Sueur in 1700 (M. Wedel 1974:171). For a discussion of the term in Sioux, see B. White (1994). Similarly, in all of the Plains Algonquian languages—Arapaho, Atsina, Blackfoot, and Cheyenne—the Native term for the creator or trickster, who had supernatural powers, was extended to designated Europeans (Taylor 1976).
101. Writing in the mid nineteenth century, De Smet also mentioned robes decorated with feathers as religious offerings among the Assiniboines: "on these [poles] each family hangs the articles that it intends to offer in sacrifice. These consist of skins of animals, richly embroidered with porcelain or glass beads, adorned with feathers of every hue; many-colored collars, clothes and ornaments of all kinds, making a rich and varied great Indian exhibition" (Chittenden and Richardson 1905, 3:937).
102. Tabeau repeated this observation in 1804 when he wrote: "It is only a little while since the Ricaras deified the French, who, unhappily, have only too well disabused them by their conduct and their talk. Thus they have passed today from one extreme to the other and we are, indeed, nothing in their eyes" (Abel 1939:200–201).
103. Jacques d'Église and Joseph Garreau, the latter of whom led the second voyage of d'Église in 1793. The party traveled in two pirogues that went only as far as the Arikara villages. Little profit resulted from this trip, according to d'Église, because of the dissolute behavior of Garreau, who remained among the Arikaras when d'Église returned downriver (Nasatir 1952, 1:233–35, 241–42).
104. That is, they do not pay for the goods that they take.
105. Leggings (see glossary: *mitasse*).
106. Early sources, all based on secondary information, estimate varying numbers of Arikara villages and divisions, or bands, before the smallpox epidemics of the 1770s and 1780s. In 1714 Bourgmont enumerated three villages of Aricaras and forty villages of Carikara, the latter apparently a misspelling of *Aricara*, suggesting a total of forty-three (Villiers 1925:62). In 1719 Wichita chiefs told La Harpe of seven important Arikara villages, which were part of forty-five Pawnee villages (Margry 1876–1886, 6:293). In his 1785 report Miró mentioned seven villages of Arricaras or Riis (Nasatir 1952, 1:123, 126–27). Tabeau in 1804 spoke of eighteen fairly large former villages and listed ten divisions of the tribe, along with their chiefs, that were still recognized. Subsequently, however, he mentioned forty-two chiefs of "the first rank," implying as many villages

(Abel 1939:123–24). Lewis and Clark stated that the Arikaras comprised eight or ten former tribes (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:400–401), while in 1811 Brackenridge (1904:122) reported that the Arikaras whom he visited were the remains of seventeen distinct tribes. For a summary discussion of Arikara bands and villages, see Parks (1979a; HNAI 2001,1:366–67, 373–76).

107. The village in which Truteau resided may have been the archaeological site on Black Widow Ridge, as mentioned in notes 53 and 77. It was located a league below the mouth of Cheyenne River.
108. This is the earliest documented account of Arikara separations and the movement of these groups to near the Mandans and Skiris. The same pattern was repeated later in the year when the people in the two villages fled in advance of an expected Sioux onslaught, some going to reside with the Mandans and some going to be near the Cheyennes.
109. The paragraphs dealing with theft that occur in the National Archives version of the journal are similar in content to material in the description. Only the sections containing information not in the Québec version of the description or the journal are printed here.
110. The village of the Takorpa Sioux (see note 99).
111. Sweet grass, *Savastana odorata* (L.) Scribn. (Gilmore 1919:66). This grass, named *haaNUtwa-raakhă* in Arikara, was burned as an incense in most rituals. Its pleasing odor was thought to induce the presence of benevolent spirits or powers.
112. For the use of the calumet in forming alliances among tribes, see the description.
113. Also spelled Takorpa. See note 99.
114. Apparently the Sutaio, in contemporary Cheyenne *sŏtaeȯo* (Glenmore and Leman 1984:201). These people, formerly an autonomous group speaking a dialect distinct from Cheyenne, merged with their Cheyenne relatives in the mid nineteenth century and gradually lost their separate identity (Mooney 1907:368–71; Grinnell 1923:2, 9ff; Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:882–83).
115. Present-day Minnesota River.
116. The National Archives manuscript ends here. Tabeau provided a nearly contemporaneous account of the Sioux trading rendezvous: "All the other Titons, by different routes upon the east bank go into the heart of the prairies to a kind of market, where are found also every spring the Yinctons of the North and of the South, the Scissitons, some people of the *Leaves* and often even some of the *Lakes*. This concourse is sometimes composed of a thousand to twelve hundred lodges, about three thousand men bearing arms. Much trading is done there. Each man brings different articles, according to the places over which he has wandered. Those who have frequented the St. Peter's River and that of the Mohens furnish guns, kettles, red pipes, and bows of walnut. The Titons give in exchange horses, lodges of leather, buffalo robes, shirts and leggings of antelope skin" (see Abel 1939:121–23). Lewis and Clark also described the trading fair, which they said took place on the James River in May (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:356, 412–13).

117. Tabeau may be reporting the same incident, though in his account the offender is a medicine man named Kettle Beater ("Bateur de Chaudiere"), who claimed that were his body to be dismembered and thrown into the Missouri, it would be brought back to life at the Illinois, after which he would return to avenge himself on his murderers. While among the Brules, Tabeau's party was accused of being in possession of Kettle Beater's remains (Abel 1939:202). The story of a fatally wounded warrior who believes that he would be restored to life if his body were thrown into water, but whose companions refuse to comply with his wishes, is a folkloric motif among Plains tribes. For example, the Skiri Pawnee story of Paca, a young man who obtained power from the animals in their lodge at Pahaku, has a similar ending. Wounded in battle, Paca dies because, even though he begs his companions to do so, they refuse to throw him into a stream (Parks 1967–77).
118. The Yanktonai division of the Sioux. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they were also commonly known as Yanktons of the North. In Tabeau's classification of the Sioux (Abel 1939:102–3), the "Hyinctons" (Yanktons), one of the five major divisions, are divided into the "Yinctons of the North" (Yanktonais) and the "Yinctons of the South" (Yanktons). The former in turn consist of six named groups. Lewis and Clark, who obtained much of their information from Tabeau, also termed the Yanktonais the "Yanktons of the North" and enumerated six subgroups as well, though some of the names of the latter differ from those given by Tabeau. Their territory in 1804 extended from the heads of the Minnesota and Red Rivers to the Missouri as far south as the Great Bend (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:413, 419–20; DeMallie in HNAI 2001, 2:731).
119. Comanches, or a subgroup of that tribe. Tabeau (Abel 1939:160–61) wrote that the Corbeaux (Crows) "roam along the branches of the Yellowstone where they often meet the Peles, the Alitane, and the Serpents," who speak the same language. His statement suggests that the three peoples, today known as the Comanches and Shoshones, were at that time distinct, albeit closely related, groups. The name "Têtes Pelées" or "Pelés" was used by French traders. Lewis and Clark wrote it as "La Play" and "La Playes" (Moulton 1983–2001, 3:395, 437–38); Long (James 1823, 1:155) wrote it as "La Plais," and translated it as "Bald Heads" (Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:903).
120. The manuscript has *faire la pêche* 'to fish', apparently intended for *faire la pêche des castors,* an idiom for trapping beaver (see glossary); compare Tabeau's characterization of Quenneville as *bon pêcheur au castor* 'good trapper of beaver' (Abel 1939:84n31).
121. Northern Plains Indians called the Yellowstone River by two different names. As Truteau notes, one translated it as 'yellow stone river,' the source of its present name. This designation is found in Mandan *wĭsi pasähe* and Hidatsa *mìcîraaši.* A similar name is Arikara *aahkawiRAhkatá,* literally 'yellow bank'. The other name for the Yellowstone is 'elk river,' which is found in Sioux *heöáka wakpa,* Assiniboine *öeöáka wakpa,* Cheyenne *mȯéheȯhĕe,* Crow *iichíilaaši,* and Arikara *waahukaahaánų.*

122. In Truteau's time "Canada" referred roughly to the southern parts of the present provinces of Québec and Ontario; to the west was Rupert's Land, controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company.
123. Three decades later, in 1828, Fort Floyd was established here by Kenneth McKenzie of John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company. The trading post, located 3 miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone on the left bank of the Missouri River, soon became known as Fort Union. For years it was the most important trading center on the upper Missouri (Roberts 1988:634).
124. Apparently the Atsinas (Gros Ventres). In 1794 bands of this tribe began moving down from the Saskatchewan River to the upper waters of the Missouri and farther south. One large segment went south to the Rocky Mountains to try to ally themselves with the Snakes (Shoshones) and later with the Arapahos, Blackfeet, and Crows (Fowler 1987:46). Tabeau wrote in 1804 that the Squihitanes (also spelled Skihitanes) spoke the same language as the Caninanbiches (Arapahos) (Abel 1939:154–55). Other citations of the name appear only in late eighteenth-century documents: Mackay (Nasatir 1952, 2:494) mentioned the Shivitauns, and an unidentified author (Anonymous 1810:24) listed them as Shiveytoon. Hodge (1907–10, 2:582) incorrectly identifies them as Sissetons. (See Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:693.)
125. The Yankton form of the name Oglala. See note 91.
126. The Arikara ceremonial structure, generally called the Medicine Lodge (see note 60).
127. In 1804 Tabeau mentioned the same individual, spelled "Noreau," who "some years ago [made] a fairly successful hunt in the river which bears his name, the mouth of which is ten leagues below the Ricaras" (Abel 1939:84). Since the Arikaras were living near the mouth of the Grand River at that time, Tabeau was referring to the modern Moreau River. Although Truteau also spelled the name with an initial *n*, Abel argued that Tabeau's spelling was a mistake for Moreau (1939:84n31), and listed several individuals with that surname who obtained trade licenses in St. Louis during that period. However, Noreau is a common name in Canada.
128. That is, to go trap beaver.
129. Truteau's characterization of the lodges in the Arikara winter villages suggests that they were temporary structures covered with dried grass, in contrast to the earth-covered lodges in their permanent villages. The winter lodges of the Mandans and Hidatsas were similar in structure to their permanent earthlodges but were only roughly constructed since they were abandoned at the end of each winter. They were also placed closer together than dwellings in their permanent villages, presumably for protection from the wind (Wilson 1934:395).

ABRIDGED DESCRIPTION OF THE UPPER MISSOURI

1. This note is in Truteau's hand. There is damage to the upper left edge of the folio, resulting in the loss of some letters but not affecting readability.

2. Here, as in his journal, Truteau uses the term *voyageur* in its most general sense, meaning 'trader'.
3. A tribe of uncertain identity. Tokiwako (also Tokirwaco and Tokiouako herein) is an Arikara name, *tUhçiwákù* (Pawnee *túhkiwakù*), literally meaning 'fox village'. Lewis and Clark cite "To-che-wah-Coo Fox Indians" as one of ten nations that trafficked with the Arikaras (Moulton 1987–2001, 3:135–36). In his 1785 description of Missouri River geography, Miró gives "Toguibacós" as another name of the Pados, or Plains Apaches (Nasatir 1952, 1:124). The latter is a likely identification, but to date it has not been corroborated by any other source (Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:669–70).
4. The folio is torn here; bracketed words are conjectural.
5. Joseph Chorette.
6. The second expedition of the Upper Missouri Company led by Lecuyer.
7. The third expedition, led by James Mackay. A contingent of that expedition under John Evans ascended to the region occupied by the Mandans.
8. A section, repeated from the journal, is omitted here.
9. The name is Algonquian, probably from Old Ottawa, reconstructed as *missi-si:pi* 'big river' (Ives Goddard, p.c. 2003).
10. Text in angled brackets is from the Nicollet version of Truteau's description.
11. For "cut sandbars" see journal, note 34. Possibly meaning "bad cross currents." *Rapicage* apparently refers to steering a boat back into a channel after a current has turned it aside; see discussion in appendix 1:497–98 and glossary.
12. The Yankton Sioux.
13. The Eastern Sioux.
14. Truteau calls it "la rivière Saint Jacques."
15. A reference to the 1794 map drawn by Antoine Soulard for Governor General Carondelet (Diller 1955; Wood 1987:31, 34). It shows the Calumet River entering the Missouri near where the James or Big Sioux should be located. Opposite its mouth is a village of Ponca Indians (Wood 1983:plate 2).
16. Present Rock River. It is a tributary of the Big Sioux, not the James.
17. The red pipestone quarry, now in Pipestone National Monument, located in southwestern Minnesota on the western slope of the Coteau des Prairies. Pipestone Creek, a tributary of the Big Sioux River, passes through it. The stone was named "catlinite" after the artist George Catlin, who visited the quarry in 1836 and described it in his popular travel narrative (1926, 2:228–34, reprinted in Ewers 1979:69–77). Nicollet, who visited the quarry during his 1838 expedition, published the first scientific description (1843:14–17).
18. Truteau calls it "la rivière Qui Court," 'The River that Runs', present-day Niobrara River.
19. In the journal Truteau places the Ponca village on the Niobrara one league above its mouth (see note 41).
20. The White River, which rises in Sioux County, Nebraska, drains the Badlands, where the sediments give the water a milky color. Because of its whitish color,

the river was called the White Earth River in early accounts. Its Sioux name is *makhízita wakpa* 'Smoking Earth River' (Warren 1856:23, 73).

21. The Arikara name of the Bad, or Teton, River, *çiišawiitiǐIt* 'calm water,' recorded by Maximilian (1906, 24:214) as "Sih-sawih-tii; i.e., the stagnant water." The Sioux name is *wakpá šica* 'bad river' (see journal, note 65).
22. The Oglalas (see journal, note 137).
23. "The small number who escaped from this disease (which among these peoples has far more unfortunate consequences than among us) gathered together several years ago into a single tribe, who count one thousand to twelve hundred warriors. Like those who are found farther to the north and northwest, until now they have had only very little communication with whites and have preserved, almost in their entirety, the manners, customs, weapons, and clothing of their ancestors" (Perrin du Lac 1805:257).
24. Present Cherry Creek, Ziebach County, South Dakota.
25. Alexander Henry recorded a similar tradition told by a Saulteur (Ojibwe) in 1808 (Coues 1897, 2:449).
26. By papal declaration, beaver was classified as a fish and could therefore be eaten on fast days (Peter Kalm in Benson 1937, 2:534; glossary: *pêcher* [*des castors*]).
27. Truteau's estimate of distance to the Platte, approximately 180 to 240 miles south of the Arikara villages, would place the Pados (Plains Apaches) west of Grand Island, Nebraska, and between the two forks of the Platte. This location accords with, and disambiguates, that given in 1804 by Lewis and Clark, who reported that the Pados and the Alitans (Comanches) inhabited the area at the heads of the Arkansas and Platte Rivers (Moulton 1987–2001, 3:438).
28. These two groups, the Halitannes and Têtes Pelées, eventually coalesced with related groups farther south in Texas to become the modern Comanches (Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:903). Lewis and Clark, like Truteau, designated the area between the Platte and Arkansas Rivers in western Nebraska and eastern Colorado to the foot of the Rocky Mountains as the range of the Halitannes (cited by them as Alitans) (Moulton 1987–2001, 3:435–38).
29. *Partisan* designates the leader of a war party (McDermott 1941:112–13).
30. Collot (1924, 1:288) notes that this was an Indian expression.
31. Collot (1924, 1:289) adds: "A knife, with the name Cook marked on it, was found in the hands of one of the chiefs, and sent to the Governor of Louisiana."
32. Apparently Beaver Creek in Emmons County, North Dakota.
33. Between the Cheyenne River and the Knife River, the latter of which was a few miles north of the Mandan villages, there are only four rivers that enter the Missouri from the west: Moreau, Grand, Cannonball, and Heart. There are numerous creeks as well, any one of which might be Truteau's fifth river.
34. Collot (1924, 1:290) adds: "called by the Indians 'the Long-Haired Nation'."
35. The two Hidatsa (Gros Ventre) villages are known as the Big Hidatsa (32ME12) and Amahami (32ME8) archaeological sites (Stewart 1974; Wood 1977; Wood and Thiessen 1985:93–128; Moulton 1987–2001, 3:203–7). Both are located on the west bank of the Missouri near the mouth of the Knife River: Big Hidatsa above

it and Amahami below, in Mercer County, North Dakota. Historically there were three divisions of the tribe now known as the Hidatsas: the Hidatsa proper, the Awaxawi, and the Awatixa. The Hidatsa proper occupied the Big Hidatsa village and the Awaxawi resided in Amahami. The Awatixa apparently shared the Sakakawea village with Mandans at this date (Wood 1977:338).

36. Truteau refers to the trading posts in the area of the confluence of the Souris and Assiniboine Rivers in southern Manitoba. There the North West Company conducted its trade with the Mandans and Hidatsas from Fort Souris (also known as Fort Assiniboine and Macdonell's House), while the Hudson's Bay Company carried on its rival trade from Brandon House. The Assiniboine River valley, where these posts were located, was known to the Hudson's Bay Company as the Upper Red River District and to the North West Company as its Red River Department. See Wood and Thiessen (1985) for a summary of the fur trade in Canada.
37. After making their way to St. Louis with Jacques d'Église, on July 4, 1795, two employees of the North West Company, Juan Fotman and Chrysostome Joncquard, named for Lt. Gov. Zenon Trudeau the tribes along the upper reaches of the Missouri River as follows: Les Gens des filles [an Assiniboine group], Nasseniboines [Assiniboines], Les Sarcys [Sarsis], Les Gros Ventres des Prairies [an Atsina (modern Gros Ventre) group], Les pieds noirs [Blackfeet], Les Gens des feuillets [probably an Assiniboine group], and Les Gros Ventres de la Montagne des Roches [also an Atsina group] (Nasatir 1952, 1:335). In 1804, almost a decade later, Tabeau listed the tribes above the Yellowstone River on the east bank of the Missouri as the Asseniboanes, the Pieds Noirs, the Chrystinaux [Crees], the Têtes plattes [Flatheads], the Leaves [Tabeau's "Gens des feuilles"], the Panses [Atsinas (Gros Ventres)], and "an infinity of others" (Abel 1939:161).
38. Collot (1924, 1:293) notes that war parties traveled much more slowly when going than returning; therefore, the number of days for a "slow trip" seems to have been a standard of measuring distance.
39. Although Truteau does not specify the four Teton tribes, Tabeau (Abel 1939:103–104) listed them as "Sitchanrhou-Titon" [*sichäõu* or Brule], "Okondanas" [Oglalas], "Mine-Kanhini-yojou" [Minneconjous], and "Saones-Titons" [a now-obsolete name for the northern Teton groups today represented by the Blackfoot Sioux, Hunkpapas, Sans Arcs, and Two Kettles] (Parks in HNAI 2001, 2:757–58). In 1804 all four groups were recorded as living along the Missouri River in locations apparently not significantly different from a decade earlier. The Brule bands inhabited the Great Bend and Teton River areas, while the Oglalas were located between the Cheyenne and Teton Rivers. North of them were the Minneconjous, and still farther upriver, above and below the Arikara villages at the mouth of the Grand River, were the Saones (Moulton 1987–2001, 3:414–18).
40. In reconstructions of the spread of horses across the northern Plains, Arikaras have heretofore been portrayed as middlemen who obtained horses from the Cheyennes and in turn traded them to the Tetons (e.g., Ewers 1955:12). Truteau's statement here clarifies the route of transfer, indicating that the Sioux also

obtained horses directly from the Cheyennes. Tabeau (Abel 1939:131–32) and, nearly a half century later, Edwin Denig (1961:47) described trading between the Arikaras and the Sioux. For more general descriptions of intertribal trade on the northern Plains, see Ewers (1968:14–33); (Jablow) 1951, and Swagerty (1991).

41. See journal, note 41.
42. Collot's (1924, 1:295) text adds: "except the Sioux nations."
43. See journal, note 100.
44. The Nicollet version ends here.
45. See journal, note 80.
46. "A consolation to the miserable is having like companions"; in short, "Misery loves company."
47. The term "London fusils" refers to "Northwest guns" (C. E. Hanson Jr. 1955, 2:35), i.e., flintlock muskets made in England for the North American fur trade before the North West Company of Montréal was formed. Truteau would have received muskets from his employer, the Upper Missouri Company in St. Louis; the company, in turn, probably obtained them from the Michilimackinac through the House of Andrew Todd, which procured them from Canadian merchants (Nasatir 1931:210). See journal, note 20.
48. "Shells" (*coquilles*) refers to any marine univalves, here probably cowrie shells; "Hair pipes of shell or of bone" (*noyeaux de porcelaine ou d'os*) are long tubular beads tapered at either end, which were manufactured for the Indian trade from West Indian conch shell or bone (see appendix 1:478–81; glossary; Ewers 1957).
49. "Pigeon egg beads" refers to large ovid wire-wound glass beads that in shape resembled pigeon eggs. An inventory of stock belonging to the Upper Missouri Outfit at Fort Union dated June 10, 1831, listed both blue and white pigeon egg beads (see appendix 1:477; DeVore 1992:60, 117).
50. "The objects of trade are wool blankets; blue cloth, from which the men make breechcloths and the women's petticoats, or that they use in summer in place of blankets; scarlet cloth, which they use as decoration; shirts of printed cotton, in which deep red must predominate, and of the most outlandish style, to our eyes; vermilion, with which they all like to paint themselves; tomahawks, which have replaced the war club, a weapon with which they scalp their enemies, after having killed them (these tomahawks must be bored so that the side opposite the blade may serve as a pipe); fusils or rifles; lead; gunpowder; beaver traps; copper kettles; knives; black plumes; hats for the chiefs; silver and tin jewelry; small mirrors; and finally, red, black, blue, or white ribbons, which the women use almost exclusively. All of these are the articles that the English send to their posts and that they sell at high prices to the traders from Louisiana who go to get them at Michilimackinac. To reach this post from Québec or Montréal this merchandise underwent thirty-six portages; that is to say that thirty-six times it was unloaded, carried on the back for varying distances—as well as the canoes in which it was contained—and reloaded as many times before arriving at its destination" (Perrin du Lac 1805:223–24).
51. Spotted felines; perhaps young cougars (see appendix 1:460 and glossary: *châtigre*).

52. This paragraph condenses material from Lahontan's *Memoires de l'Amérique septentrionale,* first published in 1702 (1990, 1:629–30).
53. George A. Dorsey (1904a:12, 27; 1904b:23) published several Arikara and Skiri Pawnee traditions that tell of a race of giants who first peopled the earth and were then destroyed because of their presumption. Maximilian (1906, 23:312–13) recorded a similar Mandan tradition.
54. Compare this paragraph with Lahontan (1990, 1:656, 1905, 2:437).
55. For Pawnee association of the Morning Star with war, see Murie (1981, 1:38–39, 114–25).
56. Arikaras and Pawnees believed in the protective power of the cedar tree, called Holy Grandmother, which figured prominently in doctors' ceremonies. Among Arikaras it was an integral feature of late summer Medicine Lodge rituals. Accounts of early twentieth-century revivals of these rituals and the role of Grandmother Cedar in them are given in Will (1934:21–27); Alexander (1953:25–36); and Curtis (1909, 5:70–76). Analogous Pawnee beliefs are portrayed in their Bear Doctors' ceremonialism, described by Murie (1914:604, 1981, 1:175, 2:319–85). The cedar tree was symbolically important in the ritualism of other Northern Plains tribes as well. Mandans, for example, erected one in the center of their villages to represent their creator, Lone Man, and surrounded it with cottonwood planks symbolizing the wall that he erected to protect the people from a primeval flood (Bowers 1950:113, 116). A cedar pole was also once the central figure in Omaha war rituals and was reputedly associated with the advent of the human race (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:229, 457–58; Alexander 1953:38–41).
57. In accounts of early twentieth-century revivals of the Arikara Medicine Lodge, Will (1934:21–27) and Alexander (1953:25–30, 42) provide similar but more detailed characterizations of the role and symbolism of the stone called Grandfather, which was placed in front of the ceremonial lodge. Native explanations for its existence occur in the tribal origin myth (Dorsey 1904a:17, 21–22, 27, 32), while Alexander (1953:42–62) provided an interpretation of "the abiding rock" in Arikara and Plains Indian as well as Old World religious beliefs. Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1987, 3:169) mention a story of a couple and their dog who all turned to stone. Dorsey (1904a:119–20) and Parks (1991, 3:441–43; 1991, 4:628–29) documented stories of an Arikara priest who metamorphosed into stone, as well as a young woman who suffered the same fate.
58. Early visitors to Plains Indians frequently remarked upon the respect accorded the unfamiliar and seemingly mysterious objects made and owned by white men—technological products that were thought to be endowed with supernatural power. Tabeau, for example, wrote: "They worshipped the very vehicles [boats] which they [the French] brought into their villages to make sacrifices and feasts to them. All the furniture and instruments, the art of which is beyond their conception, are today objects still of superstitious respect. Few men are likely to touch my metal thermometer. The quadrant, phosphorus, and the magnet were regarded as the Captains' [Lewis and Clark] medicine; that is to

say, as supernatural and powerful" (Abel 1939:201). Based on historical sources, Ewers (1976) discussed pre-1850 Plains Indian perceptions of white men and their material possessions.

59. Only Arikaras and Mandans built large, permanent ceremonial lodge in the centers of their villages. Among Arikaras this structure, known as the Medicine Lodge, was distinguishable from other lodges only by its larger size. Brackenridge noted that the one he visited in 1811 could hold five to six hundred people (1904:145). The Mandans' lodge was set off from residential ones not only by its size and location but also by its flat side at the entrance, which faced south (Bowers 1950:111–13). Before the Hidatsas moved into Like-A-Fishhook Village in 1864 they had no special ceremonial structure; larger residential lodges served for ritual performances (Bowers 1965:419). The nomadic Sioux and Cheyennes, as well as other tipi-dwelling tribes, in contrast, constructed large, double tipis when a ritual occasion demanded it (Catlin 1926, 1:256; Grinnell 1908:310, 1923:289–90). In 1700 Le Sueur, writing in the pre-horse period, described an Eastern Sioux council lodge composed of four individual lodges that accommodated one hundred men (Wedel 1974:165).
60. Bradbury (1904:175) made this same observation when he states that the Arikara Medicine Lodge "in one particular corresponds with the sanctuary of the Jews, as no blood is on any account whatsoever to be spilled within it, not even that of an enemy; nor is any one, having taken refuge there, to be forced from it."
61. Among late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Arikaras, a woman who provided food and other necessities for priests and doctors was said "to have holy feelings," that is, to be mysteriously or religiously motivated; because of her deeds she received blessings that promoted long life and good health for her and her relatives.
62. Arikara and Pawnee men, when religiously motivated, would consecrate an animal (generally a buffalo) on a hunt, by designating it as holy. The animal was then butchered and carried in a prescribed manner to a priest's lodge, where it was offered to the deities. Maximilian provided another account of this custom among the Arikaras (1906, 23:390–92), while Murie described it for the Pawnees (1981, 1:118, 147, 2:437).
63. Truteau writes *"la tête d'une vache mataché."* Perrin du Lac (1805:270n.) notes: "Term used by the Canadian traders; *matacher* corresponds to paint or daub."
64. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Arikaras referred to and addressed ritual buffalo skulls as Grandfather (see, for example, Parks 1991, 3:456–58, 4:645), while corn was called Mother. Pawnees addressed the skull as Father (Murie 1981, 2:402 ff.). Truteau's reference here to the buffalo skull as Mother is curious; perhaps significant is a myth in which two young women, Mother Corn and Buffalo Woman, the latter a buffalo in human form, separately visited the Arikara people early in their history (Parks 1991, 3:186–93). Buffalo Woman, like Mother Corn, appeared during a famine and saved the people from starvation by summoning her own people to be slaughtered. In 1811 Brackenridge (1904:115) described the shrine or altar present in most Arikara lodges: "At the

upper end of the lodge, there is a kind of trophy erected; two buffaloe heads, fantastically painted, are placed on a little elevation; over them are fixed a variety of consecrated things, such as shields, skins of a rare or valuable kind, and quivers of arrows."

65. For the scapula bone hoe, see Wilson (1917:105) and Gilman and Schneider (1987:32, 206). This garden implement was used by Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas into the early nineteenth century. By the 1830s, however, it had apparently been replaced by a trade substitute; Maximilian (1906, 23:276) noted during his stay among the Mandans: "At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose."
66. Tabeau briefly described this ceremony, which he calls the Ceremony of the Blessing of the Grain, among the Arikaras (Abel 1939:216–18). A detailed description of a Skiri Pawnee form of the ritual, called the Corn Planting Ceremony, is given in Murie (1981, 1:76–83).
67. Truteau writes *absinthe*. Various kinds of sage (*artemisia*), *çeewá„ut* in Arikara, were used in rituals.
68. The late summer Medicine Lodge ceremony of the doctors. Tabeau, who stated that it commenced in September and lasted from fifteen to twenty days, gave a longer description of it and examples of the legerdemain performed by the doctors (Abel 1939:187–89). The ceremony, which was renowned among northern Plains tribes and known to white traders on the upper Missouri as "the opera," was finally suppressed by agency officials in 1885; in 1909 Edward Curtis (1909, 5:64–76) stimulated a revival of the Medicine Lodge and described the attenuated performance he sponsored. Will (1934:39–48) wrote another account of a twentieth-century revival performance as well as a review of historical descriptions of the ceremony. According to Tabeau, the Medicine Lodge lasted fifteen to twenty days. In contrast, Curtis reported that it "began at the time of the ripening of the squashes and continued until autumn," while Will stated that it lasted for "a couple of months or more," suggesting that a half-century after Tabeau's residence among the Arikaras in 1804, the duration of the Medicine Lodge ceremony had increased significantly.
69. Truteau uses the word *jeux* 'games' to designate the feats of legerdemain characteristic of performances in the Medicine Lodge.
70. In Arikara folklore a little fox named *pAhkátš,* presumably the kit fox, is a comedian who is always the adversary of the trickster Coyote (Parks 1991, 3:53).
71. Although most northern Plains tribes esteemed the hides of white buffalos, nineteenth-century visitors to the Mandans and Hidatsas invariably noted the unusual value these two peoples attached to such robes, which were believed to have the power to attract buffalo to their villages. (See, for example, Abel 1939:194–95; Maximilian 1906, 23:321–24; Kurz 1937:85; and Boller 1868:224–25.) Bowers (1950:324–28) described the Mandan White Buffalo Cow Society, a

women's age-grade society that performed winter rituals to summon the buffalo herds.

72. "Pipestem decorated with porcupine work and bird feathers, two and one-half or three feet in length" (Perrin du Lac 1805:272).
73. A French expression: "Nud. On dit qu'un homme est *nud* comme la main [Naked. One says that a man is *naked* as a hand]" (Panckoucke 1749:274).
74. In classical mythology Cythera was the birthplace of Aphrodite, goddess of sexuality and reproduction; Paphos was the site of a famous sanctuary of Aphrodite (Hornblower and Spawforth 2003:120, 423, 1108).
75. The ritual sexual intercourse that was a part of Mandan and Hidatsa buffalo-calling rites was noted by all early observers of these peoples. Tabeau, for example, gave a description almost identical to Truteau's here (Abel 1939:196–97); Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1987–2001, 3:268) gave a similar account and noted that white men as well as the old Mandan men were selected to receive young women; and Maximilian (1906, 23:334) described a Hidatsa ceremony, the form of which he attributed to the Mandans. None of these observers, however, explained the purpose of the ritual sexual intercourse, which was believed to be a means by which the old men, who represented the buffalo bulls, attracted the herds. At the same time the older warriors' supernatural power was believed to be transmitted to the young women, who in turn imparted that power to their husbands. Young men thereby gained power that enabled them to achieve success in war and hunting. Hence white men, who were also perceived to have supernatural power, could play the same role as the older warriors. Bowers, using information based on field work carried out between 1929 and 1930, described several of these Mandan buffalo-calling rites and the cultural beliefs inherent in them (1950:282–86, 315–19, 335–37). In a comparative paper Alice Kehoe (1970) discussed the function of ceremonial sexual intercourse in northern Plains cultures.
76. "Literal Indian expression" (Perrin du Lac 1805:273n.).
77. "Hard and sharp stone that they insert into the wood of an arrow about six inches from the end" (Perrin du Lac 1805:273n.).
78. Tabeau discussed these same practices and related the quest of Kakawita, an Arikara chief, who dragged two buffalo heads (Abel 1939:191–93). When he was visiting the Arikaras in 1811, Brackenridge (1904:126) mentioned even a boy "who had drawn two buffalo heads several hundred yards, by cords fixed in the fleshy part of his sides."
79. No adequate discussion of Arikara beliefs about an afterlife exists. Tabeau, writing generally of the upper Missouri tribes, said they had "no conception of the immortality of the soul . . . [but] are convinced that, after death, there remains a kind of shade that hovers a long time about the tomb" (Abel 1939:201). Curtis (1909, 5:63), in a short description of Arikara burial customs based on testimony gathered in 1905, stated that it was simply said of a dead man, "He has gone home," i.e., that he has gone to a big village for the spirits of departed Arikaras. Maximilian reported that many Mandans and Hidatsas believed each person possessed several spirits that lived within the body. After death, one of

those spirits went south to live in one of several villages; he mentions one village for the brave and good and another for the wicked. Other Mandans told him that after death they would live in the sun or in a certain star (1906, 23:360–62). Early twentieth-century Mandan beliefs of the afterlife varied, but most people thought the deceased's spirit returned downstream to former village sites along the Missouri, where life in the hereafter was much like it had been formerly (Bowers 1950:98–99). Hidatsa opinions varied, too, with the spirit village being underground and downriver, or on earth at former village sites, or in the sky (Bowers 1965:173–74).

80. Maximilian (1906, 23:360–62) gave a nearly identical description of Mandan and Hidatsa mourning customs, although he reported that relatives wailed loudly for some days after a death, gashed their arms and legs, and observed a one-year mourning period. Bowers's account of Hidatsa mourning practices attributes cutting the hair and slashing the dress only to the mother and sisters of a deceased man. Any woman—usually a mother or sister—who had been given a horse by a man returning from a war expedition was expected to cut off a portion of a finger when mourning his death (Bowers 1965:172). According to Curtis (1909, 5:63), at Arikara funerals the parents and spouse of the deceased remained by the grave, "crying and wailing until sunset, the mourning women usually cutting and gashing their legs. A man in mourning cut the tips of his hair-braids and placed them in the robe with the corpse."
81. "The Sioux, the Tocaninambiches, and the Cheyennes" (Perrin du Lac 1805:275).
82. Jonathan Carver (Parker 1976:104–5) described similar Eastern Sioux mourning practices in 1767; a corresponding portrayal of Cheyenne customs is presented in Grinnell (1926, 2:161–62).
83. Other accounts (e.g., Maximilian 1906, 23:361; Curtis 1909, 5:63) agree that among the Arikaras and Mandans, the face of the deceased was painted red and the dressed body wrapped in a robe or hide. The Arikaras buried the dead underground, while the Mandans and Hidatsas favored placing the body on a scaffold or in a tree. In a long, detailed description of Hidatsa death and burial customs, however, Bowers stated that some groups, particularly the Hidatsas proper of Big Hidatsa village at the mouth of the Knife River, formerly buried their dead in the ground; he rejected an Arikara origin for the practice (Bowers 1965:169–70).
84. Truteau may be referring to Hennepin (1938[1683]:174), who wrote that the Indians told him that objects placed in graves were used in the land of the dead; or to Lafitau (1974–77[1724], 2:230), who reported the belief that the deceased took the goods deposited with the body to the other world.
85. Until the end of the twentieth century the Arikaras practiced the custom of preparing a ritual last meal for the spirit of the deceased. It was believed that the spirit stayed at the scene of death for four days before departing for the spirit village. At sunset on the day of departure the spirit was served a meal of the deceased's favorite foods, and afterward the older people in attendance—his surviving relatives and friends—consumed the food that had been prepared (Parks 1991, 4:640–42).

86. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:672, 1905, 2:454).
87. "These are their literal expressions; they use them toward all who have wronged them" (Perrin du Lac 1805:278n.). The expressions "he has no sense" and "he has a bad heart" to refer to someone whose behavior is socially unacceptable are, respectively, Arikara and Sioux idioms still in use today. The Arikara form is *kaakeesšxá* (stem *asšxa*); the Sioux, *châtéšica*. For a description of the meaning of the expression among the Sioux, who term "sorrow, anger, revenge, and all evil thoughts and emotions" as "bad heart," see Cartwright (1892:98–101), and glossary: *mauvais coeur*.
88. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:650, 1905, 2:431–32).
89. Lesser (1933:179–209) wrote a detailed analytic discussion of Pawnee pipe etiquette and ritual smoke offerings, which were similar to those of the Arikaras.
90. This paragraph condenses Lahontan (1990, 1:643–44, 1905, 2:424–25).
91. This paragraph condenses Lahontan (1990, 1:653, 1905, 2:433).
92. This paragraph condenses Lahontan (1990, 1:649–50, 1905, 2:431).
93. For surveys of historical Plains Indian cartography, see Lewis (1987:63–80, 1998:115–35); and Warhus (1997:169–207).
94. This paragraph condenses Lahontan (1990, 1:645–47, 1905, 2:427–29). Perrin du Lac (1805:281) adds: "They count the months by the moons, but I was unable to discover how they made the lunar year coincide with the solar year; my questions on this point were beyond their comprehension."
95. The use of police or soldiers to control the communal buffalo hunts among the Eastern Sioux was mentioned by Hennepin (1938[1683]:118). Tabeau (Abel 1939:96) discussed their role in Arikara hunts.
96. "Each village has a head chief and as many leading men as he reckons braves or men of good counsel; although neither the one nor the others have any real and direct power, it is nonetheless to them that everything relating to the general interest is addressed" (Perrin du Lac 1805:283).
97. Trajan, Roman emperor (AD 98–117), who was renowned as just, fair, and morally upright (Hornblower and Spawforth 2003:1543–44).
98. Quoted with minor inaccuracies from the fifth satire of Nicolas Boileau (1636–1711), French poet and literary critic (Boileau 1870, 1:103–5).
99. A section repeating the text of the journal is omitted here. The end of the notebook is mutilated, apparently causing some loss of text.
100. For a study of Plains Indian hide painting, see Ewers (1939).
101. In this description of men's clothing, Truteau does not mention use of the breechcloth. Noting that descriptions by early visitors to such northern Plains tribes as the Blackfeet, Crows, and Mandans also failed to mention the breechcloth, Wissler (1910:118, 153)suggested that traders introduced this item of clothing to tribes in the region. This is supported by the statement of Perrin du Lac (1805:223), who described the breechloth (*braguet*) as a "type of apron securely attached below the loins and which is intended to hide the natural parts; the first Frenchmen who came to live in Canada brought this article of clothing there, which they have maintained and which they have

communicated to all the Indians of North America." Writing of the Indians of Canada in the late seventeenth century, Lahontan observed: "The old and the married Men have a piece of Stuff which covers them behind, and reaches half way down their Thighs before; whereas the young Men are stark naked all over" (1905, 2:417, 1990, 1:636).

102. "Type of pantaloons divided into two parts that cover them from the feet up to above the haunches; they only use them in winter or on feast days" (Perrin du Lac 1805:327n.) (See also glossary: *mitasse*).
103. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:636).
104. "Their parents are careful to insert in them rounded pieces of wood or coils of brass wire, whose thickness increases as the child grows in age" (Perrin du Lac 1805:337). Tabeau described the Arikara ceremony for piercing children's ears, which he characterized as almost identical in form to the ceremonial adoption of children in the Calumet Dance (Abel 1939:214–16).
105. "They trim them with fringes or border them with porcupine quills or *rassade* (small pierced beads of glass or faience). The youngest fasten to them a large number of shells or bells" (Perrin du Lac 1805:338). Truteau may be describing a style of women's dress made like a long skin slip and supported by a strap over each shoulder. This style of dress was worn by women of upper Missouri tribes during the late eighteenth century and continued in use until the mid nineteenth century; Rudolph F. Kurz (1937:plate 36) sketched a Plains Cree woman wearing such a dress at Fort Union in 1851.
106. "The camping place decided, a half-hour is more than sufficient for the establishment of a village, no matter how large it might be. The sedentary peoples, for the most part, use tents of the same form when they go on hunting parties. They are very different from those of the lower Missouri or of the Mississippi, who at each encampment construct a bark lodge, which they content themselves to cover with some bear skins on the side from which storms ordinarily come" (Perrin du Lac 1805:341).
107. Truteau's dimensions for Arikara earthlodges are high for residential structures and undoubtedly refer to the ceremonial lodges, which, according to Brackenridge (1904:145), could accommodate five to six hundred people, as in fact a lodge with a two-hundred-foot interior circumference could easily do. Tabeau stated that the lodge in which he lived, belonging to the chief Kakawita, was one of the largest in the village and had a circumference of 108 feet (Abel 1939:146).
108. Patrick Gass (1904:46–47), who was with the Lewis and Clark expedition, provided a nearly identical description of an Arikara earthlodge. Tabeau (Abel 1939:146–47) and Brackenridge (1904:115) gave similar descriptions that were based on their own observations.
109. "The nations of the upper Missouri have not yet received from the whites either weapons, or clothing, or kettles, or agricultural implements, or tools of any kind" (Perrin du Lac 1805:341).

110. "Which catch fire easier than our tinder, and in the most damp weather a minute is sufficient to obtain fire" (Perrin du Lac 1805:342).
111. "Their dishes are of wood and the baskets that the women use for carrying corn are of bark or of branches of young willows, nicely fashioned" (Perrin du Lac 1803:342).
112. The tub-shaped bullboat used by Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas (see appendix 1:488–92 and glossary). Brackenridge (1904:136) described an Arikara vessel, while Wilson recorded a detailed account of the construction of a Hidatsa bullboat in the early twentieth century (Weitzner 1979:247–52). For a historical review, see Metcalf (1972).
113. "They shoot the arrows with such force that at a rather great distance they go through a buffalo, even though protected by a thick skin and extremely heavy fur. Their arrow point is a small stone, sharp as a knife; their quiver is a skin of a young antelope or otter; the bowstring is a carefully prepared buffalo sinew" (Perrin du Lac 1805:343).
114. "Another weapon of which they make use with much dexterity is that which they call *wakaton*" (Perrin du Lac 1805:343–44). This weapon is referred to as a slung-shot club (Haile 1980:157, 163). The elder Alexander Henry reported the use of this club by mounted Assiniboines in 1776: "They have still another weapon, formed of a stone of about two pounds weight, which is sewed in leather, and made fast to a wooden handle, two feet long. In using it, the stone is whirled round the handle. . . . To prevent the weapon from slipping out of the hand, a string, which is tied to the handle, is also passed round the wrist of the wearer" (Henry 1901:304). Jonathan Carver (Parker 1976:138), writing in 1767, related that Cheyennes employed the same weapon. Perrin du Lac (1805:344) adds: "but all [their weapons] are quite inferior to firearms, which give to the nations that are supplied with them such an advantage that, at the first musket shot, their enemies take flight without even trying to put up resistance."
115. "The Pawnees and the Arikaras" (Perrin du Lac 1805:344).
116. Early observers of the Mandans and Hidatsas, but particularly of the Mandans, frequently noted that some individuals had light-colored hair that was variously described as brown, gray, or tending toward blondness and complexions that were nearly as light as Europeans'. Such observations gave rise to, and helped perpetuate, a myth of the blond Mandans, who were reputed to have Old World origins—Welsh, Viking, or Hebrew. Both traits, however, were endemic. Streaks of blondness or premature graying were apparently symptomatic of achromotrichia, a genetic trait; a light skin color was attributed to individuals whose skin was not exposed to the sun, a condition noted for many individuals among the Crows, Mandans, Arikaras, and other tribes. McLaird (1988) provides a thorough discussion of the blond Mandan legend.
117. "they have nevertheless proven now and then that if they do not like to attack, they know well enough how to defend themselves" (Perrin du Lac 1805:345).
118. "Some writers have maintained that nature had refused them that mark of virility that is an outward characteristic of men in every country, but this is a gross error. I could not affirm that the Indians have as much of a beard as the

peoples of Europe because they pluck it out as soon as it appears; but I have myself seen some who, having neglected this practice, had it long and rather thick. They pluck hair from the body with the same care, in order, they say, not to resemble the animals with which their forests are populated" (Perrin du Lac 1805:345).

119. This and the preceding two paragraphs are copied nearly verbatim from Lahontan (1990, 1:633–34, 1905, 2:415–16). The account in Perrin du Lac (1805:290–91) adds: "The Indians are tall, active, clever, and good walkers; one rarely sees deformed individuals of either sex. The men have elongated heads, bright eyes, aquiline noses, and the entirety of the face is rather pleasing, but the women are ordinarily almost all ugly and old at an early age. This difference doubtless comes from the hardships that they experience in the ordinarily course of life, in which, as I said, they have continual misery. It is easy to understand that the skill and agility of the men is due to the great necessity of practicing from early childhood, be it to procure their food or to seek or avoid their enemies."
120. "For it is common enough to see old men stab or hang themselves because they can no longer follow the young men on the hunt, or lack the strength to revenge themselves on their enemies" (Perrin du Lac 1805:346). Tabeau's account confirms Truteau's assertion of the high incidence of suicide by hanging among Sioux women: "The Arikara women appear to endure their hardships with more fortitude than the Sioux whom their hard lot often drives to suicide. I saw many cases of suicide during the six months I lived on the Isle of Cedars. A young woman hanged herself; some days after, a very pretty girl followed her example; a third did likewise; but her mother, who suspected her plan, arrived soon enough to save her by cutting the rope. It is always this kind of death that they choose and they are often found strangled without being suspended, madness giving them the courage to draw, until death comes, upon the cord tied to a tree" (Abel 1939:183). Bradbury (1904:109), too, remarked that women were treated worse among the Sioux than among other tribes and that suicide among them was not infrequent and generally committed by hanging. He added, moreover, "that mothers frequently destroy their female children, alleging as a reason, that it is better they should die than continue a life so miserable as that to which they are doomed."
121. Zeno (325–263 BC), Greek philosopher, the founder of Stoicism (Hornblower and Spawforth 2003:1634–35). This paragraph is copied nearly verbatim from Lahontan (1990, 1:637, 1905, 2:418–19).
122. This paragraph closely follows Lahontan (1990, 1:668, 1905, 2:451). The account in Perrin du Lac (1805:347) adds: "I will stick to only the practices generally observed by the chiefs, who pride themselves on following scrupulously the customs of their ancestors."
123. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the term *pare-flèche* or *parflèche* (literally, 'ward off arrow') designated a war shield made of rawhide from a buffalo bull, which was used in battle to protect a man from the enemies'

arrows. The term came to be used for buffalo rawhide (that is, a buffalo hide from which the hair had been removed) and for any object made from it. Since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries *parfleche* has been used in English to designate the large folding rectangular rawhide used as storage containers for food and other objects. See pp. 501–7 and glossary.

124. *"Libres de leur corps":* "Indian expression" (according to Perrin du Lac 1805:350n.).
125. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:682, 1905, 2:463).
126. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:680–81, 1905, 2:462).
127. This paragraph closely follows Lahontan (1990, 1:673–74, 1905, 2:455–56).
128. "Many bear on their face the evidence of the jealousy of their spouse, who often cuts off the nose or the ears" (Perrin du Lac 1805:351n.).
129. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:679, 1905, 2:460).
130. Perrin du Lac writes "*régaler leurs amis* 'treat their friends'," and notes: "It is their expression, literally translated" (1805:351n.).
131. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:681–84, 1905, 2:466). The statement about an herbal treatment for curing venereal disease is contradicted by Tabeau, who claimed disparagingly that the Indians of the upper Missouri were "too ignorant and too lazy to profit from the gifts of nature and to find in plants remedies for their ailments," maintaining instead that illnesses were the result of spiritual or supernatural causes. He noted further the rapid progress of venereal disease among these peoples: "From the moment it attacks a man, it makes more progress in eight days than elsewhere in five or six weeks" (Abel 1939:183). Subsequently, Bradbury (1904:133) contradicted Tabeau's contention that herbal remedies were not used for curing illnesses, but neither he nor any later observer mentions any specific treatment used for venereal diseases.
132. "They do not go to war nor on the hunt but serve, according to circumstances, to satisfy the brutal passions of both sexes. These men, whom the love of idleness and an abominable depravity induce to follow this type of life, are despised by the warriors, who only use them for the most vile work. If they take them with them on the hunt it is to guard their horses, skin or dress the hides of the game that they kill, carry the meat, cut the wood, light the fire, and for lack of women, make them serve to satisfy a brutal passion of which nature disapproves" (Perrin du Lac 1805:342).
133. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:681, 1905, 2:462). Truteau refers here to the *berdache* (from French *bardache*), a term first applied by French explorers to Indian males who assumed female social and sexual roles. Truteau, like many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century and later observers, erroneously assumed that the *berdache* was a hermaphrodite (Williams 1986).
134. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:676, 1905, 2:458).
135. Truteau uses here the expression *mettre bas,* which is ordinarily used in reference to animals rather than humans, perhaps underscoring the naturalness of birth for Indian women.
136. "but while hunting, the delivery of a women does not delay the party more than a half-day. This time is spent bathing the infant, making a cradle for him, and

wrapping him in the most convenient manner for transporting him" (Perrin du Lac 1805:353).

137. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:677–78, 1905, 2:459). The account in Perrin du Lac (1805:290) adds: "The women nurse their children as long as they wish it, or until a new pregnancy deprives them of their milk. Immediately after their birth, they are wrapped in a very soft hide stretched over a piece of bark suspended from the lodge by four cords. The mothers rock this bark to put the child to sleep, in the same manner as our country women do with their cradles. When the infant begins to support himself, which generally happens before a month, she carries him on her back fastened in the hide that serves them as a covering. They even work with this burden at the most tiring jobs without being inconvenienced by it or doing harm to the infant, whom they suckle whenever he seems to want it."
138. "Among all the nations of the upper Missouri, women are regarded as subordinate beings, created for the needs and the pleasures of men. Other than domestic work, which falls entirely on them, they cultivate the earth, carry water to the lodge, and cut the wood necessary for the use of the lodge. If they go on hunts they carry the slain animals, skin them, remove the hair from the skins, dress them, and make them into moccasins, leggings, or shirts for the use of their husbands. However, on long journeys they are almost always mounted on horses, which they sit astride like the men, while the latter go on foot" (Perrin du Lac 1805:289).
139. "green, mortality" (Perrin du Lac 1805:318).
140. Red, black, white, and yellow were the four primary colors in Pawnee and Arikara religious symbolism. Each color was associated with one of the four semicardinal directions (Murie 1981, 1:110; Parks 1991, 3:101–2). In the Pawnee Calumet ceremony blue also symbolized the clear sky, the dwelling of Tirawahat; red was the symbol of life and the path on which the sun shines; black, white, and yellow were not described specifically as symbolic elements in the ceremony (Fletcher 1904:20–21, 38). A color symbolism similar to that of the Pawnees and Arikaras obtained among the Teton Sioux (Walker 1980:270–81, 1982:99) and other Siouan-speaking tribes (Dorsey 1894:523, 527–33).
141. "They call thus men dressed in women's clothing, of whom I will speak elsewhere. They also sometimes employ prisoners, who are condemned from their childhood to this degrading work" (Perrin du Lac 1805:318n). See also note 132.
142. This paragraph closely follows Lahontan (1990, 1:641n511, 1905, 2:423), although Truteau has substituted the names of dances practiced by the upper Missouri tribes. Lahontan identifies Minerva with Athena, Greek goddess of war. The pyrrhic dances were mimetic. Performed with weapons, they represented attacking the enemy and the bodily movements of warfare. Achilles is the Greek hero of the Trojan War. *Hyporchemia* is also a mimetic dance with accompanying songs used in the worship of Apollo, the god associated with military and athletic training. See W. Smith (1870: 624, 1004–6); and Hornblower and Spawforth (2003:122, 201–2, 984).

143. The Calumet ceremony, sometimes called the Pipe or Adoption ceremony, was found in various forms among most tribes of the Plains and the Mississippi River valley. It generally had a twofold purpose: to invoke for certain individuals benefits such as long life, many children, and good fortune; and to establish bonds of kinship and peace through ritual adoption between two individuals or groups. Truteau's description emphasizes its role as a means of establishing peace between two tribes. The fullest description of a Calumet ceremony for any Plains tribe is the account of the Chawi Pawnee version by Fletcher and Murie (1904), in which the ceremony is called the Hako, meaning 'drum', a term chosen because of its phonetic simplicity for English speakers. The older Pawnee name for the ceremony was *kskarı̀* ('many hands'), a cognate with the Arikara name *piireškáni* ('many handed child'). The Pawnees also called the ceremony *raktarà iwariihus* ('waving the pipestems'). Tabeau (Abel 1939:215–16) gave a brief description of the Arikara form of the Calumet dance, which in 1804 he identified as a ceremony for the adoption of children. Will (1934:33–39) provided a more detailed account of an attenuated, early twentieth-century performance of the Arikara ritual whose primary purpose had become the bestowal of personal names on children, although it was also intended, as among the Pawnees, to honor a child and bring blessings on him or her throughout life. Maximilian (1906, 23:319–21) described the Calumet ceremony among the Mandans, who performed it when adopting a ritual son; Bowers (1950:329–31) gave another account in which the ceremony is said to have been borrowed from the Arikaras. Boller (1868:308–12) and Bowers (1965:48–50) described the Hidatsa Calumet ceremony. Curtis (1909, 5:150) stated that the Arikara *piireškáni* spread to the Mandans and Hidatsas, and from the Hidatsas to the Assiniboines and Crows. Long (James 1905, 15:123–26) gave an early nineteenth-century account of the ceremony among the Omahas, who called it *wawâ* and claimed to have borrowed it from the Arikaras; Fletcher (1884:308–33) presented a more detailed description of it. Among the Sioux the ceremony is called *høká alowâpi* ('singing for a relative') and was described by Densmore (1918:68–77) and Black Elk (Brown 1953:101–15). Black Elk as well as Curtis (1909, 5:150) attribute the origin of the Sioux ritual to the Arikaras.
144. "This expression is translated literally; it belongs to all the Indian nations of North America" (Perrin du Lac 1805:323n.).
145. Sweetgrass.
146. "The two dancers first go about the circle rather calmly, but soon they both become animated; they gradually exert themselves and end up by making contortions that it is impossible to describe, imitating, they say, the flight of the eagle, now as it swoops down on its prey, now as it soars on the wind, now at last when it fights an enemy that is weak and almost always unworthy of it; the more their movements are exaggerated, the more animated the assembly becomes. The frenzy grows with the violence of the movements until the dancers completely abandon themselves, making the spectators share their

fury to such an extent that everyone seems beside themselves" (Perrin du Lac 1805:325–26).

147. "To appreciate the young chief's present, it is necessary to know that the coat, as well as the hat, were given by whites during their first voyage to his nation and that he would probably never receive a like gift" (Perrin du Lac 1805:328).
148. "Priding himself then on generosity, he [Truteau] in turn distributed his clothing, some silver jewelry, and several coins, which these peoples fasten around their necks in place of medals. It may be observed that gold jewelry has no merit in their eyes; that they even give preference over tin to that precious metal" (Perrin du Lac 1805:328).
149. A French proverb: "Il faut hurler avec les Loups; c'est-à-dire, qu'il faut faire comme les autres [One must howl with the wolves; that is to say that one must do as others]" (Panckoucke 1749: 194).
150. A review of numerous late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century descriptions of the Teton Sioux Sun Dance appears in DeMallie and Parks (1987:221–22). Foremost among existing accounts are two written by native Sioux: one by George Bushotter that appears in Dorsey (1894:450–64) and the other by George Sword, an Oglala medicine man, and published by Ella C. Deloria (1929). The two most detailed descriptions are Walker (1917) and Densmore (1918:84–151).
151. A comparative survey of the Sun Dance among Plains tribes and a discussion of the historical development of the dance is given in Spier (1921), which is the summary essay to a volume of individual descriptive studies of the dance among most Plains tribes (Wissler 1921). The Sun Dances of the Arapahos and Cheyennes, not presented in the preceding volume, are described separately in fine detail by George A. Dorsey (1903, 1905b). Surveys of the distribution of the Sun Dance, historical and contemporary, appear in Liberty (1980) and JoAllyn Archambault (in HNAI 2001, 2:983–95). Although Truteau does not mention its occurrence among them, Curtis (1909, 5:76–80) describes the Sun Dance of the Arikaras. Since the Sun Dance did not occur among the Pawnees, and since the dance was not as central a feature of Arikara ceremonial life as it was for other chiefly nomadic tribes, the Arikaras may not have had the dance when Truteau lived among them—or it may simply have been a minor ceremony, as it was later in the nineteenth century.
152. "Here is the place to observe that a certain number of ornaments belong exclusively to warriors who have distinguished themselves; those who wear them without being entitled to them are ridiculed until they have removed them. For example, the number of a warrior's exploits is known by the number of crows that he wears on his lower back on ceremonial days; the woodpecker, the paroquet, or the sparrow hawk tied to his hair, designate specific war deeds; and only he who has killed a grizzly bear may wear a necklace of its claws. The latter ornament especially marks a warrior as worthy of esteem, the grizzly bear being, of all North American animals, the only one that pounces on a man without having been wounded or assaulted by him. It is so ferocious that

it has been seen to attack parties of Indians and not cease to slaughter them until after having been mortally wounded; sometimes it even enters during the night into their lodges, surprises them asleep, and massacres several of them before their comrades are able to give them the least assistance" (Perrin du Lac 1805:330–31).

153. Truteau refers to the account given by Lahontan (1990, 1:665–66, 1905, 2:448).
154. This dance, performed by members of a men's society named after the buffalo bull, had a wide distribution throughout the northern Plains and beyond. The Bull Society was the highest-ranking men's organization among the Mandans and Hidatsas (Lowie 1913:291–93; Maximilian 1906, 23:294–95; Bowers 1965:198–99) and the Blackfeet (Wissler 1913:404–8), and it was one of the major warrior societies among the Cheyennes (Dorsey 1905:16–18; Mooney 1907:412–13). The Oglalas and Pawnees also had Buffalo Bull societies, but theirs in contrast were doctors' organizations, whose members were healers (Wissler 1912:91–92; Murie 1914:604–5). Neither tribe had an equivalent dance society. Unlike other Plains tribes, the Arikaras had two buffalo societies. One, named *naaNIšukós* ('bull lance'), was a men's society whose members were responsible for protecting the tribe and for aiding the elderly; the other, *çiwiíkù* ('shedding buffalo'), was a doctors' organization that was a part of the Medicine Lodge (Lowie 1915:661–62; Curtis 1909, 5:66; Howard 1974). Although members of both societies wore buffalo headdresses when they danced, the dance described here by Truteau is undoubtedly the one performed by the former group.
155. The fingerwidth and handwidth were common units of measurement in craftwork among northern Plains tribes. Cloth was measured from the tip of the nose to the tip of the fingers of an outstretched arm (Ewers 1970:561–62).
156. This section is copied with minor deletions and emendations from Hennepin 1938[1683]:158–60; a second copy of the same section appears at the end of the second notebook.
157. Among most northern Plains tribes, leaders of war parties carried war bundles on expeditions, and among the contents of the bundles hawk skins were common. So also were wolf skins and other specific items associated with a man's power or "medicine." Only Arikara and Pawnee bundles, however, contained an ear of corn as a primary item. Hence Truteau seems to be generalizing from his familiarity with the Arikaras and Pawnees and imputing the contents of their bundles to those of other upper Missouri tribes. Murie (1981, 1:136–37) gave a more elaborate description of a Skiri war leader's regalia that conforms to Truteau's statement here: "A warrior's regalia consisted of a whole otter collar, a sacred pipe, an eagle feather, soft down feathers, a buffalo-hair rope, paint and native tobacco. The otterskin was split through the middle so the warrior could put his head through. The head of the otter usually hung at the back. On his right shoulder the warrior wore a swift hawk and on the left hung Mother Corn. On his breast were two flint arrowheads, each encircled in a ring of sweet grass."

158. "for the Indians, in marching to war, go in single file, attempting to make only a single track to conceal their number, as much as they are able" (Perrin du Lac 1805:297).
159. These are the extra moccasins that all men carried on war expeditions.
160. This and the preceding paragraph closely follow Lahontan (1990, 1:714–15, 1905, 2:499–500).
161. This paragraph follows Lahontan (1990, 1:713–14, 1905, 2:497–99).
162. Compare Lahontan (1990, 1:713, 1905, 2:497).
163. The association of warriors, particularly scouts, with wolves is pervasive on the plains (Wissler 1916:873). The Hidatsas illustrate this association. Their warriors were frequently conceived to be wolves, and three major ceremonies of the Hidatsa, whose emphasis was on warfare, were wolf ceremonies (Bowers 1965:224, 392–433). But wolf symbolism was perhaps carried furthest among the Skiri, whose name for themselves, *ckiri,* means 'wolf' and whose warriors always imitated that animal, a war party constituting, as it were, a society of wolves. Murie (1914:595–97, 1981, 1:139) cogently describes the symbolism and its mythological basis for the Skiri.
164. "Formerly they sold them to the whites, but this trade was prohibited by the Spanish and English governments" (Perrin du Lac 1805:300).
165. For a parallel discussion of a Pawnee war leader's rights to all the captured booty, see Roaming Scout's description of a Skiri war expedition (Parks, forthcoming). For a contrasting discussion of the division of war booty by other tribes of the upper Missouri, see Denig (1930:474–75, 547).
166. "This expression is translated literally" (Perrin du Lac 1805:301n.).
167. Bradbury (1904:168–71) described the triumphant return of a large war party composed of the members of four warrior societies, which he witnessed among the Arikaras in 1810.
168. In classical mythology these three underworld goddesses, known as the Erinyes, personified retribution; Pluto (Hades) ruled the underworld (Hornblower and Spawforth 2003:556, 661).
169. Truteau refers here to the human sacrifice that was part of the Skiri Morning Star ceremony. It is possible that in earlier times the Arikaras also practiced this custom, as mentioned by Murie (1981, 1:29). The Skiri ceremony occurred only irregularly, when a man had a dream in which the Morning Star commanded it. Based on historical sources, it is difficult to gauge its frequency of occurrence. Only four well-documented historical instances are known to have taken place in the nineteenth century (Chamberlain 1982:60; 68–69). In the late nineteenth century one older Pawnee told Grinnell that he had witnessed the sacrifice six times; another said he had seen it only once (1889:362–63). Numerous descriptions of the Skiri ceremony exist. Murie (1981, 1:114–36) once conducted a modified version of the ritual that did not contain the human sacrifice. Chamberlain (1982:60–90) synthesizes all published sources and discusses the astronomical identification of the Morning Star.

170. The ritual described here bears a close resemblance to one performed by the Skiris that Murie (1981, 1:136–54) called the New Fire ceremony, during which a scalp is given as an offering to a deity and then placed in a village sacred bundle.
171. The text in Perrin du Lac (1805:304) adds a fifth name to the list of those to whom the sacrifice is made: "to the morning star."
172. "When they refuse to do it, the old women take them, giving extravagant signs of joy" (Perrin du Lac 1805:304–5). The Pawnee scalp, or victory, dance is described by Murie (1914:598–99, 1981, 1:143, 151).
173. See the description of the Skiri New Fire Ceremony for the ritual use of scalps (Murie 1981, 1:135–54).
174. "The latter, informed in advance of their plans, surrounded themselves with a large ditch furnished with strong, high posts, and awaited them resolutely" (Perrin du Lac 1805:306).
175. Roaming Scout (Parks, forthcoming) described a nineteenth-century Skiri consolation ceremony, while Gilmore (1926) recorded an account of an early twentieth-century Arikara observance. Both Pawnees and Arikaras still performed this ritual in attenuated form at the end of the twentieth century and said that its purpose was "to wipe away the tears" of mourners.
176. This paragraph closely follows Lahontan (1990, 1:722–23, 1905, 2:506–7).
177. "Each lodge or cabin ordinarily houses one family" (Perrin du Lac 1805:310).
178. "These two deeds are sufficient to give an idea of the intrepidity of these peoples at the same time that they might contribute to diminishing the conceit of certain civilized nations who, too proud of their courage, think that that quality puts them above all others. If they are persuaded that they share this virtue with the Indians, and even with most animals, perhaps they might reduce a little their self-esteem and their unpardonable vanity. It is by their loyalty, justice, moderation, and exactitude in fulfilling promises that a civilized people ought to make themselves respected; courage belongs to barbarians as well as to civilized nations, while the virtues of which I have just spoken are not yet practiced by any political body" (Perrin du Lac 1805:313).
179. The brief section that appears at the end of part 2 of the description was also copied here and is omitted.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO TRUTEAU

1. The Spanish version explains: "the corners joined and fitted by a kind of mortise" (Nasatir 1952, 1:243).
2. Rum (McDermott 1941:140).

ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN TRADE

1. As early as 1789 the Loups, identified by Truteau as Delawares, moved from the Ohio Valley to Upper Louisiana by invitation of the Spanish governor (Goddard in HNAI 1978: 223). The Pawnee Loups are the Skiri Pawnees.

2. Wool blankets had short bars (or "points," from French *point*, 'a needle work') that were sewn or woven into the fabric near one end that indicated the size. Two-and-one-half point blankets sold by the American Fur Company in the 1840s measured 52 in. x 66 in., which is apparently the normal size for blankets worn as clothing. See Hanson 1997:10 and Tichenor 2002:4.
3. The *patron* is the person who commands the crew and steers the boat, more commonly referred to in French Canada as *maître*.
4. That is, they do not hunt much for pelts and furs to trade with the whites.
5. This was apparently a copy of the James Evans map.
6. The Ottawas speak a southeastern dialect of the widespread Ojibwe language. In the late eighteenth century their territory was centered in the lower Great Lakes region, in present Michigan and parts of adjacent states. See Feest and Feest in HNAI 1978:772–78.
7. See Mallery (1881).
8. Wampum belts, most famously associated with the Iroquois, were used by the Algonquian tribes of the Great Lakes region and spread by them to the upper Mississippi. On the uses of wampum, see Foster (1985).
9. This is an unreasonably high estimate. In 1778 Thomas Hutchins gave the Sioux population as 10,000; Lewis and Clark in 1804 gave 8,410; Zebulon Pike in 1805 gave 21,675 (DeMallie in HNAI 2001:748).
10. In 1786 Andrew Todd agreed to back the company financially, but in November of that year he died in New Orleans of yellow fever (Nasatir 1952, 2:482).
11. In Europe, beaver fur was used to make felt from which hats and coats were manufactured. The long guard hairs (*soie*) were removed by plucking; the short dense fur (*duvet*)—called *wool* in English—was shaved off the dried hide (*parchemin*) to make the felt.

APPENDIX 1: THE LANGUAGE OF TRUTEAU

1. In this essay *voyageur* is used in its widest sense: the merchants who carried out the fur trade with the Indians, on their own or as part of a company, as well as the hired hands (*engagés*) who were engaged to transport the merchandise and peltries, either by water (in canoes, pirogues, barges) or over land (on the backs of horses or mules). To speak more specifically of the merchants who carried out the trade, sometimes the term *trader* is used, especially in reference to the English-speaking merchants.
2. There are, for example, thousands of documents preserved in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg. Additionally, the literature of western travel and exploration written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries incorporated many elements from the traders' speech.
3. Many of these borrowings appear in such dictionaries as *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (DC) and *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (DA).

4. For example, true to the Parisian norm of the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century (Poirier 1994:265; Caron-Leclerc 1998, 3:716–18), during the nineteenth century the digraph *oi* was generally pronounced /we/ or /wɛ/ in Canadian French (except for a group of words: *bois, mois, noix, poids, pois, trois*). In France the pronunciation /wa/ of the Parisian bourgeoisie was definitively imposed on good usage since the revolutionary period at the end of the eighteenth century (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1994:206). Today it is the standard pronunciation on both sides of the Atlantic.
5. However, the proportion of colonists coming to Canada from Paris or the region of Paris was not negligible.
6. During the nineteenth century, comprehension between a French speaker and the speaker of a patois could vary by region; for example, it was very weak between a French speaker and a patois speaker from the Occitan domain, which covered much of the southern half of France.
7. For a history of the origin of the French language, see Lodge (1993).
8. On the complex question of the genesis of Canadian French, see especially Canac-Marquis and Poirier (2005); Morin (2002); and Poirier (1994).
9. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, Canadian French has been stigmatized in the United States and in British Canada with the qualifier "French Canadian Patois" (see Bouchard 1990).
10. The term *engagés* designates the workers who engaged themselves in the service of a voyageur (merchant) or a fur trade company, principally as canoeists (to transport the goods and furs) but also as winterers (*hivernants*) and as hunters or craftsmen (including blacksmiths, coopers, gunsmiths, and carpenters).
11. The French-speaking population of the Pays d'en Haut is hard to evaluate. For the period around 1750, one can estimate that there were close to 2,500 persons of European (including Canadian) and African origins in the entire Pays d'en Haut, the Illinois Country included. This estimation takes into account the voyageurs making trips to and from the Saint Lawrence Valley but not the military garrisons in the various posts (Lessard et al. 1988:213, and Havard 2003:73).
12. A good part of the data of the oldest glossary relating to the French that was spoken in North America was collected in the region of Detroit. Known as "*Façons de parler proverbiales, triviales, figurées etc. des Canadiens au XVIII^e siècle,*" this glossary was compiled by Father Potier between 1743 and 1758 (Halford 1994); it includes many words used by Truteau. For a more recent description of this form of French, such as what was spoken on the Canadian side of the Detroit River, see especially Hull (1955) and Bénéteau and Halford (2008).
13. See, for example, Joseph-Charles Taché, *Forestiers et voyageurs* (1863).
14. For example, the term *dégradé* 'weatherbound' is a borrowing from the language of sailors; the term *brigade* 'flotilla of watercraft (e.g., canoes) that traveled as a convoy under the direction of a guide' originated in the language of military men posted in New France (Vézina 2010).
15. Compare Charlevoix (1761,1:280).

16. Many tribes living west of the Mississippi River who spoke different languages communicated by means of sign language (Goddard 2001 in HNAI 13:67).
17. *Makaque* corresponds to the English *mocock* (also spelled *makuk*, *mokuk*, etc.) (see DC; DA; Webster 1986), a later borrowing from the same Indian languages (attested since 1779), perhaps through the medium of French-speaking voyageurs.
18. See Vézina (2000:149).
19. Félix Vallé to A. Langlois and Ch. Chouteau, November 12, 1833 (ISHL, Pierre Ménard Collection, microfilm reel 5:frame 21).
20. Honoré Picotte to Daniel Lamont, January 23, 1833 (MHS, Chouteau Collection, microfilm reel 20:frame 1068).
21. For example, in Joseph Picotte's book of notes regarding expeditions and return of various traders, 1836: "*Anvois* [=*Envois*] *par Martel a Zephir*[:] . . . *10 bonche* [=bunch] *rasade bleux . . . 6 yd* [=yard] *indiennes* [Sent by Martel to Zephir: . . . 10 bunches of blue beads . . . 6 yards of calico]" (MHS, Chouteau Collection, microfilm reel 24:frame 350).
22. Pierre Ménard to Peter Menard Jr. (ISHL, Pierre Ménard Collection, reel 4: frame 126).
23. The linguistic situation of the French colonies in Upper Louisiana changed quite rapidly. For example, in 1818 Sister Philippine Duchesne, a Catholic missionary, asserted: "St. Louis, they say, is more English than French as far as language goes. Here [New Orleans] English is as common as French. Nearly all the children speak both languages, and many of the parents speak only English" (Callan 1957:241). Once arrived at Saint Louis, she added: "This section of the country is becoming more and more English in language . . . for it is being settled by people from cities on the eastern coast, among them Swiss, Germans, and others" (257).
24. For example: Paul Liguest Chouteau to Francis Gesseau Chouteau, 1831 (MHS, Chouteau Collection, microfilm reel 12:frame 1139); Pierre Ménard to Jean-Baptiste Sarpy, 1831 (reel 19:frame 117); Honoré Picotte to Pierre Didier Papin, 1839 (reel 26:frame 37).
25. Russell's manuscript was written between 1845 and 1848.
26. Tykal (1989:200) gives examples of those who learned French; Joseph Rollette, a trader at Prairie du Chien, writing to Pierre Chouteau, an agent of the American Fur Company, April 30, 1838, provides an example of a practical limitation on the use of French: "I must apologize to you for not answering in French[;] Mr. Brown[,] my clerk[,] could not copy letters written in French in my letter book" (MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 14:frame 341).
27. This title could perhaps be disputed by the technolect of the cod fisherman of the Newfoundland banks.
28. For a description of the fur trade's working class in the American Fur Company, see Swagerty (1993).
29. In the second half of the eighteenth century fewer than 10 percent of the Canadian countrymen could sign their marriage licenses (Dickinson and Young

1992:109). Thus the great majority of the employment contracts of the voyageurs were not signed by the contractor, but rather marked with "X."

30. This book comprises the second volume of *Nouveaux voyages de Mr. Le Baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale*. Although these two volumes were dated 1703, they in fact appeared in November 1702 (Lahontan 1990, 1:25).
31. For example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century Auguste Chouteau, a rich merchant of St. Louis, owned one or more volumes of Lahontan and Hennepin (McDermott 1938:144, 146).
32. For example, *Nouveau Voyage d'un païs plus grand que l'Europe* (1698) borrows especially from Chrestien Leclercq's *Premier Établissement de la foy* (1691) (Tremblay 2006:16n4).
33. Although Truteau states in the introduction to the description that he is presenting "a work dictated in the simplest and most familiar language" (DQ Ia:1), it is not necessary to conclude that this text and the Québec version of the journal were literally dictated by Truteau to his students. If they had been dictated orally, the texts would include more strikeouts and hesitations of all kinds. The word "dictated" must be taken in the sense of 'composed, written', the usage current in Middle French at the time and attested in the French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Furetière and La Curne, s.v. *dicter*); this usage was still employed in parts of Normandy and Anjou in the nineteenth century and it is quite probable that it was known to Truteau (see FEW: *dictare* 3:71a).
34. One of the peculiarities of punctuation during this period is that it attempted to organize the written text by keeping in mind the spoken language. For example, a colon (:) could be used to mark a pause of moderate duration or to punctuate in a partial sense (Catach 1994:35–42).
35. Use of the grave accent on *e* was systematized for the first time in the 1762 edition of the dictionary of the Académie (Catach 2001:259–60).
36. For example, written forms with final *-y,* such as *icy, moy, toy,* and *voicy,* were still included in the Académie dictionary in 1694 and 1718 but they were replaced with *ici, moi, toi,* and *voici* beginning with the 1740 edition. Certain of these written forms nonetheless continued to be used for quite a long while by some individuals, especially in America, and sometimes up to the nineteenth century. As for the silent *s* in words like *estre* and *interest,* they were in large part suppressed in the 1740 edition. Most often when they corresponded to a lengthening of the preceding vowel, they were replaced by a circumflex: *être, intérêt, arrêter,* etc. (Catach 2001:232, 1995:1158–59).
37. For example, see Furetière, s.v. *auditeur*: "*faire rapport à la Chambre des difficultés qui s'y trouvent.*"
38. In at least three cases it may be supposed that it is a matter of copyist errors, since one finds *s'y*, or the form without an apostophe, *sy*, in the Seville version, and *s'y* in the Washington version: *"leurs hommes si étoient opposés"* (JQ:36) = *"leur hommes s'y étoient opposés"*(JS:19); *"Ils . . . si rassemblerent"* (JQ:24) = *"Ils . . . sy assemblerent"* (JS:14); *"ne se trouvant aucunes cataractes"* (JQ:144) = *"ne s'y trouvant*

aucunes cataractes" (JW:19). Elsewhere in the Washington version Truteau writes *s'y* correctly (JW:27, 33).

39. No other attestation has been found of the participle *dissoudé* (for example, Huguet, Littré, *s.v. dissoudre,* FEW *s lv re* 12:83a). However, it was probably in use at some point in France, since forms of the present indicative *nous dissoudons, vous dissoudez,* and *ils dissoudent* are attested in the seventeenth century (Richelet, s.v. *dissoudre*; Nyrop 1903, 2:28). According to this model of conjugation, one might suppose that a speaker could deduce that the past participle corresponds to *dissoudé*. Nevertheless, since the seventeenth century the standard form of the participle is, in fact, *dissous* (masc.) and *dissoute* (fem.) (Furetière, s.v. *dissoudre*; Académie 1694, s.v. *soudre*).
40. *Voyage* is used correctly by Truteau as a masculine noun in his writings. The use of the adjective *furtive* in place of the masculine form *furtif* is truly surprising on his part. (One also finds *voyages furtives* and *voyages futives* [*sic*]; JS:34 and 41 [erroneously numbered 43].) Perhaps he believed that *furtive* was an epicene adjective (that is, one whose form does not change according to gender), such as, for example, the adjective *déclive*.
41. The agreement of present participles is attested in Canadian notarial texts of the seventeenth century (Juneau and Poirier 1973:173n43).
42. See Furetière and Littré, s.v. *provenant, ante*; TLFi, s.v. *provenir*; Académie 1798, s.v. *provenant, ante*: *"Les sommes provenantes de la vente des différens effets ont monté à tant."*
43. Truteau wrote *sans aucunes vivres* in place of *sans aucuns vivres* (JQ:40) and *toutes vivres* (JQ:13). He was not the only one to use this word with the feminine gender. Other Canadians before and after him did the same; for example, Joseph-Laurent Normandin, for whom the word is sometimes feminine in his journal of 1732: *"des vivres françoises,"* sometimes masculine: *"de très bons vivres"* (Bouchard 2002:153).
44. In the Québec versions of the journal and description Truteau uses *automne* twenty-six times; of which four instances are in contexts where the gender is clearly identifiable as feminine. In the Washington version he uses it four times, of which one instance is in a context where the gender is feminine. No occurrence of the word clearly in the masculine is found.
45. In the Seville version of the journal there is an occurrence of the feminization of the word *endroit: "une endroit appellé la Toure"* (JS:10). In the twentieth century the feminization of the words *accident* and *endroit* is attested respectively in Québécois French (Barbaud et al. 1982:119) and in Acadian French (Péronnet 1989:216).
46. Traces of this phenomenon have been found in French Canadian since the beginning of the eighteenth century: "*toutte les s'abitan* [=*tous les habitants*]" (Juneau 1972:194).
47. For detailed descriptions of this evolution during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Brunot HLF, 4:727–36, 6:1474–81.
48. Among the important changes that have taken place in the standard language is the transition in the pronunciation of /we/ or /wɛ/ to /wa/ in syllables including

the digraph *oi*, as well as the quasi-disappearance of the opposition of vowel length (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1994:205–6). The latter is still maintained in Canadian French for the phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɛ:/, for example, *fête* /fɛ:t/) in opposition to *faites* (/fɛt/).

49. The phoneme /r/ is represented with this symbol, regardless of its actual place of articulation (apical, uvular, etc.).
50. The phoneme /ɔ/ is very close to the phoneme /ʌ/ used in English (*cut* = /kʌt/), with the difference that it is a rounded vowel.
51. The pronunciation of *côte*, *haute*, and *jaune* with an open *o* is very nearly unknown in Québécois French. See, for example, PPQ, quest. 673, 1043, 1363x, 1611. In *Atlas linguistique de l'est du Canada*, *côte* with /ɔ/ is sporadically attested in four localities situated in the eastern half of Québec (PPQ, quest. 673, 687), and *jaune* is attested in a single locality in eastern Ontario (PPQ, quest. 693). Nonetheless, it is possible that the use of /ɔ/ in these words had been more usual in certain regions during an earlier time.
52. Letter of Hyacinthe Lasselle, Enfants noyés, Indiana, to Antoine Lasselle, Fort Wayne, Indiana, March 4, 1796, Lasselle Collection (L127), doc. 343, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.
53. Hyacinthe lived in Indiana Territory for the first three years of his life; at Montréal for at least a decade during his childhood; and in the Detroit region for about three years. Subsequently, he spent the rest of his adult life at Vincennes, in Indiana, as a trader, merchant, and soldier. Without being a speaker of the French spoken in Upper Louisiana (centered in St. Louis), Lasselle may be considered a speaker of the French in use in the Pays d'en Haut; in addition, since the western boundary of the state of Indiana (where Lasselle was born and lived) constituted the eastern boundary of the former Illinois Country of the French Regime, Lasselle may be considered a speaker of the French of that region.
54. In another letter written by Hyacinthe Lasselle dated September 2, 1803 (Lasselle Collection [L127], doc. 740, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library), one finds: *tachaire* [= *tâcher*] [*de*] *lui faire donaire* [= *donner*] *les chartificas*. These occurrences of *tachaire* and *donaire* show that Lasselle pronounced the final /r/ of verbs ending in *-er*; this trait is sporadically attested in Canadian French during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Juneau and Poirier 1973:88n45; Juneau 1972:170n37).
55. The form *maille*, a hitherto unknown variant of *mal*, might have been created by analogy with forms in which the suffix *-al* was changed for the suffix *-ail* (*cristail*, *métail*, etc.) (see pp. 441–42). *Dieux* (/djø/) is probably a North American form, perhaps even an idiolectal one; it nonetheless brings to mind the forms *dioux* and *diòu*, attested, respectively, in Champagne and Savoie (FEW *dŭo* 3:181a). The pronunciation /o/ of the word *où* brings to mind the form *o*, with the same meaning, attested in Old French and, in the nineteenth century, in the regional speech varieties of Normandy (FEW *bŭi* 14:1b).

56. The form *sane*, which might represent the pronunciation /san/, is not attested in the varieties of North American French, nor, it seems, in France (absent from FEW *centum* 21:589a and from ALF, maps 211 and 212); it would be difficult for it to have come from one of the forms with final /n/ attested in speech varieties in the Occitan domain in southern France as well as in the Franco-Provencal domain in the southeast of France, Switzerland, and Valle d'Aosta (for example *sĭn*, which is found in the department of Isère; FEW, ibid.). Still, the slim possibility cannot be dismissed that the form *sane* simply constitutes a scriptographic anomaly that Lasselle used three times to represent the pronunciation /sā/.
57. Perhaps peculiarities of this type led certain visitors to denigrate the French spoken in the Illinois Country, particularly in Vincennes (see appendix 1).
58. For example, nos. 1 and 2, which are common enough in Canadian French during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, might well have been innovations that took place in Canada but in part under the influence of the speech of colonists originating in Normandy and Picardy (Juneau 1972:140–41; Poirier 1975:209n60).
59. For example, the form *rétte* [= *reste*], which was more typical of the seventeenth century, and even the sixteenth century (Thurot 2:324), rather than the end of the eighteenth century.
60. Among the distinctive lexical forms are several terms belonging to the speech of the voyageurs, such as *plu* (also written *plus*), designating a unit of value used for trade (see note 104).
61. This was still the case in the speech of elderly individuals in the mid-twentieth century, both in Québécois and Acadian French (PPQ, quest. 780; Mass:391, no. 721). Both varieties of the word are still current in French, although *maïs* now dominates in the language of commerce.
62. *Maíz* is the source of the French word *maïs*, which is attested in French since the sixteenth century. The general use of *maïs* in Lower Louisiana and the Illinois Country in Truteau's time is attested in a variety of texts; this usage was still observable at the beginning of the twentieth century (Read 1931:142–43; Vézina 2005:557).
63. Indeed, the name *figuier de Barbarie* was given to certain species with edible fruit that are cultivated, especially in the islands of the Mediterranean *(Opuntia ficus-indica* and *Opuntia vulgaris)* (Bubenicek 2001:209–10).
64. Riggs (1890:378) translates the term as "Dakota beans" and "tuberous roots of the wild pea vine," adding: "They grow wild in the valleys and low grounds, having a vine-like top. The beans grow on the roots, and are dug up in the fall and spring."
65. This animal is usually misidentified in the historical and ethnographic literature as the kit fox (see Jones et al. 1983:256).
66. This hypothesis is reinforced by the testimony of John Evans, who went with James Mackay up the Missouri. In his journal (1797) he writes: "There are also found on the Rocky Mountains, Ermines, and a kind of Wild Cat, whose skin is of a great Beauty, it is spotted as that of a Leopard" (Evans, in Nasatir 2002:498). What Evans describes is most probably a young cougar.

67. Truteau does not seem to have distinguished the various subspecies or varieties of white-tailed deer found on the upper Missouri: *Odocoileus virginianus dacotensis, O. v. texanus,* and *O. v, macrourus* (Jones et al. 1983:324–25).
68. For example, Tabeau (ca. 1815:11).
69. Sioux des prairies, attested since 1736 (in the form Scioux des prairies), appears to be a calque of the name given to certain Sioux tribes in an Algonquian language, possibly Ojibwe, e.g., Maskoutépoéls (JR 68:298) and Mascoutins Poüanes (Burpee 1968:135, 210). See Parks in HNAI 13, 2:756.
70. The naturalist Buffon said of the *argalis,* a type of wild sheep living in Asia (*Ovis ammon*) and resembling the bighorn sheep, that its "*vivacité semble les exclure de la classe des moutons, et les ranger plutôt dans la classe des cerfs* [vivacity seems to exclude them from the class of sheep and place them rather in the class of deer]" (cited in TLFi, s.v. *argali*). If Lewis applied the name *argali* to the bighorn sheep, it was perhaps under the influence of Cook's travel journal on the Pacific Coast (1778), in which the skin of a bighorn sheep is incorrectly identified as *argali* (Richardson 1829:272).
71. This designation was noted by botanist David Douglas, who accompanied a group of voyageurs in 1827 between present Washington State and Manitoba (cited in Belyea 1998:200).
72. The name occurs in a short document that is a request for payment written at the "*fort de la Grosse Corne*" and dated June 21, 1809 ("Request of François Poitras, Joseph Philibert and Louis Lacroix to Auguste Chouteau to pay Gemien Beauvait and François Douchouquette," MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 6:frame 649).
73. Among the attestations of this name, Frédérick Laboue, an American Fur Company trader, mentions in a letter of November 22, 1836, the existence of the *Butte d'ours blanc* ("la Butte dource Blanc"), probably referring to Bear Butte, located in present western South Dakota (MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 22:frame 988).
74. This is the way in which the Illinois word *irenima8eïa,* designating the coyote, is translated in an Illinois-French dictionary written around 1714 (Masthay 2002:125).
75. The date of the first attestation of *prairie dog* is given as 1774 by DA, DARE, OED, and *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*. This is incorrect, since the attestation in question was taken from a document (published in 1867) that, even though it is recounting events that took place in 1774, includes numerous anachronisms and incoherences that indicate it was written in the second half of the nineteenth century (Yelton 1989). The date for the first true attestation of the gallicism *prairie dog* is 1804.
76. The term *pare-flèche,* which can designate either American Indian cultural objects or pieces of equipment utilized by the voyageurs, forms an exception to this principle (see appendix 1:1501–7).
77. It served to designate a trader, well adapted to life in the forest and trading in the Indian country; it corresponds more or less with *voyageur*. This use is also attested in the French of Upper Louisiana (Nasatir 2002:187).

78. *Coureur de bois* never became an appellation for an occupation; no *voyageur* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would have presented himself as a *coureur de bois*.
79. Even though France had ceded New Orleans and the rest of the colony of Louisiana situated west of the Mississippi in 1762, the Spanish did not take true possession until several years later (Ekberg 2002:49).
80. See Woodward 1970:15, quoted in Wheeler 1985:62. Glass beads were also produced in other European cities, such as Amsterdam (Gilman 1982:17n40), and in France and England (Kidd 1979:32–35, 46–51).
81. The types of beads traded in America, as well as their popularity among the Indians, varied over time (Quimby 1966:81–90).
82. *"Article demandé* [/]. . . *6 #* [= *livres*] *deuf de pigons* [= *d'œufs de pigeon*]" "[Requested item: . . . 6 pounds of pigeon eggs]" (1836, Letter of Joseph Picotte to Honoré Picotte [December 6], MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 24:frame 903).
83. *"Canons de verre. Anontatsé"* (1632, Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne*, in Warwick 1998:399).
84. In the seventeenth century the variant *pourcelaine* was quite current.
85. In addition to designating the central hard part of a fruit, *noyau* was also used, by analogy, to designate the central part of various objects, especially as technical language. For example, since the fifteenth century *noyau* has designated the central axis of a spiral staircase (see TLFi, s.v. *noyau*). In Truteau's time the term *noyau* also designated tubular objects, such as a certain part of an organ pipe (see Furetière ; Littré, s.v. *noyau*).
86. "*Cuir cru, vert ou en vert, cuir qui n'a reçu aucune préparation* [Raw leather, green or in green, which has not received any preparation]" (Littré, s.v. *cuir*); "*On appelle,* Cuir cru *Celuy qui n'est pas préparé* [One calls *raw leather* that which was not prepared]" (Académie 1762, s.v. *cru*); see also Académie 1694, s.v. *cru*.
87. "*Une peau brute est une peau qui a été uniquement traitée pour la conserver avant sa transformation* [A raw skin is a skin that was treated solely to preserve it before its processing]" (International Council of Tanners 1975:110); see also Sudre (1979:11).
88. For example, *voiture*: *"Ce qui sert au transport des marchandises, des personnes. . . . Le carrosse, la litière, le bateau est une voiture fort commode* [That which serves to transport merchandise, or people. . . . The carriage, the litter, the boat is a very suitable *voiture*]" (Académie 1798).
89. See, for example, the attestations from 1832 and 1842 in MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 19:frame 871, and reel 28:frame 78.
90. Makina and its variants (Mackina, Mackinaw, McKinaw, etc.) constitute the shortened form of Michilimakinac, an important military fort and trading post established by the French at the end of the seventeenth century in the strait connecting lakes Michigan and Huron.
91. See MHS, Fur Trade Collection, "Logbook of Capt. Joseph A. Sire," 15. A good description of the Mackinaw boat is given in Chittenden (1903:94–96).

92. For example, *"A La Grande Loutre, pour un petit canot de pêche, une p[iè]c[e] tavelle* [At La Grande Loutre, for a small fishing canoe, one tavelle piece]" (1804, Malhiot 1804–5c:[5]).
93. The first attestation that we have found: *"14 paux* [*sic, peaux*] *canot"* (1836, [Joseph Picotte], Book of notes regarding expeditions and returns of various traders, MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 24, frame 349).
94. For a good description of the difficulties that the voyageurs on the Missouri had to overcome, see the account of Pierre-Antoine Tabeau (Abel 1939:57–65).
95. For example: *"Mais que comme cette Riviere [Mississippi] devenoit fort large; il y avoit en quelques endroits des Battures de Sable, & des vase* [*sic*] *qui en barroient une partie* [But while this river (the Mississippi) became quite large there were in several places banks of sand and mud that in part obstructed it]" (Hennepin 1683:177).
96. For example: *"Au point du jour je m'apperçois que si nous restons ici plus longtems il se forme une bature au dessus de nous qui menace de nous renfermer* [At daybreak I discovered that if we remained here any longer a sandbar was forming upstream from us that threatened to block our way]" (1841, MHS, Fur Trade Collection, "Logbook of Capt. Joseph A. Sire," 25).
97. The verb *rapiquer* is attested from at least 1783 in the expression *rapiquer au vent* 'to bring a ship to the wind' (Boyer 1783, s.v. *rapiquer*). It appears in many nineteenth-century sailing dictionaries. (For example, Willaumez 1825, s.v. *rapiquer*: *"C'est reprendre le plus près du vent, faire de nouveau en sorte de gagner vers son origine* [It is to go back closer to the wind, to steer back toward its origin]"; see also Bonnefoux and Pâris 1999, FEW **pikkare* 8:459b.)
98. Truteau's use of the expression *en mauvois rapiquage* does not have the meaning of "in a bad condition," as Abel assumes (1921:160n39). Neither does *rapicage/ rapiquage* designate a natural reseeding by bushes, as is suggested by Grenier and Saint-Gelais (2006:149n23).
99. Truteau's writings comprise some 325,000 characters (not including spaces) or 67,800 words.
100. Normandin's journal comprises nearly 294,000 characters (not including spaces) or 54,000 words. For a printed version of this journal, see Bouchard (2002).
101. *Apichimon:* Animal skin or a collection of skins (often of beaver) serving as mattress and covering.
102. *Apola:* Piece of meat roasted or smoked on a spit next to a campfire.
103. *Drouine:* Visit or trip to hunting grounds or to Indian villages to trade for peltries or provisions in order to increase the trade revenue over that which depended on a trading post alone.
104. *Plu* (or *plus*): Unit of exchange used in the fur trade that was equivalent, at least originally, to a beaver skin; its value changed according to place, time, and circumstance. *"Chaque peau a une valeur de convention que tous connoissent. Ils appellent plu l'équivalent d'une piastre; ainsi deux peaux de chèvre ou de chevreau, font un plu. Une peau de chevreuil, ou de castor, fait un plu: une peau de loutre deux plus, etc. etc. Comme ils doivent donner tant de plus pour tel objet, il n'y a jamais la*

moindre difficulté dans les marchés [Each skin has a conventional value that all know. They call *plu* the equivalent of one piastre; thus two skins of antelope or fawn make a *plu*. One deerskin or one beaver skin makes a *plu*: one otter skin, two *plus,* etc., etc. Since they must give so many *plus* for each object, there is never the least difficulty over the price]" (Perrin du Lac 1805:201). It is very likely that this information was transmitted to Perrin du Lac by Truteau himself, which is indirect evidence that the latter knew the term *plu*. Attested since 1763 (under the form *plus*), this voyageurism probably originated from the adjective *pelu* (pronounced /ply/) 'covered with hair', which must have become a noun, and not from the adverb *plus*, as some have suggested. In the speech of the voyageurs it equally has the more general meaning of 'peltry'. It passed into English, notably under the form *plew*.

105. *Pare-flèche* is the expected spelling in standard French. It is attested in ancient documents, along with such rarer variants as *pare-fléche, pareflèche, pareflêche, pare flèche, parfleche, parfléche;* we also find the morphological variant *pare-flèches* (hapax) as well as the variant by hypercorrection, *perfléche* (hapax).
106. For a good description of this operation, called "smoking the shield," see Catlin (1841, 1:241). Some tribes, for instance, the Chinooks, used a piece of elk skin instead of buffalo, which they also hardened by fire (Ross 2000:104–5).
107. For example, at the beginning of the 1840s Victor Tixier saw *pare-flèches* among the Osages (McDermott 1940b:134).
108. *"Etat de châge des berges, départ du fort Cayouà le 5 may 1824"* (MHS, Chouteau Collection, microfilm reel 11:frame 877).
109. The hair can also be removed by soaking: "Some of the thickest bull's hides are placed to soak in water in which is mixed wood ashes, or some natural alkali. This takes the hair off" (Dodge 1882:254).
110. "The elk (*Cervus Canadensis*, or *major*), is not properly comprehended in the trade, as its skin is too thick and heavy, and is, therefore, used for home consumption. The buffalo skin is taken, as before observed, from the cows only, as the leather of the bulls is too heavy" (1843, Maximilian 1:381).
111. For example, the invoice of Louis Catalan, January 3, 1839, lists one pair of parfleche soles at 12 cents (MHS, Chouteau Collection, microfilm reel 25:frame 1090).
112. Several rivers are called *Terre Bleue* (Blue Earth), such as the Blue Earth River in southern Minnesota. In this case *Terbleue* probably refers to a region in South Dakota, since Lachapelle had been hired at Fort Pierre.
113. Besides the 1824 extract already cited, the following passage clearly illustrates this use of *pare-flèches*: "La poudre doit etre mise dans des sacs de drap, puis enveloppé dans un morceau de peau de loge—un parflèche par dessu, 1 5/8 de drap par sac, ce qui fera un cotillion quand il sera vuide" [The powder must be put in cloth bags, then wrapped in a piece of lodge skin—a parflèche on top, 1 5/8 of cloth per bag, which will make a petticoat when it is empty]. [1829, Letter from Auguste Pierre Chouteau to Pierre Chouteau, Jr. (August 22), MHS, Chouteau Collection, reel 15:frame 888].

114. *Parfleche* is the most common spelling in English, but such variants as *parfleche, par fleche, parflesh, parflash, parflish,* and *parrefliche,* as well as Frenchified spellings, including *parflèche, parflêche,* and *parfléche,* are also attested (DA, DC, OED, WW), as well as the plural form *parfleshes* (Poulsen 1985:178).
115. In the 1843 journal of J. J. Audubon, recounting his voyage along the Missouri, one finds an attestation of *parflèche* that refers to an object analogous to that described by De Smet in 1852: "Mr. Culbertson gave me a *parflèche* which had been presented to him by 'L'Ours de Fer', the Sioux chief. It is very curiously painted, and is a record of a victory of the Sioux over their enemies, the Gros Ventres" (Audubon and Coues 1960, 2:164).
116. The word *lodge* refers to an animal hide (buffalo, elk, moose, caribou) tanned and used to make tipis. When prepared in this way, such hides were used as well to wrap up merchandise and peltries.
117. A saddle blanket, usually made with a piece of buffalo robe (sometimes a buffalo calf skin) (see Ruxton 1859:66n). There is another meaning for the term *apichimon* (see appendix 1).
118. The *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (DC) relies on Barker's interpretation to present this occurrence of *parfleche* as the first attestation of the meaning "a container made from a sheet of rawhide, usually buffalo hide, folded into a kind of envelope and laced to make an efficient bag."
119. Ruxton's book, *Life in the Far West,* was first published in 1848. In reference to moccasin soles, *parfleche* is most often attested as an attribute ("parfleshe soles"; see DA) or as a complement of the noun *sole*: "Hitherto I had worn a pair of thick moccasins, with soles of parflêche" (Frémont 1845:69).
120. Contrary to the definition given in the DA, it is unlikely that *parfleche* has ever been used to designate a robe or any other object of tanned hide.

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